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THE CHINA REVIEW.

THE CHINESE OLD LANGUAGE.

Mr. Parker's article on Chinese and Sanscrit contains a good deal on the Russian, Tartar and primitive African languages and his title might have been Chinese and all languages compared.

I write now, however, only on the parts of the article which concern me.

1. Was ancient Chinese a uniform language spread over a large area? The Chinese were a civilized, agricultural, conquering, race, with an aptitude for imperial government. The language is uniform in books and inscriptions down to the Sung dynasty, when the modern mandarin literature, grammar, and orthoepy sprang into vigorous life and have held their place to the exclusion of many old words, much old idiom, and a vast mass of old pronunciation till the present time. We know what the old language, written and spoken, was. It is that used in ordinary literature. The conquering race that spread before the time of Confucius over South China from the North have held no other records of their language than the literature, and a vocabulary of primitive variations. We accept the language of the old literature as being the old spoken language of the country, just as the Latin of Cicero and Terence was the spoken tongue of the Romans in North Africa, the Danubian provinces, Gaul, Britain and Spain (and as English is the language of Australia, Canada and the United States.

No other hypothesis seems possible, and the Buddhist translations reveal no dialectic variations in the pronunciation of the Chinese scribes who helped the Hindoo translators in their work, yet these translations were made in the North, South, East, and West portions of China proper. Russian too, as Mr. Parker says, is uniform over an immense area. Why he has preferred to judge of China from the state of things at barbarous Timbuctoo and on the Congo it is most difficult to divine. He may take it as an axiom that a civilized race which conquers barbarous tribes and plants colonies in their territory will invariably have a uniform language. The case of the Greeks is no real exception. While they lived in small communities locally distinct and separated by mountain chains they used five dialects or more. After they became a conquering race and spread widely there dialects became merged in one language. In the case of the Roman colonies the Latin gradually changes into various modern languages, as French, Portuguese, etc. So I suppose it to have been with the Chinese, but there are differences. Herr von Brandt, in his late brief treatise on Chinese writing and language, has referred to the passage in Mencius where he speaks of the difference in dialects between the kingdoms Ch'u and Ts'i. I now feel prepared to modify my hypothesis in the following manner:—

The Woo kingdom was a recognised feudal principality before the time of Wen Wang in the 11th century before Christ. In the beginning of the fifth century before Christ Woo and Yue were powerful states. The traditions which connect the Emperor Shun with Kwangsi and Hunan imply Chinese colonization there 2,000 years before Christ. But, however that may be, at least we may be sure of this, that the colonization of South China had continued long enough to allow of the appearance of considerable dialectic differences. What Menoios tells us, is that he said on one occasion to Tai-pu-sheng, a native of the Ch'u country, 'if you wished your people to learn the Ts'i dialect would you employ a teacher of the Ts'i country or one of the Ch'u country?' He replied that he would use one of the Ts'i country. Here it was the dialects of Shantung and Hu-pe or Hu-nan that were meant, and they need not judging from what is here said, have been wide apart in idiom. The work of Yang Ming on dialects would lead us to suppose that dialects differed then much as they do now in Northern and Western China. Local accent and local words existed. But the language was one. Chau Yi* gives us examples of colloquial language in history. His earliest examples of such language are in the sixth century after Christ. They are taken from North China. Here are two instances:—

遜	我	殺	地	人	曰
又	好		若	薛	我
曰	欲		不	安	便
我	放		能	都	是
與	你		勝	傳	入
你	乃		便	京	他
論	敢		當	師	家
相	如		拍	無	墓
殺	此		手	百	內
事	不		笑	里	尋

* 陔餘叢考

These are the oldest recorded examples of the modern colloquial style. They would, however, be nearly paralleled in Buddhist books which are often slightly colloquial. These are taken from the 齊書 and 北史. Chau Yi takes others from the Sui Shu, the Tang Shu, the Chien Tang Shu, etc. That Mandarin idiom is older than mandarin pronunciation appears from these examples. They must be read with the initials and finals registered in Kang Hi, thus:—

sun	nga	shat	di	nin	et
wu	ho		niok	set	nga
et	ok		put	an	bien
nga	pong		neng	to	zhi
yo	ni		sheng	djen	nip
ni	nai		bien	kiong	ta
lun	kam		tong	shi	ka
siong	no		p'ak	mo	mo
shat	t'si		shu	pak	nei
dji	put		sio	le	zim

The native testimony as to the pronunciation is uniform, distinct and unimpeachable. There is no evidence of any kind, native or foreign, that has been adduced against this pronunciation. The mandarin sounds of to-day are admissible as evidence, for they did not exist before mandarin itself. Our guides are dictionaries, tables of sounds, the results of special investigation and old transcriptions.

2. What do we learn from the introduction of Sanscrit and Sanscrit philological methods into China in the first and subsequent centuries? The Buddhist schools in India really had more to do than the Brahmins with originating and extending the art of writing. The monasteries of Buddhism were schools of learning and the Devanagari is a system of writing borrowed by the Buddhists from Western Asia, just as they probably borrowed the metempsychosis and their notions in regard to Sumeru, the mountain home of the gods from countries farther West. The Hindoos who came to China knew the Vedas. They had studied grammar, astronomy, and other branches of

knowledge beside their own religion. They gave alphabets later on to the Tibetans, Coreans and Mongols. They came to China armed with science as well as religious zeal. They translated hundreds of works which have since been lost as well as hundreds which still remain. They were on the whole highly favoured by the reigning dynasties. They translated their first book about A.D. 70 and continued at work till about the 11th century, in all nearly a thousand years.

These are the men from whom Mr. Parker would withdraw the confidence reposed in them hitherto by all authors who have written in the subject. I notice signs of haste in Mr. Parker. In page 500 he says that the Buddhists in selecting characters for the Ganges* first used 競伽 and afterwards 恆伽. But the opposite was the case. In the Tang dynasty the former of these was introduced by Hiuen Chwang, a most careful translator who knew Sanscrit well. Before his time 恆 heng had been always used. This is fair evidence for the fact that *g* had changed to *h* in this character. Mr. Parker's example of *gau*, for thick, in the Wenchow dialect, the old sound of *how* thick, is a parallel case.

Mr. Parker declines to accept the Sanscrit evidence for the sound of 弗, 佛 being *put* and *but*, and says that I assume that they were the ancient Chinese sounds. But I simply tell him what all the Chinese authorities tell me. It is the only possible hypothesis. All the investigations that have been made in the subject, native or foreign, are till now, so far as I know, in favour of *p* and *b* as against *f* and *v* and I think the assumption is on Mr. Parker's side. What evidence is there for *f* and *v* in these words before the Tang dynasty? I should much like to know of any.

The Buddhist transcriptions have been collected by Julien and a large number have

* Probably 江臣 in Canton for 'Consul' represents some other sound, and is not a term of good authority, or it would be better known.

been newly identified by Professor Max Müller's Japanese friend at Oxford. Though eminent Sanscrit scholars have not come to China we have in China the books of such men. There is no room for doubt as to the value of the Sanscrit alphabetic signs. They are known beyond suspicion or uncertainty. There was a good deal of Pali and Pracrit spoken by the Hindus who came to China. But this fact does not occasion any great difficulty. Several native scholars of the present dynasty have studied successfully the ancient sounds and among those changes which may be regarded as fixed are the derivation of *f* from *p* and *b* and the derivation of *h* from *k* and *g*. The references to native books on these subjects are given in my mandarin grammar and Chinese characters. Against their investigations all the predilections for the antiquity of *f* and *h* felt by Europeans have no weight because they rest on no evidence. I do not think Mr. Parker has considered this point, but it really settles the question. When we get back into the early centuries of Christianity there is evidence for *p* and *g*. There is none for *f* and *h*.

In Chinese philology the first great error to be eliminated is the prescription in favour of mandarin as an ancient language, or as a representative of the old language. The harm alone to philology in China from this cause has been immense.

The second great error to be expelled is the idea that there is any doubt on the value and general accuracy of the 36 initials of Kanghi, and on the value to be assigned to the examples of syllabic spelling given under each word in Kanghi.

The student who has driven out these idols of the cave may make quick progress in Chinese philology; further he knows how to read the ancient sound, which, through the introduction of Sanscrit philological methods into China, were carefully written down fifteen hundred years ago and all of them registered in the dictionaries of the period.

The mandarin being modern is not admissible as a witness. The initials and finals of the 反切 Fan-ts'ie spelling have to be read by the light of the Sanscrit alphabet, which was the model the Hindoo Buddhists had in their minds. Mr Parker may rest assured that neither the dialect of the Toba family nor that of any Tartar race that ever ruled in North China affected the Buddhist transcriptions. The regularity of these transcriptions on the whole is remarkable. When they changed they had a good reason.

3. The introduction of the letter *r* after a mute initial in Annamitic Chinese is a step in the natural evolution of alphabetic sounds. I do not think it has anything to do with aspiration for the following reasons:—As Mr Parker says, in the Annamese 莊中 貞 trang, trung, trirh, there is no aspirate to be displaced by an intruding *r*. In 重, 治, trung, tri, the old sound was diong, di, without aspiration as shown by the syllabic spelling. In 陳 tran we have *r* coming in after *d* and then the whole word appears as tran. The only remaining instance 趙 trieu has an aspirate. Thus it appears that *r* is inserted in six cases where there is no aspirate and in one case where there is an aspirate. The fact is that it is a self evolved variation of certain dialects, especially in Annamite Chinese. It has appeared in Aryan roots in the same way as a result of a tendency to increased variation a tendency inherent in words as in plants. Mr. Parker may rely on the connections of my information about the appearance of this *r* in Sze Ch'wen. We do not find it occurring as a substitute for an aspiration in Aryan languages.

4. The Sanscrit alphabet from its great variety of sounds was well adapted to favour a very regular and exact transcription of the Chinese pronunciation as heard in the days of the Buddhist translators.

The presence in the Devanagari alphabet of the signs for aspiration *k'*, *t'*, *p'*, *ch'* is a great advantage. The want of *f* is, of course, a defect but it does not render the proof of

the Chinese change from *p* and *b* to *f* impossible to be made satisfactory. Mr. Parker need not think the Devanagari alphabet an unsafe guide. In fact like any European alphabet it gives definite information and there remains no doubt in the standard Sanscrit pronunciation. The Hindoos took the Devanagari as their guide and added the missing *f* and other letters required for Chinese. They meant to write Buddha and they chose 佛 to write it, of course because the sound agreed. The syllabic spelling gives it as but, and the syllabic spelling is almost as certain as if it were alphabetic writing. This rendering is supported by the Fu-kien sound of the word. Native philologists tell us that *f* comes from *p* and *b*. There are all proofs; the only ground for preferring *f* is that certain dialects pronounce it so. But this we must expect because the native philologists have proved it the change from *p* to *f*. There is no reason therefore for Europeans taking the *f* to be the old sound except a certain fancy which no investigation supports. The *f* falls to the ground with the mandarin as a modern innovation. Let Mr. Parker mention any single reason founded on research or philology for preferring *f* in this case. When Max Müller says 'before and after Panini the language of India had changed' he means not that Sanscrit changed but that the people ceased to speak it when new languages sprang up such as Prakrit, Pali, etc. The alphabetic writing kept the Hindoo missionaries right and uniform. But they could do nothing to prevent 恆 Geng from changing to heng and so when they wished to keep the sanscrit Ganga pure and exact in China they chose another character 競, pronounced in the syllabic spelling Geng to take its place. The character they chose has since changed to ching. If they revised the transcription to suit the Chinese of to-day, 更 keng would fit the niche because the real G has vanished from the pronunciation. The Hindoos were so exact in writing sounds

that they would be sure to do this had they not long ago ceased to be religious missionaries and deserted Buddhism for another creed.

I notice that Mr. Parker admits the distinction of the higher and lower series. But this distinction requires the exclusion of mandarin from court as a witness, it being in old sounds. He also recognizes the final mutes *h*, *t*, and *p*. He will find that all the laws recorded in my 'Grammar' and 'Chinese characters' are just as true as these, or, if any one of them is wrong, I shall be glad to learn any fact which may help me to correct it. Admitting the truth of the two laws, that on the double series, and that of the mute finals, he is compelled by all fair logic to admit the others. The proofs and references are given in my two books above referred to.

To avoid mistake in regard to the name of Buddha I will just here put the argument again. The character 佛 was selected by the translators about eight centuries before the ascertained date of the introduction of mandarin pronunciation. This character is used in the Four books with the sound *pit*. The Hindoos took as their guide in writing,

the Devanagari spelling, and though they sometimes employed Pali, in this instance they used Sanscrit. The southern Fukien people, who have a multitude of archaisms in their dialects call Buddha Put. The great bronze Buddha in Japan is called Dai Budz, in which the *dz* corresponds to an older *d* by an ascertained law of change from *du* to *dz* which took place in the Japanese language since the time when Buddhism was first conveyed to Japan from China. On the other hand the sound Fuh or Fo preferred by some Europeans for the old sound of the character 佛 has no argument in its favour except that it relates to some modern dialects.

The astronomical facts point to Babylonian origin.

The Buddhists cosmos describes the outer world beyond India. Triple gods, outer circuit of world.

The metempsych and outer universe come together to view. Small devas innumerable not Vedix.

In India, small devas, metempsychosis and triple division of gods of nature.

JOSEPH EDKINS.

ARYAN ROOTS IN CHINESE.

In a former article some Cantonese words were mentioned that might be traced to an Aryan origin. I now purpose to present some such examples from the general language of China. I premise by saying that all such attempts are necessarily tentative. It will not do for any one to be positive, nor must any one suppose that mere *suggestions* can yet take their place as ascertained facts. In most sciences hypotheses precede discovery, and suggestion, proof. Where scholars like Max Muller and Monier Williams are severely criticized by Whitney

and others, of course, unanimity of view is not yet to be expected.

While this is so yet we may remember that a possibility may become a probability, and probability come near to being a certainty. This depends upon the accumulation of examples. A mere coincidence of sounds proves nothing, but if this runs through a number of examples the probability increases. The proof is cumulative.

It seems to me that an Aryan element may be traced in Chinese, as a Celtic or a Norman element may be seen in English.

The examples given are not claimed as rising to the dignity of *proof*, but as suggestions that may in some cases at least show a *probability*.

The spoken language, of course, preceded the written. In investigating a language we must first ask ourselves why a certain sound was used to express a certain idea. If we find neighbouring countries employing the same sound it certainly points in the direction of a common origin or mutual intercourse. The character used to express this idea in writing may be an attempt either to express the idea itself, as in Chinese, or the sound which stands for the idea, as in alphabetical languages. The written character when ideographic will sometimes give us a hint as to the sound but not always.

The numbers refer to Skeat's list of Aryan roots.

Ak. Under this sound and its cognates we have the following :—

握 grasp, bend fingers over. Root A K. (4) bend. As there is an old sound *d-ik*, some may prefer the root DAK (147), take; hence Gr. *δακ-τυλος*, finger, &c.

帷 screen, cloth bending over. This may be either from AK (4) bend, or AK (3) be dark; hence shading cloth.

黑 *hak, hek*, black. Root AK (3) be dark. Gr. *αχ-λος*, darkness.

赫 *hak, hek*, (written **赤**, red, doubled to denote intensity) bright, glisten. This is probably from AK (1) pierce, though some might prefer AK (2); see, Sk. *ak-sha*, eye.

In these two examples we have two nearly contrary ideas, *black* and *bright*, expressed by the same sound in Chinese and Aryan; is this merely accidental?

屋 *uk, uh, wuh*. This may be connected with AK (4) or WAK (334), bend, referring to the roof. The latter also means *go crookedly*; compare **至** arrive at, the radical under which it is written. The **尸** must be *shelter*, as **广** (Chalmers) and not *body* (Williams) or from WIK, (369), come, enter; Gr. *ακ-ος*; Lat. *vic-us*, Eng. *wick*.

渥 *ak, uh*, moisten, may be from UG (337), be wet, be moist. Skt. *uksh*, wet, Gk. *υγ-ος*, moisture.

厄 *ak, ngeh*, knot in a tree, cramped, straitened. From AGH (7), to be in want, or AGH (8), compress. Gk. *αχ-ος*, poor; Lat. *eg-ere*, be in want.

阨 *ak, ngoh* (hill and compressed), a defile, embarrassed, poor, from root AGH (8), compress.

扼 *ak, ngeh* (hand and compressed), seize, grasp.

鉅 *ak, ngoh* (metal and compressed), bend, bangle; from root AK (4) to bend; compare Eng. angle, bangle.

輓 *ak, ngoh* (oar and compressed), a yoke. Perhaps bent wood, from root AK (4), or more probably from YUG (287), join, yoke. Skt. *yug-a*, yoke; Lat. *iug-um*; Gk. *ζυγ-ον*, yoke.

惡 *ok, ngoh* (hump-backed, or ugly and heart), bad. This word may be placed here. The character is composed of heart and **亞**, of which Chalmers says '亞 is a modification of 工, bent under work.' So it may be connected with Aryan root AK (4), to bend. I would rather, however, connect it with root AGH (8), compress, choke, whence come our Eng. *ug-ly ang-er*. From the same root we have Skt. *agh-a*, sin. AK and AGH themselves express cognate ideas, bend and compress.

Au. Under this sound we have several words which may be connected with Aryan AW (26) and WA (330), blow, breathe, and others with root 332 WA, be wanting.

謳 *au, ngau*, sing. The written character is composed of *words*, *coffer*, and three *mouths*. Kang Hi says the mouths mean *many*. Why so it is difficult to see. **品** is read *kü*, but also *au*; pronounced *kü* it means conceal, but from the mouths one would suspect some connection with the voice. *Au* is probably from root AW, whence we have Gk. *α-η*; Lat. *au-ra*; Eng. *air*, *soar*, &c. For the connection with *sing*, compare our *air*, tune and *air*, wind.

漚 *au, ngeu*, bubbles, spume. The connection with *blow* is clear.

鷗 *au, ngeu*, a gull. Williams says because it floats on the sea (bubbles). But we may connect it with *soar*, as Latin *au-is*, a bird, all from AW.

毆 *au, ngeu*, strike, give a *blow*. This is probably connected with **敲** &c., club, boat (see Kang Hi). This is used in connection with *chanting*, keeping time on the wooden 'fish,' hence *háu king* = recite prayers. We may, however, compare our *blow* (root BLA, puff) and *blow* = stroke (root BLAGH, strike) and so connect it with AW, blow.

We have another set of words which may be cognate with Aryan root WA (332), be wanting. Sk. *u-nu* (for *va-nu*) wanting; Eng. *wane*, *want*.

凹 *au*, 'read *wa* in the north of China.' (Williams), a depression, pit.

凹 *au, ngao*, a hollow, Canton. also, in want.

瞶 *au, ngeu*, deep-sunken eyes.

匱 *au, ngeu*, a deep cup, bowl, may be from this root. Compare **盥** *un, wan*, bowl. Our *cup* is from Sk. *kup-a*, hollow, pit.

AP, AT. Under this and similar sounds we have words cognate with Aryan roots AP (14) and KAP (47), meaning seize, bind, attain, etc.

押 *áp, yah*, seize, press.

押 *at, yah*, keep back, pawn.

遏 *at, ngoh*, stop, reach (written with **遏**, go. Sk. *ap*, attain). These three seem to be connected with AP (14).

戛 *at, (kat, Chalmers) kiah*, a lance, stammer, from KAP, hold. Gk. *αἶψα*, handle; Eng. *hast*, because it is *seized* in the hand; Lat. *cap-ere*, take; or perhaps because it is *heaved*; compare Goth. *haf-jan*, heave. The meaning stammer (*stoppage* of the words), jolting, is written with the same character, though it has no connection with lance. Referring it to the root, however, we see why the sound *at* should be used for the *holding back* of the voice.

攪 *at, yah*, pull up.

闕 *at, yah*, stop up, suffocate.

We have another set of words written in Cantonese with K and H which come from these same roots.

甲 *káp, kiah*, cover, helmet, finger nail. Williams says this is described as *wood* with a *cap* over it, or by others as a man's *head*. It is probably connected with root KAP, whence Sk. *kap-álu*, shell, skull; Gk. *καπ-αλῆ*; Lat. *cap-ut* (orig. shell, skull) Or we may connect it with the root AP, bind; hence Sk. *ap-ta*, fit; Gk. *απ-τεω*, bind; Lat. *ap-tus*, fit, *apere*, join together. If this be the derivation we have the sense of the coat of mail with its parts *co-aperted*.

夾 *káp, kiah*, take under the arms, press between two, nip up, &c. In this and the following we have the idea of two things coming together. All are from KAP (47), grasp, hold.

筴 *káp, kiah*, take up with chop sticks (which are really '*kap* sticks,' corrupted by foreigners into *chop*.)

莢 *kap, kiah*, pods of leguminous plants, where are have the idea of *shell* and also of the two joined, or pressed together.

頰 *kap, kiah*, jaws (head and press.)

袷 *kap, kiah*, lined garment, double garment, the two layers of cloth joined together.

合 *hop, hoh*, to join, fit. Comp. Sk. *ap-ta*; Lat. *ap-tus*, fit, etc.

盒 *hop, hoh*, a covered box, as a pill box with a lid *fitting* on.

盍 *hop, hoh*, to cover, unite.

恰 *hap, kiah*, (heart and joined) apply the mind to, fitly.

Most of the words under the sound *háp, hiah*, convey the idea of *pressed together*, and are connected with Aryan root KAP, (47). Thus we have:—

狎 *háp, hiah*, (dog and head, scale or join) caress, familiar, disrespectful.

匣 *háp, hiah*, (box and scale) a clothes press.

陝 *háp, hiah*, (place and press) narrows.

峽 *háp, hiah*, (hill and press) gorge.

摺 *háp, hiah, press the nails into, lacerate. And so with others.*

俠 forms an exception. In Cantonese it is pronounced *háp*, but in Mandarin *kih* and *hieh*. It means generous, helpful. We may connect it with our *capacious* from KAP (47); but I think we will be nearer right if we take it to be cognate with KALP (65) help. Sk. *kliṣ*, to be fit for, *kalp-a*, able to protect. Notice that in Sk. the *a* is softened into *i* as in Chinese sound *hieh*, which would be *hip* in Cantonese. Our Eng. *help* is from this root.

Under the sound *hip, hieh* and *kieh*, we have a number of words which partake of the meanings of KAP, hold, and KALP, help, thus:

挾 *hip, hieh, carry under the arm, help, cherish.*

協 *hip, hieh, harmony, mutual help.*

怯 *hip, kieh, (heart and gone) timid, (seeking help.)*

脅 *hip, hieh, ribs, place under the arm.*

CH. Under the Cantonese initial Ch. we have a number of words whose resemblance to the Aryan roots is not so manifest at first sight, but is no less marked to those who are familiar with philological changes. Most of the sounds under Ch. have their counterparts in Aryan and Sanskrit roots with T. S. T. and Sk. The Fohkien, Swatow and Hakka dialects are nearest the Aryan forms. *Ch* and *Ts* are often interchanged in the local patois in various parts of one province. *Ch* and *k* are interchanged in Pekinese and other Mandarin dialects as well as in the provincial dialects.

CHA. Many of the words under this sound convey the idea of *press*. We may connect them perhaps with root TAR (132) and its extension TARK (135) twist, press. The old sounds were *ta, tak*, etc. In Amoy we have the sound *t'a*.

渣 *cha, refuse after expressing juice, dregs.*

踏 *cha, press upon with the foot, tread.*

敵 *cha, press down, feel.*

揸 *cha, press in the hand, grasp.*

榨 *cha, a press for oil, sugar, etc.*

醅 *cha, a wine press.*

揸 *cha, to press down, squeeze between the hands.*

乍 *chá, suddenly, is composed of—an obstruction, ㄥ hide, and 入 enter, (Chalmers.)* We may connect it with the root TAR; hence Latin, *in-tra-re*; Eng. *enter*. The idea seems to be that of an obstruction turning aside a body in motion.

詐 *cha, deceive, cheat, may be from the same root, to twist or turn aside. Our Eng. turpitude, contrive, come from the same root.*

We have also some words with the final *k*, which may be from the same root, as

窄 *chák, tseh, narrow, compressed.*

箠 *chák, tseh, to press, brand, a quiver, etc.*

賈 *chák, tseh, this is written with 貝 precious, originally cowries, wampum, and 主 contracted form of 束 prickles (Chalmers) or 束 bind (Williams). It means to fine, to seek, to press, etc. The sense to press is from TAR. The ancient scholars who formed the written character seem to have endeavored to express the stringing of cowries, 束 *tsz*, thorn, from TAR, to pierce, bore; Sk. *tri*; Gk. *trien*, a hole; Eng. thorn, and cowry; or perhaps the entering of the sea to seek for shells and pearls.*

There are also several with the basal idea of *side, inclined*, which may be connected with this root, as is our Eng. word *turn*, as

仄 *chak, tseh, on one side, slanting.*

昃 *chak, tseh, the sun declining, afternoon.*

側 *chak, tseh, side, inclined.*

Another set of words under this sound seem to be connected with the root SKAR (407), separate. (The change of SK into CH is illustrated in Sk. *chho*, out, from Aryan SKA, cut) and Eng. *channel* from same root. Thus we have

叉 *ch'á, a fork, a prong, i.e. a branch separating from the other.*

岔 *ch'a, streams or roads diverging.*

扌 *ch'a*, to fork out.

差 „ miss the mark, err, differ.

查 „ to examine. Compare Greek *αἵρεσις*, separate, discern; Lat. *cer-nere*, separate. The meaning 'raft' is probably connected with root SKA (396), cut. Sk. *chho*, to cut. There seems to be no connection between raft and examine, but when we go back to the Aryan roots SKA and SKAR we see why the two ideas are represented by the same character in Chinese.

槎 *ch'a*, to hew wood, a small raft, &c. Here we have the same idea and sound represented by a character written with a different phonetic element. Root SKA. Connected with these roots we have (Cantonese) several words in *ai* and *ai* final. Thus:—

制 *chai, chi*, cut, make, hinder, law, &c. [written *knife* and *incomplete* (Wms.), *hund* and *cloth* (Chalmers)] from SKA, Sk. *chho*, cut.

製 *chai, chi*, written *cut* and *clothes*: To make, cut out clothes, &c.

掣 *chai, chi*, (*cut* and *hand*) hinder, (cut off) also select. The latter sense nearer to SKAR separate.

滯 *chai, chi*, water impeded, obstruct, (*cut off*).

齋 *chai, chai*, to fast, closet, room cut off, respect. (Compare *templum*, temple, from TAM (151) Gk. *τεῖον*, cut). From root SKA (596) SKAR (406), cut or kindred SKAR (407), separate. So:

齊 *chai, chai*, respect, chasten desires, also *tsai*, 210 radical, even. Notice the **刀** 'knife' in these words.

寨 *chái, chai*, stockade. Probably the basal idea is obstruct (*cut off*) written wood **木** and obstruction **塞**, the latter is *sak* (Chalmers 63). Comp. SAK (377) a variant of SKA, to cut; Lat. *sec-are*, to cut. So **塞** (earth and obstruct), to obstruct.

柴 *ch'ai*, faggots, firewood, stop. Either wood cut, SKA, or, perhaps, the brushwood as an *obstruction* in the woods; notice **止** 'to stop' in the written character. Kang Hi

says firewood that can be split is **薪** San (perhaps from root SKAN, cut) and that which is small and is *bound* in faggots is **柴**. So we may connect this with DA, to bind; there is an old sound *d'ai*.

螫 *ch'ai*, the sting of a bee, &c., is probably connected with SKA, cut. So also

嚼 *ch'ai*, gnaw, bite (*cut* with teeth).

Several words under this sound seem to be connected with root SKA 395, cover, shade; whence come Eng. *shade*, *shed*, &c. Here we may place

茶 *ch'a*, tea. Kang Hi says this is so called because the leaves were 'stored away.' The plant was originally called **茗**. We have a relic of this probably in the common sign **山水名茶** 'noted tea made with spring water;' the 'noted' **名** is a corruption of **茗**, tea, the old name of the plant.

搽 *ch'a*, to smear, cover with ointment.

察 *ch'a*, deep and retired, as rooms, sunken eyes, &c.

遮 *che*, cover, shade and **舍** *she, shie*, a *shed*, cottage, are also from this root.

From the extended root SKAD 399, Sk. *chhad*, cover, we probably have

宅 *chuk, tsch*, a dwelling. Compare from same root Latin *ca-sa*, hut, *cas-trum*, castle.

These examples will serve to illustrate the connection between the Chinese and the Aryan roots. I have notes of many more such examples. One may go through the dictionary and find under almost every sound words connected more or less intimately with these roots. I think we are justified in saying that at least one half of the Chinese words are allied to the Aryan. The likeness in some cases is striking; in others though there may not be a great superficial resemblance yet the connection may be traced according to the rules of philology quite as clearly as that of the English or Latin words that are derived from these roots in works on philology. Of course there are those who regard all such derivations as fanciful, and cannot see any connection unless it is so

plain that a child could not help seeing it. We must try to strike the medium between those who let their imagination run away with them and those who are so con-

servative that they will accept nothing that they have not found in their school books.

R. H. GRAVES.

THE TAU TE CHING.

Lau-tsze, in his 1st chapter, discusses the word Tau 道. It was the basis of his system and it has given its name to the Tauist religion.

The word Tau as used by Lau-tsze means the principle which lies at the foundation of the universe. He says at the beginning of the Tau-te-ching that it is something constant and not capable of being described in words. It is anterior to heaven. In this respect it is in contrast with the Tau of Confucius. For the Chung-yung of the school of that sage says that Tau comes from heaven. Lau-tai is the first Chinese author to speak of a Tau existing before the universe.

The word may be left untranslated, and the terms reason, primordial nature, basis of the universe, may be used to describe it. It is the absolute of some philosophers, for example, Schelling.

It is the Tai-ki of the Sung philosophers, the later Confucianists. It is the primeval breath, Khi, of the followers of Lau-tsze.

When Tau takes some form, as in a word, an act, a decree, an event, it is called in this book *ming*, 'name.' In the old Testament the use of the word name for the manifestation of God reminds us of this. Here it is the first coming out of *tau* into tangible shape that seems to be meant by the word 'name,' *ming*. The philosopher in thought finds Tau at the beginning of things and then name, just as the Bible finds at the root of the universal first God and then the manifestation of God. But, says the philosopher, it is not a name that can be named, it is permanent and universal. The idea of

the author is to begin with the absolute and to unfold it in obscure language so as to do something to teach in broad outline and with a few touches the mystery of the universe.

Tau existed when there was nothing, when heaven and earth were beginning, but the time came for the universe to be, and Tau became the mother of all things. Here there can be no doubt that the sage means to teach creation. In his mind Tau is creator, but this creator is a principle without form or personality. In the Confucian teaching of the Sung dynasty this division in time between the universe beginning and the universe begun is expressed by the phrases Wu Ki 無極 and Tai Ki 太極, the extreme of nothingness and the great extreme: these are taken from Lau-tsze's words *Wu* 'not being,' *Yeu*, 'being.' These occur also in chapter 40, all things come out of being (*Yeu*). Being comes out of not being (*Wu*). Our philosopher has before his mind the duality of being and not being, as well as that of ultimate principle and name; that is tau and ming, but *yin* and *yang*, the common and favourite duality of the Chinese generally and of the Book of changes and Book of Odes, he does not seem to care much for, except to represent the two classes of opposite properties which are inherent in all things.

These two things, 'being' and 'not being,' find their source and unity in Tau, another name for which is *Huen*, profound. They also have prefixed to them the word *chang*, 'constant,' and are therefore to be conceived of as constituting a real and perpetual

duality within Tau. The philosopher is preparing the way for the triad development which he will bring forward later. These two, not being and being, are born together. Their names differ and both are unfathomably deep.

In the 2nd chapter the author shews how the true sage adopts the principle of non action and explains that the principle of his teaching is not to use words at all.

This principle of Wu-wei 無爲, non-action, is also Confucian. Confucius says that Shun, a royal sage, ruled the empire by non-action. By this he meant that people obeyed him from admiration of his virtue. His conduct was so just and good, that there was no need of definite decrees on the part of the ruler. The Confucian Wu-wei is political, or philosophical. The Tauist Wu-wei is either political, philosophical, or ascetic. So far as it is philosophical it is the dogma that the course of nature and the life of things proceeds without effort. This is also Confucian, as in the words of Tsi Kung, addressed to Confucius: 'Although you should not speak it is much the same, you still instruct us. Does heaven speak? The seasons revolve, things grow. Does heaven speak?' Von Strauss in his full and often admirable notes on the Tau-te-king says Lau-tze may, in speaking of a teaching, without words, allude to Confucius. But there is difficulty in accepting this suggestion. Certainly the doctrine of non-action is thoroughly in Lau-tze's spirit and entirely in harmony with Tauism of later types. As the phrase teaching without words is a natural product of the non-action doctrine we may well claim it for Lau-tze, who was already old when Confucius was a young man, and who uses the same phrase elsewhere in this book.

Lau-tze adds that when things have to be done the sage does not refuse to work with nature but he still does not boast of his action.

In the 3rd chapter is taught the effect on the people of the ruling of the sage.

They have rest. They do not learn to desire luxuries. To prevent, for example, stealing, they are taught not to covet. Here appears clearly a fundamental point in Tauism, that is the repression of desires, and also the ostensible object of this book, namely to teach the art of government. Lau-tze was not intending to found a religion. He simply taught the best means of governing, being himself an officer, and interested in the good regulation of the state. The principle of success he found in the control of the passions in the governor and the governed. His philosophy is moral and far reaching. It requires the heart to be emptied of all desires and the body to be strictly ruled in order to gain strength.

In the 4th chapter the author returns to Tau, which is the source of all things. He does not know whose son it is and it is in its form older and more honourable than God (Ti).

The writer regards the original principle as ultimately impersonal and as anterior in time to Ti (God). It is worthy of remark here that the Tauists have, in later mythological creations, divided the more impersonal from the more personal. Yü-hwang-shang-ti is later in order than the 'three pure ones.' Men are supposed to have to do with him in common affairs. Hence he is more personal. The three pure ones are farther removed, have less to do with ruling and are wrapped in more mystery.

In the 6th chapter the valley spirit is said to be immortal and it is called the profound female principle. The gate of the female principle is the basis of heaven and earth.

The valley spirit is one of the peculiar expressions of Lau-tze. Ku, kok, valley, is hollow, and the ultimate principle of nature, as may be expected in this book, is empty as regards every definite form and feature. But it is also said to be a spirit. Hence the author is dealing with the eternal Tau in an entirely new aspect. He refers to Tau in the third form, the producer of

all things. He says it is called the deep womanly principle. The whole of the sentence 'the valley spirit is immortal and it is the deep womanly principle' is said in Lau-tsze to be contained in the book of Hwang-ti. Chinese writers say that the book of Hwang-ti is another name for the Tau-te-king. Here Von Strauss prefers to regard the book of Hwang-ti as a different work, earlier than Lau-tsze and thinks that Lau-tsze quoted this sentence from it. Tau being the mother of all things is called womanly. Since there is no manifestation of form it is also called Hsuen, profound.

Ku 谷, valley, also means a river because rivers flow through valleys. Hence Strauss translates Ku-shen 'out-flowing spirit' Lau-tsze uses ku for streams farther on in the book.

In the 7th chapter we have a step in the growth of the sage, who, seeing that heaven and earth are long enduring, because in producing they do not intend to produce and in living do not consciously live, imitates heaven and earth in self government. Therefore, he keeps his body behind and outside of his conscious thought. So he makes his body powerful and long enduring.

In the 8th chapter water is made to illustrate the good man's action. Water blesses but claims no reward. Elsewhere the author says water is the weakest of things in form but the strongest in its effects.

In the 10th chapter the author shows that he is aware of the distinction between soul and body; of this distinction there is very little said in the Confucian classics. He recommends concentration of effort upon the control of the living principle, k'i, so that it may be pliant like an infant.

In the 12th chapter the five colours are said to cause blindness and the five sounds deafness. Strauss says that the five sounds in old Chinese were C, D, E, G, A and that they were the same with the five notes of old Scotch airs. The notes F and B are avoided. Strauss finds in the short rhym-

ing lines of this and several other chapters quotations made by Lau-tsze from earlier poetical compositions. In this case he supposes that here we have a fragment of some lost Taoist author anterior to Lau-tsze.

The teaching of Lau-tsze comes here, and in the 13th chapter, very near to that of Buddha. Buddha taught that matter is mischievous in its influence and he also spoke of matter under categories of five, six and the like. Chinese Buddhist authors have persistently maintained that Lau-tsze obtained his doctrines from the West and appeal to tradition as well as to the character of the teaching of this sage in proof.

In the 13th chapter the author says, 'the cause of my meeting with calamities is in my having a body.' This is a thoroughly Buddhist sentiment, but it is also Hindoo. Can Lau-tsze have learned it from India?*

In the 11th chapter occur three foreign words, ai, kai,† mai, apparently representative of one or three names of God. The Chinese characters employed to write them mean invisible, inaudible and intangible, or distant, vacant, subtle. They are 夷 yi, 'even,' 'barbarian,' 微 hi, 'rare,' 'few,' 希 wei, 'subtle.' These three being inseparable are mixed and are in fact one. This triune being above is not bright, below is not dark. He is formless and cannot be seen. He cannot be named. He goes back to nothing.

The Jesuits and Remusat found the Hebrew Jehovah in the three words, Ji, Hi, Wei. So also does Von Strauss. Julien regards them as Chinese words and contents himself with following Chinese critics without really attacking the question on an independent basis.

* The three characters are in Twan-yü-ts'ai's 19th class. Their sound should be, therefore, ai, kai, mai, or e, ke, me. See my Chinese characters, p 177.

† Lau-tsze was a native of 楚 Ch'u, a kingdom extending South far enough to embrace many tribes speaking Himalaic languages. Hindoo ideas might enter this way.

Lau-tze pronounced the three characters very nearly as I have given them. They certainly rhymed, for the same characters rhyme in the Book of Odes. Lau-tze would naturally treat the characters both as foreign and as Chinese. His commentators would, of course, treat them only as Chinese words seeing that they all bear one or more plain meanings. We have not here the original words for the first trinity of the Babylonian religion. They are in the Assyrian or semitic form Anu, Bel, Nuah. In Accadian they were Ilu, Enu, Hia. Of these Ilu was the Supreme God, source of chaos, in Chinese Hwun tun or Hwun lun. In this chaos all forms were confounded as is the case with the Tauist chaos. Bel, or Enu, is the word which separates the elements of chaos. Nuah, or Hia, is the light of God which penetrates the universe, and maintains the order established by the word. It was this Trinity of God, in the language of some intermediate nation which Lau-tze appears to have had in view in the various passages where he speaks of the original principle of the universe in a triple form.

Lau-tze, in treating of God and of the origin of the universe, was not in accord with Chinese philosophy and religion. He was, therefore, probably indebted to some foreign source for this entirely new cosmogonical philosophy. He would not invent a system so closely resembling Mesopotamian thought, self prompted and alone. It was his work to select what suited him among the materials at his disposal, and, after manipulating them in the crucible of his own mind, to give them to the world in the form they take in his book. His selections were made from old Chinese thought, popular ideas, ideas from the West, ideas from the South and his own original thoughts.

In the 16th chapter the author discusses quietness, Tsing. It is the apposite of movement. Tung is action, Tsing is re-action. Tsing is the return to the root, and to that which was bestowed by decree, ming 命.

He who does this obtains permanence and clearness. Still water is clear.

Here is briefly stated another of the principles of Tauism. It is fully in accord with the Wu-wei principle already discussed and which existed in the old Chinese philosophy.

In the 18th chapter Lau-tze alludes to a primitive age, as marked by the prevalence of Tau. 'When Tau ceased to prevail benevolence and rectitude were taught.' In the 19th chapter he says: 'When sages are rejected and the wise no longer desired the wealth of the people will increase a hundred fold. When benevolence and rectitude are discarded the people will again become filial and kindhearted.' Such language as this seems to imply that the writer thought the advice of sages superfluous. The world would in his opinion be better without them. On this account Lau-tze has been severely blamed by Confucianists.

In the 25th chapter, says Von Strauss, 'our thinker returns to his chief subject and we meet here a grasp of thought, a height of contemplation, a purity of conception in the things of God such as we seek in vain anywhere in pre-Christian times except in the Jewish scriptures.'

There was something, says Lau-tze, which existed complete in the time of chaos before heaven and earth. Silent and empty it stands alone and does not change. It goes everywhere and does not fall into danger. It may be called mother of the world. I do not know its name. I called it Tau. For want of a better title, I will call it Ta Tau, Great Tau; as great I call it the transitory, the distant, the returning. Therefore Tau is great, heaven is great, earth is great, the king is also great. In the lands there are four things that are great and the king is among them. Man makes earth his model, earth makes heaven its model, heaven makes Tau its model, Tau has for its model only its own spontaneity.

This is Lau-tze's conception of God, a being who can only be dimly known and

imperfectly described, at the same time mother of all things and substratum of the world which contains all things. As creating he ascribed to God the personality of a mother. As essentially and eternally existing he makes use of brief and expressive phrases which suggest to us a principle incomprehensible but always in movement, without beginning and unconquerable in power.

In the 29th chapter the design of this book to serve as a political manual of principles seems to be apparent in the words: 'The empire is a vessel having in it a soul. It is not right to act. To act is to destroy it. He who holds it will lose it.' The meaning is avoid ungracious restrictions. Govern without appearing to govern.

In the 30th chapter Tau is introduced as employed by ministers in helping the prince. They may with the help of Tau dispense with soldiers. Thorns grow in the camping ground of an army and bad harvests follow close behind.

In the 32nd chapter the author begins with saying that Tau is eternal and without a name. He has an aversion to definite statement if asked what it is, because of the mystery and inscrutability which wrap it up. But it must be named in some way or how could the world know what it is or obtain conscious benefit from it? He proceeds, therefore, to suggest that it is a plain simplicity, p'u 樸. In this case, unfortunately, although it is insignificant, the world is afraid to be under its control. Yet in the hands of princes who are true to it, the world submits with willingness. It is like the combined action of heaven and earth in sending down dew. Men without a definite decree would live in harmony. Begin to make rules, cause Tau to acquire a name, and see what the result will be. Definite names and laws are assigned and the governor learns soon to content himself and rest. In learning where to stop consists the avoidance of danger.

Chalmers renders it 'he should ever begin to regulate things with distinctions of names.'

This appears to be the sense, for Lau-tze is here advocating a certain mode of government. Balfour, in translating 'in the beginning a name was fabricated,' leaves politics and goes back to creation. This can hardly be right, the expression 知止 'know when to stop' below, is said of the governor of a state. Lastly Tau in the empire is also compared to streams which flow to the great river into the sea and stop there in the great unity.

In the 33rd chapter the question of the continued existence of certain persons after death is touched upon. Unfortunately, the language is too laconic for us to feel sure that Lau-tze believed in this doctrine. He may have meant posthumous influence only. His words are: 'The contented are rich. Those who act energetically have a strong will. He who does not lose his foot-hold, lengthens his tenure of life. He who at death does not perish acquires longevity.' Balfour says this is just the idea of the Positivists. Men's works and doctrines live after them. Strauss says, he who dies and does not at the same time perish must have won his foot-hold for eternity. He does not cease to live, although he dies. Rather has he now attained longevity, that is to say, eternal life.

Tauist commentators find in these words of Lau-tze a statement of their doctrine that men may by certain methods obtain natural immortality. The 'foot-hold' is p'u, plain simplicity of nature. A man must keep firm hold on simple Tau. Then when the body dies, the soul, *tsing ying*, may last a thousand ages and never decay. Tau, when it is embodied in certain men and they have passed through a long period, does not allow them to drown in water, or burn in fire. They may then continue without dying. But if they die the body decays, and the soul remains unhurt. Just as the caterpillar discards its chrysalis and changes to a butterfly and the snake drops his skin, and yet does not die. This is the longevity of which Lau-tze speaks.

We must not, however, follow these Tauists in this interpretation, for it was not till a later age that this sort of language appeared in authors professing this religion.

In the 35th chapter, the author, in speaking of Tau, uses the same phraseology as in the 14th. If looked at it is not visible. If listened to it is not heard. If used it is inexhaustible.

In the 37th chapter we read, Tau is constantly inactive. Yet there is nothing it cannot do. If kings and governors can but act according to Tau men will reform themselves. If after reformation the desires re-appear, I can subdue them by the unnamed simplicity. The unnamed simplicity leading them to feel no desires, there will be quietness and the people will all correct their faults.

In the 38th chapter the word *Te*, 'virtue,' is explained. The highest virtue is not that of intention but that of spontaneous birth. It is found then in non-action and becomes efficient in all ways when not aimed at. Virtue comes after Tau. Benevolence comes after virtue. Rectitude follows benevolence. Propriety comes after Rectitude.

Lau-tsze, while in some things revolutionary, did not attempt to subvert the order of the virtues. This language is quite in accordance with Confucian doctrine.

In the 39th chapter Tau is spoken of as Unity. The things which of old obtained unity are heaven, earth, spirits, valleys, all beings, and governors and kings. Unity gave clearness to heaven, firmness to earth, keen activity to spirits, filling up to valleys, life to all things, and the power to become models of correctness to kings. Without this uniting bond heaven, earth and all things would have fallen to ruin.

In the 42nd chapter the creation of the world by evolution is described. Tau produced one. One produced two. Two produced three. Three produced all things.

We have in the Li-king an evolution of another kind. The Tai-ki produces the two spheres. The two spheres produce the four

figures. The four figures produce the eight Kwa of divination. Beside this we find the expressions 'heaven presides over the beginning of things and earth over their completion.' This action is explained as that of thunder, wind, rain, sunshine, lunar influence, cold and heat. Nothing is said here of cosmogony.

Consequently, the cosmogony of Lau-tsze is the earliest Chinese cosmogony.

The text proceeds to say that the things newly born carried on their backs the dark qualities Yin and in their arms the bright qualities Yang. Breath ascending mingled with them, occasioning harmonious life.

The author then abruptly proceeds to another subject, so abruptly that Strauss supposes that this passage like many others in this book may be borrowed from earlier Tauist authors whose names and books are lost.

Remusat, struck by the same break in continuity and by the use made of numbers, and especially the number three in this remarkable passage, supposed that we have proof here of the doctrines of Pythagoras, having in some way reached China and become known to Lau-tsze.

I am inclined rather to find here marks of the presence of Babylonian thought, because the Babylonians navigated the Indian seas, were fond of numbers, and had an evolutionary theogony and cosmogony, in which the number three played an important part. Some of the Tauists pass over this suggestive passage very briefly in late editions of the book. They simply say that Tau produced the most attenuated possible vapour, called K'i. This vapour produced Yin and Yang. Yin and Yang produced Heaven, Earth and Man, the three Powers, and these three powers produced all things, or else they say the Wu-ki 無極 produced the 太極 Tai-ki, thus identifying Tau with Wu-ki. But in so doing they simply adopt a later Confucian cosmogony out of respect to the fame and scholarship of the literati of the 10th, 11th and 12th centuries, who

were fond of this sort of philosophy and borrowed it from intermediate Taoist writers. It seems evident that Yin and Yang are not meant by two, the second step in the evolution. For Yin and Yang are kept for separate mention farther on and appear as a new pair of factors coming on the scene after the evolution is complete.

With more probability one, two, and three are Anu, Bel and Nuah, without the names. Lau-tze mentions no names in his book. If this supposition be correct One is the Supreme God, Two is Enu, or Bel, the word, which separates the elements of chaos. Three is Hia, who sheds light everywhere. If any one should object that these names ought to be here, it may be replied that Lau-tze has an evident aversion to proper names and that he had a preference for terse, abstruse, suggestive, and often ambiguous, expressions. His aim was wide, his thought deep and his natural bent was to follow his thought boldly and independently to its destination wherever that might be. When he used three foreign words to represent God he selected for them Chinese characters whose sense suited the idea of God. Another objection that may be made is that the Babylonian triad of Gods becomes in the hands of Lau-tze too like the Jewish and Christian Trinity. It may be answered that Lau-tze's idea of God is an evolution in three steps. The ultimate impersonal principle produces the first form in the Godhead. The first form produces the second. The second produces the third. There are important differences in this view from the Athenasian representation of the Trinity. Strauss calls on his readers to admire the remarkable traces of the Trinitarian doctrine of god in Lau-tze and decides for Jewish influence as the cause. The learned Jesuits of last century were quite persuaded that there are manifest traces of the presence of Jews in China in the Chow and Han dynasties. It is probable that there were Jews in China then. Trade would bring them from Central Asia and the

Book of Esther shows how widely spread they were in the Persian empire in the fifth century before Christ. Whatever view we adopt we must make allowance for Lau-tze's own originality. Perhaps, the transition from the impersonal to the personal was his own.

Lau-tze's office at court rendered it the simplest thing possible that he should become acquainted with documents connected with commercial embassies. The embassies from Cochin-China in the 11th century before Christ would have some connexion with Babylon because the olepsydra appeared in China then, this being a Babylonian instrument. Pharaoh Necho's ships circumnavigated Africa and returned to Egypt by the Mediterranean about B.C. 600. Nebuchadnezzar was then living and Babylon was at the height of its prosperity. Its navigation was not likely to be behind that of the Egyptians. The introduction of Buddhism in the first century after Christ is a striking example of the effects of western thought on the Chinese. But it was by no means the first. Lau-tze belonged to the Ch'oo country, which reached far to the south and was the natural pathway for communication with Cochin-China. The traditions which connect the emperor Shun with the Hunan and Kwangsi region are worthy of careful consideration and so also are those which allude to Pan Ku, the Chinese Adam (apparently a Babylonian personage), for they extend south nearly to Canton. There was communication both by sea and through central Asia. The three embassies to China in the 11th century before Christ, to which Professor Terrien de la Carperie has just called renewed attention, came to China all by the southern route.

In the description of the work of creation, a work which Lau-tze here ascribes to the third manifestation of God, there is a special place assigned to Yin and Yang. They appear as attributes and properties of objects. The rising vapour called Ki unites them into harmonious combination. It seems prefera-

ble to keep Yin and Yang apart from the representation of God, and limit their sphere to created things. The Ki must here be regarded as the breath which all living beings inhale and which unites them into one. It is often Hine C'hi 血氣, blood and breath. To possess blood and breath is a common expression for living beings.

Strauss thinks that Yin, Yang and Ki are produced by the first, second and third manifestations of God respectively. I prefer to regard Yin as the darkness of chaos, Yang as light and K'i as the spirit moving on the face of the waters. These three features come out quite clearly in the Biblical account of creation and in the Babylonian account which, in so many respects, resembles it. Yin, Yang must be regarded as Chinese ideas borrowed from Median or Babylonian philosophy, an earlier period. They appear as dualism in Yi Ching. The remaining element K'i is apparently of foreign origin, occurring first in Lau-tsze's account of creation. Earlier authors use this word only in the sense 'breath.'

On the whole it seems best to suppose that the foreigners from whom Lau-tsze directly, or indirectly, obtained his ideas on God were not of any one nation. These views may have been brought to China by men from Bactria by land, or from Babylon, India, and Arabia by sea. Whatever knowledge Lau-tsze received from Jew, Persian, Babylonian, Arab or Hindoo he sifted and modified as he saw fit. What we see in his book is the result of his selection and deliberate adoption. In the 50th chapter there is great difficulty in the path of the commentator. Lau-tsze says: 'Man comes out when he is born and enters at death. The path of life has thirteen stages. The path of death has thirteen stages. The places where men, during their time of active movement may die are also thirteen. Why so? Because of the ardent love of life which they have, for I have heard that he who is skilled in guarding his own life when travelling by land does not meet

the rhinoceros and tiger. If he enters an army he does not avoid the soldier in his coat of mail. The rhinoceros is not able to direct his horn at him. The tiger cannot use his claws. The soldier cannot use his sword. Why so? Because he has not arrived at the place of death.'

One Tauist mode of explaining this is to regard it as having reference to the moon. Each moon has three decades, or ten taken three times. On the 3rd day the dark moon appears (p'e 魄 animal, soul); on the 15th the moon is full; on the 16th darkness encroaches. On the 28th the dark moon is lost. From 3 to 15 count 13. From 16 to 28 count 13. Here 3 and 16 are included. Man is like the moon for he has also first life and then death. Wood counts six and fire counts seven.

The defect in this mode of explaining is that in Lau-tsze's time the elements wood and fire were not supposed to revolve in the way here mentioned under certain numerical conditions.

Another Tauist explanation is of a moral kind. Thirteen is the number of the passions which shorten life; they were the enemies of man and if man conquers them he can attain long life. This school of commentators aims at elucidating and confirming the Tauist belief in the power of attaining victory over death and decay by subduing the passions. But the number 13, which they say is the six passions and seven desires, is not capable of reasonable explanation in this way.

Strauss finds here an extract from some lost Tauist author and this is not improbable. For there is no plausible explanation of the number 13. The word 徒, t'u, translated by Julien, 'causes,' by Chalmers 'ministers,' by the late Tauists t'u, 'path,' for 途, by Balfour 'organs of life' in one case and 'causes of death, in the other, had, perhaps, better be taken in the sense employed by the late Tauists.

In the 51st chapter Lau-tsze recurs to the subject of creation by Tau. The

various objects which people the universe obtain birth from Tau, nourishment from the efficient energy of Tau, form from the thing itself and perfection from certain inherent tendencies. All things, therefore, give honour to Tau and to the energy of Tau. This energy is called 玄德 'secret energy.'

In the 52nd chapter it is said the world had that at its beginning which became the world's mother. When the mother is known the child is known. A Tauist commentator finds in these sentences the original Tau, the 1st personal divinity, the second and the third. Another commentator says the child here spoken of means all within the realms of nature. The mother is Tau.

It is further said if he stop his enjoyments, and shut the door of passion, he will for his whole life never need to make an effort. If he give rein to enjoyment and help outward temptation to prevail, he will not during his own life be saved.

Strauss finds in the 52nd chapter the belief in the continued existence of the soul. He bases it on the rendering of Chung Shen 終身, usually meaning the 'whole of life' by 'end of life.' He says this chapter treats not on the absence of danger, fatigue, salvation and perdition during this life but at his death.

What this chapter really shews is that the return to the mother, the eternal Tau, is the constant duty and consolation of the son. The Tauist comment says: 'The mother and son care each for the other. If the son every day runs away from home and quite forgets to ask the four morning and evening, winter and summer questions in regard to her comfort which a son ought to ask his mother even if he should obtain the official honours which confer glory on parents, yet his mother, who has expended on him so much care, thought and energy will not avoid decay. It is because he grasps after the actual material advantage 有 and neglects to return to the original vacancy, 無, and, therefore, it is not

to be wondered at. The thing to be done is during his whole life to return to his mother in thought and endeavour, so that he and she may not meet danger.

Lau-tze regarded the Tau which is the basis of the universe as a mother to whom we owe thoughtful care and affection. In our own persons the avoidance of evil and securing long life by restraining the passions is the practical way in which we may take filial care of Tau, the mother of all living things.

Perhaps, it cannot be inferred from this passage that Lau-tze had a conscious pre-intimation of a future life. Yet when he lived the thought of the soul's separate existence was not unfamiliar to the Chinese as the passage from the odes cited by Strauss shows. It is the well known one where Wen-wang, after his death, is said to be ascending and descending in the presence of the Supreme Ruler. Lau-tze's intense confidence in and admiration for the Tau as mother of all things would tend to make death to him a welcome event.

In the 67th chapter we meet with the words: 'I have three precious things, the first is mercy, the second is frugality, the third is not venturing to be chief among the men of the world.'

This language lends nobleness to the character of Lau-tze. He had a true superiority to the world. His asceticism had something lofty in it. It was not for himself alone that he would cultivate quietness and unworldliness.

Some Tauists explain the word *ts'ze*, 'mercy,' as 'forbearance,' 'patience.' Lau-tze says that mercy makes men brave in battle. This is by the avoidance of anger and sudden ebullitions of energy. Bravery is firm and enduring, and this in the hero takes the form of consideration for others. He who can fight without anger will win.

With this agrees what is said in the 68th chapter. He who is an able soldier has not the aspect of a fighting man. He who is a good warrior does

not grow angry. Strauss seems to be wrong here in translating Shi, 士 leader. Balfour also seems to have erred in giving it the sense 'scholar.' One etymology makes 士 a combination of 十 ten and 一 one. This is said to have originated with Confucius, who occasionally studied the origin of characters. Another etymology is based on an old copy of Lau-tze, in which the form is a compound of 木 wood and 一 one. This had in the Lien-wen the form of 𣎵 ts'ai, ability. Shi, scholar, may be the best men in ten, or it may be the man of proved ability. I prefer the latter. The sound is then explained. Shi and ts'ai both come from dzai, ability. Shi then means the able one, whether military or civil.

In the 69th chapter Lau-tze enters on the discussion of the use of tau, his favourite principle in military command. Commentators of the Tauist school say that he did this not that he liked to speak of war but to enable him to raise his protest in regard to a thing that he hated. This chapter begins with a quotation from the current military maxims of the time. I do not venture to be the attacking party, I prefer to be the attacked. I venture not to advance an inch. I prefer to retreat a foot. Lau-tze sees in this the action of Tau, the principle of humility. He admires this want of arrogant eagerness to fight. He says there is no greater danger than to despise an enemy. To despise an enemy is to endanger the loss of the three things he prizes, and he who weeps over wounds and death (is compassionate and therefore forbearing) will conquer.

Lau-tze's idea was to teach a method for governing a people which should extend into all departments of the administration.

He had no idea of founding a separate religion. He simply aimed to expound the principle he calls Tau. In the 73rd chapter he says: 'The Tau of Heaven struggles not and yet is able to conquer, speaks not and yet is always able to meet the needs of the time and the place.'

Lau-tze's view on retributive providence may be strikingly illustrated by what he says on the net of heaven. The net of heaven is wide enough to embrace every thing. Nothing escapes through its meshes large as they may be.

Lau tze taught that God is three in one. Heaven, earth and all things were created by God. There was a process of evolution in God in three steps or periods. God is either impersonal or personal. As impersonal Lau-tze calls him Tau, the eternal nameless principle, which is the basis of nature, the source of life and morality. Tau gives wisdom to the sage and the power to govern to the king. On God as personal Lau-tze does not dwell. He mentions Ti once only. His effort is consistently directed to shew how Tau, by its omnipresent activity and unbroken succession of silent victories, is the true teacher of man. What this ever acting Tau teaches us is quietness, humility, self control, mildness and consideration for others. To act without seeming to act, to win without seeming to win, are the lessons of the great universal mother. We must be returning to the mother out of filial regard and in order to be instructed and guided all through our life. What we do must be controlled by Tau. Of course, at death there is a return to Tau. Lau-tze does not anticipate personal individuality after death.

J. EDKINS.

Peking, August 14, 1884.

HAKKA SONGS.

更深深時夜深深頭更將
盡二更臨眼底望穿仍
不到燈盞有油枉爲心一

The watch is far advanced and so is the night; the first watch is over and the second beginning. I am straining my eyes sore and yet he does not come. The oil-lamp runs dry and all my yearning is in vain.

鷗翠飛來塘壑企滿身
穿着紫羅衣塘裏有魚風
作浪眼中看飽肚中饑一

Like a kingfisher lighting on the bank and covered all over with gorgeous attire, he sees no fish but only ripples in the pond, feasting his eyes whilst his belly is empty.

送郎送到天井邊看見烏
雲在半天保佑即刻落場
西北水留轉咱郎歇一天一

I escort my lad I escort him to the skylight where I see black clouds poised in mid air. Oh! would that a good north-west storm would come on, so that I could keep my lad back another day!

亞妹生成一朵花好
過前朝張麗華若肯啖
哥同結配願介廟宇
神明咱都願去扶也一

My lass is shaped like unto a flower, more lovely than Chang Li-hwa of olden times. If she would only betroth herself to me, there is not a single joss in any temple to which I would not do reverence.

亞妹生成一朵花恰似紫
羌初出茅若肯啖哥做下
風流事好過上京中探花一

My lass is shaped like unto a flower, just like the young ginger when it first blossoms. If she would only do a little flirting with me, I should like it better than going to the capital and getting a wranglership.

人着白衫白荅荅咱着白
衫上坭塵人家連妹三
五隻咱連一隻就斷情一

Some folks wear coats of snowy white, whilst I wear a white coat dabbled over with mud: some folks manage to come over half-a-dozen girls, whilst if I get one I soon lose her.

送郎送到白石陂囑咐咱
郎愛知機荒村野店眠
宜早落兩狂風起要遲一

I escort my lad, I escort him to the white stone dam, and I beseech my lad to be careful of himself: to retire early in out of the way villages and inns, and to rise late when it rains or blows hard.

送郎送到大路下囑咐咱
郎買兩遮買遮愛買橫
絹面好被亞妹轉娘家一

I escort my lad, I escort him to the high road, and I enjoin my lad to buy an umbrella. In buying an umbrella he should buy one of cross-ribbed silk, so that I may take it when I re-visit my parents.

衫爛褲爛膝頭穿冇人連
袖正知寒亞妹若肯佬哥
連一下亞哥骨格也酸軟—

With coat torn and trousers torn and knees
peeping through, one feels all the colder
when there is no one to mend them. If the
lass would only patch them up for me, I
should feel quite all-overish about it.

送郎一灣又一灣囑咐
咱郎要機關行路務須早
落店莫來行到日歸山—

I escort my lad to one corner and still an-
other, and I exhort my lad to be careful: on
the road to retire to rest early in the inns
and not to trudge along until the sun has
set.

打蠔姑之打蠔姑人言你
來係賤猪家裏有蔴你
唔續着唔來由日曬烏—

Oyster fishing girl, oyster fishing girl, peo-
ple will say that you are a coarse pig!
When you have flax at home to spin, why
do you allow yourself to be sunburnt?

打蠔姑之打蠔姑就係探
來日曬烏家裏有蔴留來
長久續晒烏頭髮好搵油—

Oyster fishing girl, oyster fishing girl, I
have come here on purpose to be burnt in
the sun. I have flax at home which I can
spin at any time, and the hair takes the oil
all the better for being tanned in the sun.

天上又想落水又想
晴亞妹又想斷情又想
想行等隻媒人來說合
那條情義正斷唔成—

As the weather hesitates between sunshine
and rain, so the lass hesitates between break-
ing off and consenting. Wait until a go-
between comes and arranges it all, and then
it will be impossible to break off our af-
fection.

連妹唔到命間歹削開頭
髮去食齋棒隻木魚來打下
又怕有拜神娘子可憐咱—

My luck is so bad I can't get any girl to
carry on with me. I will cut off my hair
and take to fasting, and strike blows upon
the wooden prayer block, when I daresay if
I pray to the gods some woman may have
pity on one.

連妹愛連好頸花你
一晚唔去佢會來惹
眼拐一丟還過得頸
花一擺哥就一身麻—

If you make up to a girl make up to a co-
quettish one, who will come and bother you
if you let an evening pass without a visit.
You can, perhaps, withstand a sly glance
from her, but a coquettish shake of the head
makes you creep all over.

十介手指八介丫又愛
賺錢又愛花又愛寄錢歸
家使又愛有錢包貨麻—

I have ten fingers and eight spaces between
with which to earn money and to go a court-
ing: to send money home to my parents, and
to have money myself to keep a sweetheart
with.

日頭一出半天高亞妹
梳頭搭做朝囑妹愛梳龍
鳳斧做朝愛曉酒燉燒—

When the sun is halfway up the sky, the
lass combs her hair and prepares breakfast.
Lassie you must do up your hair in its best
style, and you must warm up some wine for
breakfast.

連妹唔到咱教你你莫着
白衫帶鎖匙着緊白衫人
影大鎖匙一响人又知—

If you cannot manage to get a girl to make
up to you I'll tell you what. Don't you
wear a white coat or carry keys with you.

A white coat shews out the form of the man and if he jangles his keys people know he is there.

亞妹生成白鵲鷄飛籬拔壁
來影咱等咱亞哥變介半天
角鷄子抓過嶺背擺下豺。—
The lass is shaped like a white chicken as she jumps over the hedge, flits about the wall and appears before me. Now if I could only change myself into a sweeping kite, grab her upon the mountain ridge and feast upon her.

天上雲多月不明塘中魚
多水有停朝內奸多攪
壞國亞妹郎多亂了情。—
When there are many clouds in the sky the moon is not bright: When there are many fish in the pond the water is not still: when there are many rogues at court the country is disturbed; and when the lass has many lovers her affections are spoiled.

妹呀你新做荷包白布
裡亞哥看到又想荷包又
想你想荷包檢來裝錢使
想妹同哥結埋做夫妻。—
My lass this new purse with a white cloth lining which you are making and which attracts my notice makes me think half of you and half of the purse I think of the purse as a useful thing to put money in and I think of you what a nice wife you would make for me.

打火唔普石冇芽亞哥連
妹唔到怨那嘅又唔怨得
圍場風水到怨在喺家有
嘴嗎。—If the flint has no edge you cannot strike a light, but what are you to blame if you cannot get a sweetheart? It will not do to blame the house because there is no luck in it, but you must blame your own tongue for want of glibness.

大路蕩蕩遇到娘手搭涼
帽唔問郎手中花鉤都係
郎打個誰人攞壞他心腸。—
He meets a lassie on the long highroad. In her hand she carries her summer hat, but she does not notice him: yet the bangles on her wrist are a gift from him; who then has been slandering him in her presence?

哥眼關來妹眼關恰似蛾
眉月出山彼此雖然情意
好唔得埋身也是閑。—The lad glances at the lass and the lass glances too, just like the new moon peeping over the hills. Although the two entertain the greatest affection for each other, yet they might as well be strangers unless they are united.

妹呀你生來唔好鬧吊歪
路上相逢你唔問咱惹頭
上花鉤都係咱打個那嘅
攞壞惹心懷。—Now my lass, you need not be so saucy, not even noticing me when you meet me on the road. Those golden hairpins of yours were all bought by me. Who then has been corrupting your heart?

隔遠吊妹白些些行前好
似一枝花若肯俾咱亞哥
摘一下好過朝中做老爺。—
Far off I espy the lassie as white as snow, just like a flower as she comes this way. Now if you would only allow me to pluck you, I should like it better than being an officer at Court.

錫打戒指真出奇面上
鋪金送俾你雖然物小人
情重心中係錫你愛知。—
Now here is a wonderful thing, a pewter finger-ring gilded over which I give to you.

Though the thing is trifling the sentiment is deep; the pith of it being love as you must know [a play, apparently, upon the word *sia* 'love'].

送郎送到茶寮下放落
行囊來飲茶飲茶愛飲燒
茶好莫飲冷茶惹到沙。

I escort my lad, I escort him as far as the tea-house. He puts down his purse in payment of the tea. Now when you drink tea, always drink it hot; never provoke a chill by drinking cold tea.

行船走馬三分險.—There is always a certain danger in travelling by boat or on horseback.

ON CHINESE APOLOGUES.

(Concluded from Vol. XII, p. 412.)

III. THE APOLOGUE OF THE CICADA, MANTIS, GOLDFINCH AND HUNTER.

In the historical novel called the 'History of the various States under the Eastern Chou dynasty,'* Book 18, Chapter 82 (fol. 19 vers.), we read as follows:—

Translation.

Having forced Wu Tze-hsü to commit suicide, [the king of Wu] Fuch'ai now appointed Popt 伯嚭 [who had belonged to a party hostile to Wu Tze-hsü] chief secretary of state.† But the heir apparent, Prince Yu 太子友, well knowing that [his father] the King intended again to enter into an alliance with certain states of the Middle Kingdom, was resolved to warn his father earnestly [against the dangers of such a policy], and as he was afraid thereby to excite his father's wrath, he hit on the idea of enlightening the King's mind by way of a simile.‡ One day therefore, early in the morning, hiding mud pellets in his bosom and holding a crossbow in his hand, he approached the palace from the garden

situated behind it, and appeared before his father with wet clothes and shoes. The King of Wu was astonished at this, and asked what it signified.

'Just now, my father,' replied the Prince, 'I was walking in the garden behind the palace, when all at once I heard the song of a cicada from the boughs of a high tree. On approaching the tree, I saw the cicada singing the protracted notes of its ditty in the breeze of the morning, thinking that it had found a comfortable place of repose. It little knew that it was in danger from a mantis who, skipping from bough to bough and hopping through the twigs of the tree, was just then stretching its body and lifting its paws, eager to seize and eat it. But while the whole attention of the mantis was turned towards the cicada, it little knew that it was itself in danger from a goldfinch who, fluttering to and fro in the shade of the green leaves, was eager to eat it. And whilst the whole attention of the goldfinch was turned towards the mantis, he little knew that I, your son, was standing there with the pellets and bow, eager to shoot him. And I, whilst my whole attention was turned towards the goldfinch, knew as little as they, that there was a ditch at my side. I slipped and fell into it.'

* 東周列國志 Tung Chou Lieh-kuo-chih (already mentioned in Sect. II. General Observations).

† 相國 *hsiang⁴-kuo*.

‡ In Chinese 諷諫 *fēng-chien* 'a warning conveyed by means of a simile.'

And this is the reason why my clothes and shoes are wet, so that I have been laughed at by my father, the King.'

The King of Wu said: 'In your eagerness to get hold of the advantage before your eyes, you paid no attention to the danger behind your back. No greater folly than this can be imagined on the face of the earth.' The Prince replied:—'And still there is greater folly than this on the earth. There is the state of Lu (=Southern Shantung), the sovereigns of which are the descendants of the Duke of Chou, which calls the doctrine of Confucius its own, and which does not think of any encroachments upon its neighbours; but Ts'i (=Northern Shantung) nevertheless went without any reason to war with it, thinking that Lu was sure to become its prey. It little knew that our own kingdom of Wu (=Kiangsu) would put all its warriors into the field and attack it at a distance of a thousand li. Again Wu has gained a great victory over the forces of Ts'i, and thinks that Ts'i is sure to become its prey. It little knows that the King of Yüeh (=modern Chekiang) is preparing to select undaunted warriors, with whom he will break forth from the mouth of the Three Streams, enter the Five Lakes, lay waste our kingdom of Wu, and destroy our royal palace. A greater folly than this course of action [on the part of Wu] cannot be found on the face of the earth.'

Thereupon the King of Wu became angry etc.

[The novel then goes on to say that the King did not desist from his intentions, the next event mentioned in the text being his meeting with Duke Ai 哀公 of Lu in T'o-kao].

Notes and Observations.

The chronological limits by which we find our apologue, as it were, surrounded, are amply sufficient to fix the date to which it is ascribed, with great accuracy.

We have seen that Wu Tsze-hsü died in B.C. 484 or 483. The meeting of King

Fuch'ai with Duke Ai at T'okao took place in the 12th year of Duke Ai or in the 37th year of the Emperor Ching 敬王, corresponding to B.C. 483.* Consequently our fable was, according to the Tung Chou Lieh-kuo-ohih, invented by the Prince of Wu in B.C. 484 or 483.

Lu had been invaded by Ts'i in the spring of 484 (Legge, Vol. V., p. 844, chapter XI. g. 1). The battle mentioned in the apologue, in which Wu 吳 had gained a great victory over Ts'i, was the battle of Ai-ling 艾陵, which had likewise taken place in 484, in the summer. (Legge, l.l. § 4).†

The kingdom of Wu 吳 was considered as a barbarian state and did not belong to the China proper of the Chou dynasty; the states of China proper (Lu, Ts'i etc.) are therefore designated in the text of our fable as the Middle Kingdom (中國), in opposition to Wu.

On the Duke of Chou see Mayers, Manual No. 67; and on the wars of Yüeh with Wu, *ibid*, No. 139 and No. 276 (articles Fuch'ai and Kou Tsien).

As regards the Three Streams and the Five Lakes, several conflicting opinions of various authorities are enumerated in the Commentary on the semi-historical work Wu Yüeh Ch'un-ch'iu (Book 3, fol. 15, 6-8). As, however, I have not been able to identify the majority of the names there mentioned with modern geographical designations, I will not enter into details here,

* See Legge's Chinese Classics Vol. V., p. 828, Chapter XII., § 3, or the T'ung-chien Kang-mu under the year 483.

† In the text of his translation (Vol. V., p. 824, Chapter XI., § 4; p. 825b), alin. 3, and in the Index of proper names (p. 877), Legge gives for 艾陵 the transcription E-ling—a pronunciation of the character 艾 which does not seem to be justified in this instance according to Khanghi's Dictionary. I have seen the less reason to follow Legge in this particular, as he himself, in the Index of Chinese characters (p. 918 s.v. 艾) reads Gac-ling.

but only remark that according to one explanation the expression Wu Hu 五湖 'the Five Lakes' refers to the T'ai Hu 太湖 alone, which would have been so called, because its waters form a means of communication between five different districts (太湖之水通五道謂之五湖). In this case we should have to translate 'the five-fold Lake' instead of 'the Five Lakes.'

The words: 'He will break forth from the mouth of the Three Streams, enter the Five Lakes, lay waste our kingdom of Wu, and destroy our royal palace,' are in the Chinese text: 出三江之口入五湖之中屠我吳國滅我吳宮. Here 中 (*chung*) and 宮 (*kung*) form a rhyme. This style of composition is called 韻語 *yün-yü* (rhyming sentences) in the commentary on the 'History of the various States.'

Another version of the same apologue.

Our apologue is neither contained in the Tso-chuan 左傳 (*i.e.* the so-called Commentary of Tso-ch'iu-ming on the Ch'un Ch'iu or Confucian Annals, translated by Legge in Volume V. of his Chinese Classics), nor in the Kuo-yü 國語 (Wylie, Notes on Chinese Literature p. 6). The source from which our novel has taken the fable, is the semi-historical work Wu Yüeh Ch'un-ch'iu,* already more than once mentioned in the course of this paper. As the Wu Yüeh Ch'un-ch'iu or 'Annals of Wu and Yüeh' belongs to the first century of our era,† whilst the novel Tung Chou Lieh-kuo-ch'ih is a work of the end of the Ming dynasty or of the commencement of the Manchurian period‡, I should have taken the text of the fable in the former work as the basis of my translation, if it did not present several difficulties which I have not been quite able to solve. Upon the whole, however, the text of the novel adheres closely

to that of the 'Annal,' with such alterations principally, as render the language more easily intelligible to the modern reader.

The 'Annals' record our fable under the 14th year of Fuch'ai—B.C. 482. The story begins thus:—

'Fourteenth year. After Fuch'ai had forced Wu Taze-hsü to commit suicide, there ensued bad harvests for several years, and there was much discontent amongst the people.' Considering the expression 'for several years,' and seeing that the next date given in the 'Annals' (fol. 17 vers.) is the twentieth year of Fuch'ai (=476), it would not follow that our story must necessarily belong to B.C. 482. On the other hand, as the meeting of Fuch'ai with Duke Ting of Tsin, which, according to the Ch'un Ch'iu of Confucius and T'ung-chien Kang-mu, took place in the 13th year of Duke Ai of Lu,* corresponding to B.C. 482, is related in the 'Annals of Wu and Yüeh' after our fable of the cicada and mantis, we may say with great probability that the 'Annals of Wu and Yüeh' refer this fable to events which took place in the year 482.† I say only, with probability, because the chronology of the 'Annals of Wu and Yüeh' is not quite in accordance with that of the Ch'un Ch'iu and Tsochuan.

The 'Annals' then proceed: 'Now, the king of Wu, intending again to make war upon Ts'i...., and being afraid lest his ministers would remonstrate against this plan, ordered it to be proclaimed in his whole realm, that he was going to make war upon Ts'i and that, if anybody dared to remonstrate, death would be his punishment.' This incident has been omitted in the novel, which also does not speak of a new campaign against Ts'i, but only of an intended alliance with certain states of the Middle kingdom.

The 'Annals' then go on to relate how

* Legge, Classics, Vol. V., p. 831. Chapt. XIII., 3.6; and p. 832.

† The novel Tung Chou Lieh-kuo-ch'ih, as we have seen, refers it to 481 or 483.

* Book 3, fol. 14.

† See Appendix I, No. 7.

‡ See Appendix I, No. 10.

Prince Yu, wishing to warn his father, but afraid of the threatened punishment, went into the garden and appeared before the king with wet clothes and shoes. The following conversation between the king and the prince is related in terms similar to those made use of in the novel. I shall therefore limit myself to pointing out a few differences which are interesting from a literary or philological point of view. In the 'Annals' the cicada is prettily described as 'drinking the dew of the morning' (飲清露) and 隨風搖搖 *sui-fēng h'ui-nao*² which seems to mean: 'fluttering about in the breeze'; but the expression *h'ui-nao* requires further investigation.

Of the mantis it is said, as in the novel, that it was there 'stretching its body and lifting its paws' (曳腰聳距); but instead of the words 'eager to seize the cicada and eat it' (欲捕蟬而食之), we have in the 'Annals': 而稷其形 *urh chi ch'i-hsing*. As Khanghi's Dictionary, sub voce 稷 *chi*⁴, says that this character occurs for 疾 *chi*² (i.e. *tsi*, *ts'h*), and as 疾 *chi*² is again frequently identical with 急 *chi*² (i.e. *hi*, *hih*), we might perhaps translate these words by: 'impatience being expressed (or apparent) in its whole attitude.' It must however be remarked that the only passage quoted in Khanghi's Dictionary, in which 稷 *chi*⁴ is said to stand in the sense of 疾 *chi*², is that in the Shih King (Book of Poetry), Legge, Chinese, Classics, Vol. IV. p. 371, stanza 4, where Legge translates it by 'expeditions'—, a meaning still widely removed from the sense 'impatient' or 'impatience,' which seems to be required in our fable. As, moreover, the explanation of this passage of the Shih King is doubtful (see Khanghi, l. l.), our passage in the Wu Yüeh Ch'un Ch'iu cannot yet be considered as sufficiently elucidated. About the correctness of the text there can be no doubt, as Khanghi s.v. 螳 *t'ang* quotes precisely these words.

Of the goldfinch it is said in the 'Annals'

that he 'was fluttering to and fro in the shade (or under the cover) of the boughs,'* and 蹣跚微進 *wei-chin*. The two last characters mean 'slowly advancing'; but the characters 蹣跚 are not to be found in any Dictionary at my disposal.

For the words in the novel: 'He little knew that I, your son, was standing there with the pellets and bow, eager to shoot him,' we have in the Annals: 不知臣挾彈危擲, 蹣跚飛丸, 而集其背 'he little knew that I was . . . there with my bow and, approaching by slow degrees, was just going to shoot my pellets into his back.' Here again the expression 危擲 *wei-chih* needs elucidation. 蹣跚 *ts'êng⁴-têng⁴* means: 'to approach or advance slowly.' The first character (*ts'êng⁴*) alone is used in the same sense in the present colloquial language of Peking. So we read in the Hung-lou-m'ang, Chapter 6, 9 vers. 1: 蹣到這邊屋內 *ts'êng⁴ tao ch'ê-pien wu-nei* 'they went slowly into the room on this side,' and I have heard at Peking: 你別蹣了, 快走罷 *ni pieh ts'êng-lä, k'uai tsou pa* 'don't go so slowly! walk faster!'

The 'rhyming sentences' spoken of above, are found in the 'Annals of Wu and Yüeh,' just as in the novel.

Instead of the concluding passage in the novel: 'a greater folly than this course of action' etc., we have in the 'Annals of Wu and Yüeh' the following passage at the end of the story: 'A more dangerous situation [than that in which Wu is placed at present], cannot be imagined on the face of the earth.' But the King of Wu did not listen to the remonstrances of the prince. He marched north, attacked Ts'i . . . and won a victory at Ailing.' After this follows the meeting of Huang-ch'ih† which, as we have

* 徘徊枝陰, for which the novel has 徘徊緣陰.

† The name Huang-ch'ih is mentioned in this connection in the Wu Yüeh Ch'un-ch'iu Book 3, 14, 4 a fine, and Book 3, 17, 5.

seen, took place in B.C. 482 according to the authentic historical accounts, with which the 'Annals of Wu and Yüeh' seem to be in accordance in this particular.

But how is it with the battle of Ailing? We have seen above (in 'Notes and Observations') that such a battle took place in fact in the spring of 484. Instead of this one battle of Ailing, the 'Annals of Wu and Yüeh' substitute *two* hostile encounters near that place, in both of which Ts'i is beaten. The first of these combats (identical with the *historical* battle) is mentioned in the Wu Yüeh Ch'un-ch'iu, Book 3, 10 vers. 1 et seq., in B.C. 483, instead of 484. Anyhow, it took place before Wu Tsze-hsi's death, and before the date of our fable. The second battle of Ailing, which *follows* the story of the cicada and mantis, but *precedes* the meeting at Huang-ch'ih, would have taken place according to our annals in 482; but it seems to be a mere invention of the author of the Wu Yüeh Ch'un-ch'iu.

Upon the whole we may say that the novel, whilst simplifying and modernizing the language of the Wu Yüeh Ch'un-ch'iu, has tried to bring our fable into better accordance with authentic historical dates.

A third version of the same Apologue.

The Wu Yüeh Ch'un-ch'iu is not the earliest work of Chinese Literature in which the apologue of the cicada and mantis has been handed down to posterity. The earliest source in which I have met with it, is Liu Hsiang's 'Garden of Stories' (Shuo-yüan) — a work, as we have seen, of the first century B.C., in which it forms the 6th Chapter of the 9th book.*

As this version of the fable is very short, and widely different in style and tenor from that in the Wu Yüeh Ch'un-ch'iu and Tung Chou Lieh-kuo-ch'ih, I shall give a complete translation of it. It runs as follows:

Translation.

The King of Wu was going to make war

* Shuo-yüan, Book 9, fol. 3 vers. 2-9.

against Ching 荆.¹ He therefore said to his Ministers: 'Whoever dares to remonstrate, will be punished with death.' As it happened, there was one amongst his chamberlains², a young man, who desired much to warn the king, but did not dare to do so. He therefore hid mud pellets in his bosom, seized a cross-bow, and took a walk in the garden situated behind the palace. The dew wetted his clothes all over. This he repeated on the mornings of three successive days. Then the King of Wu said to him: 'Why do you appear before me with your clothes wet all over?'³ He answered: 'In the garden there is a tree, on which a cicada was perched. The cicada was sitting there on high, singing the mellow tones of its ditty⁴ and drinking the dew⁵. It little knew that a mantis was *behind its back*. The mantis, clinging close [to the boughs of the tree] and advancing cautiously, was eager to seize the cicada. It little knew that a goldfinch was *at its side*. The goldfinch, stretching forth his neck, was desirous to eat the mantis. He little knew that the cross-bow and pellets were *underneath him*. All these three animals, in their eagerness to obtain the advantage *before their eyes*, paid no attention to the existence of danger *behind their backs*.' The King of Wu said: 'You are right.' And he desisted from his warlike intention.

Explanatory Notes.

(1.) 荆 Ching is another name for the kingdom of 楚 Ch'u, which has been more than once mentioned in my papers on Chinese apologues. This designation is preserved to the present day in the name of the department of 荊州府 Ching-chu-fu.
(2.) By 'chamberlain' I translate the expression 舍人 shé-jén in the text. According to the famous commentator Yen-shik-ku (see Mayers' Manual No. 912 [article Yen-chou]; Wylie, Notes, p. 14), Shé-jén was 'a general denomination of officials attending on the person of the sovereign, and admitted into his intimacy' (親近).

左右之通稱). Originally however it designated the 'official in charge of the scales, whose duty it was to deal out the corn for use in the palace' (**主平, 宮中用穀者也**). Literally it means 'a palace official,' *shé* being here used in the sense of *kung* 'a palace' (**舍 悌 宮也**). See Khang-hi's Dictionary sub voce **舍** *shé*, Rad. 135. (3.) In Chinese: **子來何苦沾衣如此**. The expression **何苦** *h'o-k'u* for 'why' is used in energetic questions, and in questions expressing astonishment. (4.) **悲鳴**. The **悲** here expresses less the idea of melancholy than the sense which has been attributed to it in my translation. (5.) In Chinese: **飲露**. (6.) 'Clinging close to the boughs of the tree, and advancing cautiously.' This seems to be the meaning of the words **委身曲附** in the text.

General Observations.

The great differences between the two versions of our story, translations of which have been laid before the reader, are apparent.

Liu Hsiang does not name the King to whom he refers the fable; but as, instead of warlike operations against Ts'i or meetings with princes of the Middle kingdom, he speaks of an intended campaign against Ch'u, this would seem to point rather to the reign of Holü (B.C. 514-496), than to that of Fuoh'ai (495-473). But this, as well as the difference of the final result, and of the persons into whose mouths the apologue is put in the two versions, is, from a literary point of view, unimportant. Besides this however we have the absence of the incident of the ditch, the rather hyperbolic, three-fold repetition of the promenade in the garden, the preponderance of the didactical tendency over the poetical diction, the accumulated antithetic expressions ('behind its back,' 'at its side,' 'underneath him,' etc.): all this is characteristic of Liu Hsiang, the scholar, in contrast to Chao Yeh, the author of the romantic history of Wu and

Yüeh. It being so, I will not try to decide the question whether we have our story in its more original form in the *Shuo-yüan* or in the *Wu Yüeh Ch'un-ch'iu*, for we may just as well imagine that Liu Hsiang has simplified the story and divested it of its poetical embellishments, as suppose that Chao Yeh may have amplified the fable and invested it with a more flowery garb.

The extracts from the Shuo-yüan in the Tsêng-pu Shih-lei-fu Tung-pien.

Of the short extract in Khang-hi's Dictionary s.v. **蟬** *t'ang*, from our fable as contained in the *Wu Yüeh Ch'un-ch'iu*, we have already had occasion to speak. The popular and very useful cyclopædia *Tsêng-pu Shih-lei-fu Tung-pien* **增補事類賦統編**,* gives at two different places† extensive extracts from our apologue as contained in the *Shuo-yüan*. But these extracts are neither quite identical as compared with each other, nor do they faithfully adhere to the original text of the *Shuo-yüan*. On the contrary, beside such omissions as would be justified in an extract, we find other characters substituted for some of those in the *Shuo-yüan*, and even additions made here and there. I mention this as a proof, with how much caution Chinese cyclopædias must be used. So, for: 'In the garden there is a tree' (**園中有樹**), we have in the Cyclopædia, Book 93: **園中有榆** *Yüan-chung yu yü* 'in the garden there is an elm.' The cicada is prettily described (likewise in Book 93) as **吸風飲露** *hsi-fêng yin-lu* 'inhaling (or: imbibing) the breeze and drinking the dew.' But the characters **吸風** are not found in the original text. Instead of the **委身曲附** of the *Shuo-yüan*, we have in the Cyclopædia, both in books 86 and 93, **委身曲附**. The one reading is lexicographically not much clearer than the

* See Appendix I., No. 9.

† See the *Tsêng-pu Shih-lei-fu Tung-pien*, Book 86, fol. 14, 4 a *fine* to 2 a *fine* (Article **雀** *ch'io*), and Book 93, fol. 17, 4-6 (Article **蟬** *ch'an*).

other. (Comp. above with explanatory notes, at the end). After the words: 'He little knew that the cross-bow and pellets were underneath him,' the Cyclopædia (in books 86 and 93) adds a whole sentence: 'And I myself, in my eagerness to obtain the gold-finch, was not aware that the dew was wetting my clothes.'

So much about the extracts from our fable in the Cyclopædia.

IV. GENERAL REMARKS ON THE APOLOGUE IN CHINA.

Besides the five apologues, translations of which I have laid before the reader in this and the preceding papers, I believe I have discovered traces of a sixth.

In the introductory remarks prefixed by the commentator of the *San-kuo-chih* to the 17th chapter of this famous historical novel, we read: 澤麋虎皮便爲衆射之的, 袁術一僭帝號天下共起而攻之 'As a stag of the marches, when clad in a tiger's skin, becomes the common mark of all archers, so when Yüan Shu unlawfully assumed the title of Emperor, the whole world rose and fought against him.' And after the passage in the text of the 17th chapter, where Yüan Shu is described seated on horseback on the battlefield, in front of the foremost ranks of his army, in the full attire of his assumed dignity, the commentator inserts again a note to the effect that he was 'like a stag of the marches, covered with the skin of a tiger' (如澤之麋蒙虎之皮).^{*} That we have in these passages an allusion to a fable, seems highly probable, but with the story itself I have not yet met in the course of my Chinese reading.

Of the five fables translated by me, the White Dragon, and the Cicada and Mantis, seem to be the earliest. They appear to

belong to a time not far removed from the year B.C. 500, whilst the Bittern and Mussel is the latest, being referred to the time between 298 and 266.*

As far therefore as I can judge at present, the apologue seems to have existed at a considerably earlier time in the West than in China, for in Greek literature we meet with it already in the remains of Archilochus, in the seventh century before our era, and Æsop himself, according to the current accounts, lived about the middle of the sixth century before Christ.

In one respect we find a striking resemblance between Æsop and the Chinese inventors of fables. Both he and they were prompted to the invention of their stories by real occurrences, and not by literary ambition. But whilst in Greece, in the course of time, the fable became a special branch of literature, the apologue in China appears never to have been developed into an independent department of composition but rather remained, from beginning to end, a mere rhetorical expedient of practical, and more especially political, eloquence. And the minds of the Chinese statesmen to whom our apologues are ascribed, seem to have been so completely absorbed by the special circumstances for which they invented their stories, that they never thought of appending to, or deriving from them, a *general* maxim. The observation that 'whenever a high dignitary is dreaded, the reason lies in the awe inspired by the sovereign,' was, as we have seen, not due to the original author of the fable of the fox and tiger; and, in the fable of the cicada and mantis, the general observation about 'paying no attention to the danger behind one's back in view of the advantage before one's eyes,' appears in the course of the story itself, and not as the maxim, for

* Fol. 26-7 of my edition. The Yüan Shu here mentioned was a cousin of Yüan Shao 袁紹 (Mayers' Manual No. 967. He assumed the imperial title A.D. 197.

* The remark of Mayers (Manual, p. 283), that the apologue of the Bittern and Mussel is 'perhaps, the earliest specimen of a complete fable on record in Chinese literature,' must therefore be modified.

the elucidation of which the whole apologue has been invented. The most interesting feature, however, with which we have met in the course of our researches on Chinese apologues, is certainly the fiction by which Su Tai represents himself as having been an eye-witness of the struggle between the bittern and mussel, and the ingenious contrivance by which the prince or chamberlain of Wu assigns to himself a personal part in the story which he relates of the cicada and mantis.

APPENDIX I.

Bibliographical and Biographical Notes on some of the Works and Authors mentioned in the preceding Article.

1.—*The Corrected Writings of Various Philosophers and Politicians.*

The *Chu Tze Hui Han* (諸子彙函), or 'Collected Writings of Various Philosophers and Politicians,' is a compilation in 26 books (卷), by Kuei Chên-oh'nan 歸震川. The preface, which is dated 'Winter of the 乙丑 Yi-ch'ou year of the 天啟 T'ien-ch'i period' — A. D. 1625 (Ming dynasty), is signed by a certain Mêng Wên-chên 文震孟, who calls himself the Yo-yüan Yi-shih 葑園逸史, or 'Recluse of the garden of medicinal herbs.'

The *Chu Tze Hui Han* contains extracts, mostly annotated by various commentators, from a great many writers, ranging from the earliest times down to the Ming dynasty, all the extracts consisting of complete chapters. The book is, however, very badly printed, and disfigured by many typographical errors.

Wylie, in his excellent and highly reliable 'Notes on Chinese Literature' (Shanghai and London, 1867) does not mention this work.

2.—*Chiang-yi, 'the Disputant.'*

We have seen that Chiang-yi, 'the Disputant' (in Chinese: *Hsiao-hsiao-tsze*), lived at the court of King Hsüan of Ch'u, who reigned from B.C. 369 to 340; but with reference to the writings which go by his

names, I am not able to give any more satisfactory account than that contained in my various articles on Chinese apologues.

All the extracts under Chiang-yi's name contained in the 9th Book of the *Chu Tze Hui Han*, are also found in the *Chan-kuo-ts'ê*, or 'Narratives of the Contending States', but they are arranged in a different order. There can, however, be no doubt that a separate collection of treatises, or conversations, under the name of '*Hsiao-hsiao-tsze*,' has been and may still be in existence. Wylie's Notes contain nothing about this author.

3.—*Yin-wên-tsze, or Yin-tsze, and his editor, Chung-ch'ang Tung.*

Of Yin-wên-tsze 尹文子, or, as Matuanlin calls him†, Yin-tsze, whom we have had occasion to mention in connection with the apologue of the fox and tiger‡, Wylie, says§: 'A treatise on moral science under the title Yin-wên-tsze was written by Yin Wên during the 4th century before Christ.'

As a note in Pan Ku's History of the Former Han dynasty (Book 30, or 10th of the 'Memoir' 志, fol. 18, 6) informs us that Yin-wên-tsze 'exercised his eloquence at the court of King Hsüan of Ts'i,' and, as this prince reigned from 342 to 324, or, according to others, from 332 to 314, we may say with more definiteness that Yin-wên-tsze flourished during the latter half of the 4th century B.C.

According to Pan Ku (l.l.), Yin-wên-tsze's works consisted of one single section (一篇). This statement is in accordance with the 'Abridged Catalogue of K'ien Lung's Library' (*Ch'in-ting Sze-k'u Ch'üan-sha chien ming Mu-lu* 欽定四庫全書簡明目錄)¶, whilst Matuanlin,

* Wylie, Notes, p. 25, No. 5.

† Matuanlin, Book 212, fol. 9 vers.

‡ China Review, Vol. XII, p. 409.

§ Notes, p. 125.

¶ 'Yin-wên-tsze, one Book (卷)' says the *Mulu*, Book 13, fol. 1 vers. 5.—On the Chien-ming *Mu-lu* or Abridged Catalogue, see Wylie, Notes, p. 61.

who has a long article on Yin-wên-tze*, seems to have known an edition of his works in *two* Books (卷). This may refer to a different arrangement, or, perhaps, it is a simple misprint. From Matuanlin† we learn also, that the treatises of Yin-wên-tze contain no more than 5,000 words altogether.

Pan Ku, in his history of the Former Han (l.l.), further informs us that Yin-wên-tze 'was a predecessor of Kung-sun Lung 公孫龍'‡. As we know of Kung-sun Lung, that he was a contemporary of King H'ui-wên of Chao, 趙惠文王, who reigned from 298 to 266, Pan Ku is evidently correct in this statement, and Yin-wên-tze's editor, Chung-ch'ang T'ung 仲長統, is wrong in saying that Yin Wên was Kung-sun Lung's pupil. Several Chinese writers, quoted by Matuanlin (l.l.), have therefore very properly impugned and refuted Chung-ch'ang T'ung's erroneous assertion, which is, however, in the usual thoughtless way of Chinese compilers, repeated in the Chu Tsze Hui Han (Book 8, fol. 26, 2; and in the 1st Volume, 篇目, fol. 6 vers. pen.)§

Yin Wên belonged to the Yin family of Chou 周, i.e. of the Imperial Domain during the Chou dynasty. Well known members of the same family at an earlier time were Yin-chi-fu 尹吉甫 and his son Yin-ch'iu 尹球, who were in high positions under the Emperors Hsüan 宣王 (reigned 827 to 782) and Yu 幽王 (reigned 781 to 771).

* Matuanlin, Book 212, fol. 9 vers.—12 vers.

† Book 212, fol. 11 ult.

‡ On Kung-sun Lung comp. No. 5, of this Appendix.

§ In refuting Chung-ch'ang T'ung's erroneous statement, the Chinese writers quoted by Matuanlin themselves make a strange mistake in saying that 'when King Hui-wên of Chao began to reign, King Hsüan of Ts'i was already dead more than forty years.' But King Hsüan of Ts'i reigned from 342 to 324 or, according to others, from 332 to 314, and King Hui-wên of Chao from 298 to 266. In order to ob-

Wylie tells us further of Yin-wên-tze, that 'his leaning towards Taoist views is considered sufficient to exclude him from the class of Literati.' An extract in Matuanlin describes his philosophy as 'a mixture of Lao-tze with Shên and Han' (i.e. Shên Shang 申商 and Han Fei 韓非).

Wylie concludes his notice of Yin-wên-tze by saying that the oldest edition of this author 'has a preface written about the year 226, by one Chung-ch'ang T'ung 仲長統, who edited and rearranged the materials.' The year here referred to, is 226 A.D. (not B.C.); it is, however, doubtful whether this date is quite correct.

Ch'ên Shou 陳壽, in the 'History' (or Annals) of the Three Kingdoms' 三國志 (Memoirs of Wei 魏書 or 魏志, Book 21, fol. 25 vers. 4 a fine), says that Chung-ch'ang T'ung was Senior Secretary of a Board† towards the end of the Later Han dynasty, and P'ei Sung-chih 裴松之,‡ the learned Editor of Ch'ên Shou's History, in a note on this passage, adds

tain 'more than forty years,' we must therefore count, not from the death, but from the commencement of the reign of King Hsüan of Ts'i. I mention this only in order to show once more with how much caution Chinese cyclopaedias must be used; and in this respect an absolute exception cannot even be made in favour of Matuanlin's great work. In the Chan-kuo-ts'ê we found the abbreviation 'King Hui' (惠王) for King Hui-wên (惠文王) of Chao (Review XII, p. 362*, 363b). In Matuanlin, Book 212, fol. 10, 4. 5, we find the name of this same King Hui-wên of Chao abbreviated into Wên-wang 文王. It is of great importance to note such little things.

* The History (Wylie, Notes, p. 13, 14,) not the Novel of the same name.

† In Chinese Shang-shu-lang 尚書郎, corresponding, it seems, to the present Lang-chung 郎中. Comp. the 歷代職官表 Li-tai Chih-kuan-piao, Shanghai Edition of 1882, (Kuangsü 8th year), Book 2, fol. 12 vers. and fol. 19.

‡ P'ei's Memorial by which he presented his Edition of the San-kuo-chih to the Throne, is dated 'Summer, 429' (6th year of the 元嘉 Yüan-chia period).

that Chung-ch'ang T'ung died A.D. 220,* at the age of forty or more years.†

On the other hand, it appears from Matuanlin that according to a notice contained *probably* in the printed edition of Chung-ch'ang T'ung's Yin-wên-tsze,‡ Chung-ch'ang T'ung 'came to the capital only at the end of the Huang-ch'u 黃初 period,' which, as this period lasted from 220 to 226, would be about this latter year. From this source Wylie has evidently derived his statement, but, as the author quoted by Matuanlin remarks: 'an error in the Annals of the Empire [i.e. in this case the San-kuo-ch'ih] can here the less be suspected, as this edition of Yin-wên-tsze § is disfigured by so many typographical errors as to become nearly unreadable.'

From the San-kuo-ch'ih we learn further that Chung-ch'ang T'ung's literary appellation was Chung-ch'ang Kung-li 公理,|| and that he was the author of a work in 24 sections (篇), called the Ch'ang-yen 昌言.¶

According to the above disquisition we may say that Chung-ch'ang T'ung lived from circa, A.D. 175 to 220.

4. The spurious Yin-tsze.

There was, as Matuanlin (Book 212, fol. 11) informs us, another work current under

* Viz. 1st year of the Yen-k'ang 延康 period.

† See l.l. fol. 26, 5 a fine.

‡ Matuanlin (or rather, the author quoted by him) says only: 'here it is stated that he came to the capital at the end of the Huang-ch'u period.' But the 'here' can scarcely mean anything else than the printed edition of Chung-ch'ang T'ung's Yin-wên-tsze. (Matuanlin, Book 212, 10, 3 a fine et seq.)

§ Matuanlin's text (l.l.) says here again only: 'this book' (此本). See the last note.

|| In those times the cognomen (名) consisted nearly always of only one character, whilst for the literary appellation two characters were employed.

¶ San-kuo-ch'ih, Book 21, fol. 25 vers. 4 a fine; 2 a fine; fol. 26, 4 a fine.

the name of Yin-tsze 尹子 in 5 books (卷), containing altogether 19 sections (篇). It was spurious and is supposed to have been written by an unknown author of the Tsin, or of the Sung dynasty,* i.e. between 265 and 479, A.D.

5. Kung-sun Lung.

I will add here a few words on Kung-sun Lung, as I have had occasion to speak of him above in No. 3.

Wylie, Notes p. 126, commences his notice of this author by saying: 'Another treatise written about the end of the Chou, is preserved under the title 公孫龍子 Kung-sun Lung-tsze, being written by Kung-sun Lung.'

He was a native of Chao 趙 (in modern Shansi) and lived in his native state, as we have seen above, under the reign of King K'ui-wên, who reigned from 278 to 266. He was a guest in the house of the Lord of P'ing-yüan.† Pan ku (Book 30, 18, 7) says that his writings comprised 14 Sections (篇); but already in Matuanlin's time only 6 Sections in 3 Books (卷) were left,‡ and K'ien Lung's abridged catalogue is in accordance with this latter statement.§ Matuanlin, who dedicates only a few lines to Kung-sun-lung, speaks very disparagingly of his writings, some extracts from which are given in the 7th book of the Chu Tszé Hui Han.

6. Liu Hsiang.

Of the works of this famous scholar, who

• 蓋晉宋時細人所作. The Sung dynasty here referred to, is that belonging to the 'Epoch of the division between north and south' (Mayers, Manual p. 376). I am not quite sure about the exact signification of the expression 細人 *hsi-jên*; probably it means a 'literary impostor;' comp. the well-known expressions 細作 *hsi-tso* or 奸細 *chien-hsi* 'a spy.'

† 平原君 *P'ing-yüan-chün*. See Mayers, Manual No. 563.

‡ Matuanlin 212, 14 vers. 6.

§ 'Kung-sun-lung-tsze in 3 Books (*chüan*),' says the abridged catalogue (Book 13, 2, 6).

lived in the first century of our era,* we have had occasion to mention the *Hsin Hsü* or 'New Discourses,' the *Shuo-yüan* or 'Garden of Stories,' and in another article the *Lieh-nü-chuan* or 'Account of the Lives of Eminent Women.'

On the *Hsin Hsü* (Sin seu) and *Shuo-yüan* (Shwö juèn) see Wylie, Notes p. 67. I have made use of the editions of these two works contained in the *Han Wei Ts'ung-shu*.†

Mayers informs us (on p. 131 of his 'Chinese Reader's Manual'), that 'Liu Hsiang was author of the History of the Han dynasty, in which he became the founder of the modern style of historical composition.' These words have to be simply erased, for Liu Hsiang has not written a History of the Han dynasty, and this statement is one of the numerous mistakes which make the 'Reader's Manual,' notwithstanding its great merits, a very unsafe guide for the student through the mazes of Chinese history and literature.

7. The Annals of Wu and Yüeh.

(Comp. Wylie, Notes p. 32, No. 9).

The 'Annals of Wu and Yüeh' or Wu Yüeh Ch'un-ch'iu (吳越春秋) by Chao Yeh 趙曄, written in the first century of our era, consisted originally of 12 books (卷),‡ two of which have been lost, so that only ten are now extant.§ In the *Han Wei Ts'ung-shu* the Annals of Wu and Yüeh are printed with the commentary of Hsü T'ien-hu 徐天祐, a scholar who lived at the commencement of the Yüan Dynasty.|| The *Han Wei Ts'ung-shu* dis-

* According to Mayers (Manual No. 404), from B.C. 80 to 9.

† On the *Han Wei Ts'ung-shu* 漢魏叢書 see this Appendix, No. 8.

‡ Matuanlin 195, 10 vers. pen., comp. also ibid. fol. 1, 9; K'ien Lung's Abridged Catalogue 6, 22 vers.

§ Abridged Catalogue, loco laudato.

|| Abridged Catalogue, loco laudato. The *Han Wei Ts'ung-shu* gives the commentary, without mentioning the name of the commentator.

tributes the text into 6 books (卷), which are however divided into 10 chapters, corresponding to the remaining original 10 books.

K'ien Lung's abridged catalogue characterizes the Annals of Wu and Yüeh as a mixture of historical facts with unauthentic anecdotes and romantic inventions.

It is also noteworthy that the Abridged Catalogue calls the author of the Annals of Wu and Yüeh Chao Yü 趙煜 instead of Chao Yeh 曄. The reason is, because the character Yeh 曄, which can also be written 暉,* appears in this latter form as a graphic element in the personal name of the Emperor Khanghi, which is composed of 火 on the left, and 暉 on the right.†

In the course of my reading I have met with another instance of an arbitrary change of name for a similar reason. A certain 嚴光 Yen Kuang or Yen Taze-ling 子陵 is a famous character of the reign of Kuang-wu,‡ the founder of the Eastern Han dynasty. The T'ung-chien Kang-mu,§ however, informs us that Yen Taze-ling's original surname was not Yen, but Chuang 莊. But after the Emperor Ming Ti 明帝, Kuang-wu's successor, whose personal name was Chuang 莊, had ascended the throne,|| the historians henceforward wrote Yen Kuang or Yen Taze-ling instead of Chuang Kuang or Chuang Taze-ling.

With the help of the *Hou Han Shu* or 'History of the Later Han dynasty' it is possible to determine the time when Chao Yeh lived and wrote his Annals of Wu and Yüeh, with a tolerable degree of accuracy. For this purpose, however, it will be useful to premise a few words on two other scholars of the first century after Christ.

* See Khanghi's Dictionary.

† See Williams' Dictionary, p. 266.

‡ Reigned from 25 to 57 A.D.

§ Under the 5th year of the 建武 Chien-wu period.

|| Ming Ti, the son and successor of Kuang-wu, reigned from 58 to 75.

In Book 79 B.* the Kou Han Shu gives a short biography of 薛漢 Hsüeh Han, or 薛公子 Hsüeh Kung-tze, a native of 淮陽 Huai-yang,† who was a noted authority in several branches of learning, but more especially in the explanation of the 'Book of Poetry.' More than once the number of his pupils amounted to several hundreds. In the 建武 Chien-wu period, i.e. some time between 25 and 55, he filled the office of 博士 P'o-shih (Professor). In the 永平 Yung-p'ing period, i.e. some time between 58 and 75, we find him mentioned as T'aishou 太守 or Prefect of the 千乘 Ch'ien-ch'êng department.‡ On account of some offence he had committed, he was, however, at last thrown into prison, where he died. One of his most distinguished pupils was Tu Fu 杜撫, of whom we shall have to speak next.

Tu Fu, or, if we speak of him with his literary appellation, Tu Shu-ho 杜叔和, was a native of the 犍爲 Chien-wei department.§ He studied the book of poetry under Hsüeh Han and evidently went for this purpose to Huai-yang, for we are told that after the termination of his studies he 'returned home,' i.e. to Chien-wei, where he established himself as teacher of literature. More than a thousand pupils gathered round him. Afterwards, Ts'ang, Prince of Tung-p'ing|| and General of the Light Cavalry,¶ summoned him, and employed him in his service. When the Prince at a later time left the capital and went to his own feudal possessions, Tufu accompanied him. Soon after, however, the Prince dismissed him with rich presents, whereupon the Emperor, i.e. Ming Ti, gave him an official position

in the Board of War.* Again, at a later period, viz., some time during the epoch styled 建初 Chien-ch'u, which lasted from 76 to 83,† he filled the office of a Kung-chü-ling 公車令. He died, however, a few months after he had obtained this appointment [say: about A.D. 80].‡

What interests us here, specially, is Tu Fu's connection with the Prince Ts'ang of Tung-p'ing. Prince Ts'ang had been appointed General of the Light Cavalry in the 4th moon of the 2nd year of the 中元 Chung-yüan period, i.e. A.D. 57, immediately after Ming Ti's accession to the throne.§ In this capacity he came to the capital, where we find him as chief adviser of the Emperor, preceding in rank the 'Three Lords' (三公 san-kung), or highest Ministers of the Empire, until he gave up this high position and returned to his feudal possessions in the 5th year of the 永平 Yung-p'ing period, i.e. in A.D. 62.||

From these dates it appears that Tu Fu left his native department of Chien-wei in order to proceed to the capital and exchange his activity as an instructor for official functions, between 57 and 62, and from what we learn regarding his later life, it is also sufficiently clear that he did not again return to Chien-wei to resume his lectures on the Shih King. We now come at last to Chao Yeh himself, a short account of whose life the Hou Han Shu gives in Book 79 B, fol. 4, 7-12. His literary designation was Chao Chang-chün 趙長君. He was a native of the 山陰 Shan-yin district in the 會稽 Kuei-chi department. In his young years he was employed as a Hsien-li 縣吏, i.e. subordinate offi-

* Book 79 B (or 69 B of the Lieh-chuan), fol. 3, 3 et seq.

† In the present Honan.

‡ In the present Shantung.

§ In the present province of Szechuen.

|| 東平王蒼.

¶ 驃騎將軍 piao-chi' Chiang-chün.

* 太尉府 t'ai-yü-fu.

† Under the Emperor Chang Ti.

‡ Hou Han Shu 79 B, fol. 3, 8 et seq.

§ Hou Han Shu 42 (32nd of the Lieh-chuan), fol. 7; T'ungchien Kangmu sub anno (Book 9, 135 vers. 4).

|| Hou Han Shu l.l., fol. 7 vers. 4 et seq.; T'ung-chien Kang-mu sub anno (Bk. 9, fol. 151 vers. 2).

cial in a city magistrature, but the degradation connected with such a low position, soon induced him to retire into private life. He thereupon went to *Chien-wei*, where he studied the Book of Poetry under the guidance of *Tu Fu*. In order to become a thorough proficient in this branch of learning, he remained *twenty years* there, without ever returning home or even sending to his relations any intelligence about himself. His family, therefore, thinking he was dead, celebrated his funeral, and put on mourning for him.

After the completion of his studies, Chao Yeh returned home. He refused an official position which was offered to him, and died as a private individual.

He wrote the 'Annals of Wu and Yüeh,' and a work on the 'Book of Poetry' under the title 詩細 *Shih-hsi*. Ts'ai Yung 蔡邕 (Mayers' Manual, No. 755) was a great admirer of this latter work, a copy of which he obtained during a journey to Kuei-chi. Ts'ai Yung took the *Shih-hsi* back with him to the capital, where, from that time forward, it was much read by students of literature.

The absence of any chronological date in the above account of Chao Yeh, is, to a certain degree, made up for by what we are told regarding Chao Yeh's studies under *Tu Fu* in the department of *Chien-wei*. I have shown above that *Tu Fu* left *Chien-wei* between 57 and 62. So we cannot be far wrong in supposing that Chao Yeh must have stayed in *Chien-wei* from some time between 35 and 40 to some time between 55 and 60. He may have written the Annals of Wu and Yüeh whilst there, or he may more probably have written them during the evening of his life, after his return to the Kueishi department. We may, therefore, say with a high degree of probability that the Wu Yüeh Ch'un-ch'iu, or Annals of Wu and Yüeh, were written about the middle of the first century of our era, or, perhaps, rather at the commencement of its latter half.

8.—*The Hun Wei Ts'ung-shu.*

(Comp. above No. 6-7).

On this useful collection of minor authors of an early period, see Wylie's Notes on Chinese Literature, p. 209, No. II.

Wylie enumerates three different editions of this large work. I myself possess a fourth edition, printed by the 三餘堂 *San-yü-t'ang* in 1880 (6th year of Kuang-sü). It contains ninety different works, some of which are new, whilst others, contained in the earlier editions, are omitted. Amongst those omitted is the *Lun-hêng* 論衡 of Wang Ch'ung 王充 (see Mayers' Manual, No. 795).

I cannot say much in favour of this newest edition. Especially the notes in small type leave much to desire in correctness and clearness of print.

9.—*The Tsêng-pu Shih-lei-fu T'ung-pien.*

The 增補事類賦統編 *Tsêng-pu Shih-lei-fu T'ung-pien* is the most modern extension of the cyclopaediae '*Shih-lei-fu*' and '*Kuang Shih-lei-fu*,' on which compare Wylie's Notes p. 146, and Mayers' Manual, p. XX, under 'K. S. L.' and 'S. L.' The *Tsêng-pu Shih-lei-fu T'ung-pien*, which is in 93 books, was first published in the Ping-wu year of Tao-kuang, i.e. 1846, and reprinted under the title 重刻 *Ch'ung-k'o Tsêng-pu Shih-lei-fu T'ung-pien* in the Chi-sze year of T'ung-chih, i.e. 1869. It is very useful and contains a great deal of the most varied information, but must be used with great caution, being quite uncritical, and frequently unreliable. Moreover, it is very incorrectly printed; especially is this true of the passages in small type.

10.—*The Tung Chou Lieh-kuo-chih.*

Of the historical novel 東周列國志 *Tung Chou Lieh-kuo-chih*,* or 'History of the various States under the Eastern Chou dynasty,' Wylie says on p. 162 of his 'Notes on Chinese Literature,' that, 'al-

* Also called 'Tung Chou Lieh-kuo Ch'üan-chih 全志.'

though written in the form of a novel, it differs less from authentic history probably than any other in the same category. It embraces the period when China was divided into a great many tributary states [I would rather say: 'It embraces the period when, under the nominal sway of the Chou Emperors, China was divided into a great many feudal states], and extends from the 8th to the 3rd century B.C. when the Ts'in dynasty was established.'

Also Dr. Legge, in Vol. V. of his Chinese Classics (Hongkong and London, 1872), Prolegomena p. 31, has accorded an honorable mention to the Tung Chou Lieh-kuo-chih. 'It is not too much,' he says, 'to call Tso [the putative author of the Tso-chuan] the Froissart of China. *The historical novel called "The History of the various States" shows the use which can be made of his narratives.*' Dr. Legge mentions our novel again on p. 70^b of the text, where he says: 'The reader will find all the incidents of Duke Hwan of Lu's visit to Ts'i, his wife's misconduct, his death, etc., *graphically told* in the "History of the Different States," Chapter 13;*' on p. 99^b, Par. 4; and again on p. 118^b, Par. 7: 'There is a most graphic account of the expedition against the hill Tung in the 21st Chapter of the Lieh-kuo-chih; but I fear it is mostly fabulous.†

The Tung Chou Lieh-kuo-chih consists of 108 chapters (回 h'ui), which are distributed into 23 books (chüan). The name of the author is unknown. It is printed with a commentary by a certain 蔡昇 Ts'ai Hao † or 蔡元放 Ts'ai Yü-in-fang (nom de plume: § 七都夢夫 Ch'i-tu-

* Dr. Legge says: 'Book XIII.;' but 'Chapter' is preferable; for he means the 回 h'ui, not the 卷 chüan.

† Comp. also Chinese Classics Vol. I. Prolegomena, p. 59, Note 5. But even with this I do not suppose I have quoted *all* the passages where Dr. Legge speaks of the Tung Chou Lieh-kuo-chih.

‡ 昇 is another form of 昊 (Khanghi).

§ Nom de plume, in Chinese: 別號 pieh-hao, literally: 'other designation.'

mêng-fu), whose preface is dated 17th year of K'ien Lung, corresponding to A.D. 1752, in Spring.

The question when the Tung Chou Lieh-kuo-chih was written, has much occupied my attention; as far as I have been able to push my researches regarding this point at present, I am, however, only able to say *definitely* that it cannot have been completed earlier than 1630, and must, of course, have existed before 1752, the date, as has just been mentioned, of the preface of the commentator. We may, therefore, positively say that it belongs either to the last century of the Ming, or to the first century of the Manchu Dynasty. This can be *proved*; at the same time it can be made *probable* that it was written between 1621 and 1645. But I must here limit myself to these short remarks, reserving it for another opportunity to set forth the arguments on which these conclusions are based.

In Vol. IV. of the *China Review* (p. 104-114 and 227-232), Mr. H. Kopsch has given an account of the history of the famous beauty Pao Sze from the pages of our novel. He calls the story 'a story of the *seventh* century B.C.,' by which the *eighth* century is intended.

I myself have given a complete translation in German, of the three first chapters of our novel, which contain the history of Pao Sze and the events connected with it, under the title: 'The fair Maid of Pao,' and some other episodes from it,* in Vol. II. of the 'Journal of the German Society for the Natural History and Ethnology of Eastern Asia (Yokohama),† but the printing has been so badly executed that these translations are, in this form, almost unreadable throughout, and unintelligible in several places.

* 'Chou Hsü,' the Usurper of Wei; 'The Emperor in his relations to the Feudal Princes;' and: 'The Battle of Hsü-ko.'

† 'Mittheilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur-und Völkerkunde Ostasiens,' Band II., Beilagen I., II., III.

A translation of the Tung Chou Lieh-kuo-chih would be as useful and interesting, as it would be instructive, for the author adheres everywhere closely to the accounts and traditions he met with in historical works and books of every description, so that his work may be called an important, though uncritical thesaurus of nearly all the historical and legendary knowledge handed down to us regarding the epoch of which it treats.

APPENDIX II.

*Some more 'Stray Notes' on the Chinese Reader's Manual by the late
W. F. Mayers.*

In the preceding pages the 'Chinese Reader's Manual' by W. F. Mayers (Shanghai, 1874) has been so frequently mentioned that I do not think I could find a better place than here to correct the typographical errors which have crept into my article on it, in Vol. VII. (p. 104-107) of the *China Review*.

On p. 104, in the note on No. 17, read: 'further on' (instead of: 'after words').

On p. 105, in the note on No. 52, read: 'Vol. V. p. 261 § 7 alinea 1.'

In the note on No. 80, read: 'Ch'un Shên Kün' (instead of 'Ch'un Chên Kün.')

In the 3rd line of the note on No. 162, read: '208' (instead of '205').

In the note on No. 326 read 'K'ing Sianq' or, according to the Peking pronunciation, Ch'ing Hsiang 頃襄 (instead of 'K'ing Liang'). This prince (who bore the title of king) reigned in Ts'u (Ch'u) from 298 to 263. In the article regarding K'ü-yüan in the 'Manual,' it would be better to read: 'circa B.C. 300' instead of '314.'—The feast of dragon-boats is, by-the-by, not limited to the south, but celebrated all over China.

In the note on No. 482, after 'interceded' delete comma.

In the note on No. 672 read 'Tow' for 'How.'—Also, Tou Hsien was not a nephew, but an elder brother of the second Empress Tou. (See below, § 12).

On page 107^a, 7th line from top, read '81' for '87.'

Having said in Appendix I., No. 6, that the 'Chinese Reader's Manual,' notwithstanding its great merits, is a very unsafe guide for the student through the mazes of Chinese history and literature, I shall give here a few more examples in order to prove this assertion, not in a spirit of criticism, but because the Reader's Manual is in the hands of all sinologues at home and in China, and it is, therefore, important to correct the misstatements which are too frequent in its pages.

§ 1. On p. 1, No. 4, it is said that 阿斗 A Tow (his name is pronounced O Tou in Peking) was a child of Liu Pei by his consort Sun Fu-jên. But the political marriage of Liu Pei with Sun Fu-jên, a younger sister of Sun Ch'üan (Manual No. 632), took place in the 14th year of the 建安 Chien-an period, corresponding to A.D. 209, whilst the rout of Tang-yang 當陽, near the hill and bridge of Ch'ang-fan,* where Chao Yün so gallantly saved O Tou (Manual No. 54), had happened a year earlier (in 208); and in order not to expose the Lady Sun who, by-the-by, was a kind of amazon, to unfounded suspicions, I will remark here that O Tou was not Liu Pei's child by her, but by the Lady Kan 甘夫人, one of Liu Pei's other consorts. (See Ch'ên Shou's 'Annals of the three Kingdoms,'† Book 34 of the whole work—Book 4 of the Annals of Shu,‡ fol. 1, 3, where the Lady Kan is called Kan Huang-hou, 'the Empress Kan.' O Tou's surname, as he was a scion of the imperial house of Han, was, of course, 劉 Liu, and his cognomen (名 ming) 禪 Shan. According to the novel San-kuo-chih (Chapt. 34),§ he

* 長坂 (or 阪) 坡 Ch'ang-fan-p'o, and 長坂 橋 Ch'ang-fan-ch'iao.

† The historical San-kuo-chih. Comp. above, Appendix I., No. 3.

‡ 蜀志 Shu-chih or 蜀書 Shu-shu.
§ Book 6, fol. 13 of my edition.

was born in the 12th year of Chien-an, corresponding to A.D. 207, and this is confirmed by the T'ung-chien Kang-mu and by Ch'ên-shou's 'Annals' (l.l. fol. 1, 10, 11), where we are told that he was seventeen years of age when, in 223, he ascended the throne.

§ 2. Manual No. 54 (p. 18). For 板 (which is probably only a typographical error) read 阪, or 坂 (see above). The name *Ch'ang-fan*³, which is commonly, though erroneously, pronounced *Ch'ang-pan* in Peking, means 'a long embankment,' not 'a long plank.'

§ 3. No. 332. Sun K'üan or Sun Ch'üan died A.D. 252, not 251. Compare Manual p. 374, III., where the correct date is given.

§ 4. In No. 766 the Manual informs us that 曹丕 *Ts'ao P'ei* or, as his name is more commonly pronounced in Peking, *Ts'ao P'is* (literary appellation 曹子桓 *Ts'ao Tze-huan*), seized the Throne and declared himself Emperor in A.D. 220, 'on the death of the imbecile and helpless monarch' (*Hsien Ti*). That *Ts'ao P'is* declared himself Emperor in 220, is true enough; but the death of the legitimate Emperor, *Hsien Ti*, took place many years later. In the 10th moon of the year 220, says the 'History of the Later Han dynasty,'* the emperor *Hsien Ti* ceded (i.e.: was forced to cede) the throne to the King of Wei, *Ts'ao P'is*, who thereupon assumed the imperial dignity. *Hsien Ti* himself was degraded to the rank of a Duke of Shan-yang 山陽公, and his four sons were reduced to the condition of Earls.† The deposed emperor died in the 3rd moon of the 2nd year of the 青龍 *Ch'ing Lung* epoch, corresponding to A.D. 234, 'so that fourteen years had elapsed from his abdication until his death.' The T'ung-chien Kang-mu says exactly the same thing under the year 234; only it writes 'fifteen years' instead of 'fourteen,' but

* 後漢書 *Hou Han Shu*, Bk. 9, fol. 9, 1 et seq.

† 列侯 *lieh-hou*.

this is merely a different way of counting. According to the same sources, *Hsien Ti* reached the age of 54 years, and he was, consequently, born in A.D. 181. This is again in accordance with the statement on fol. 1, 5 of Book 9 of the *Hou Han Shu*, where it is said that *Hsien Ti* was nine years old, when he ascended the throne in A.D. 189.

§ 5. In No. 478 (p. 149) the Manual says that the famous 馬援 *Ma Yüan* was 'already more than seventy years of age when, in A.D. 41, he was despatched at the head of an army equipped for the suppression of an attempt made in Kiao Che (*Chiao-chih*), the modern Tonquin, to shake off the Chinese yoke.' *Ma Yüan*, however, never reached the age of seventy years at all. The *Hou Han Shu*, Book 24 (14th of the *Lieh-chuan*), fol. 8 vers. 1 (comp. fol. 8 rect. pen.), says distinctly that *Ma Yüan*, in A.D. 48, was 62 years of age. Consequently, he had been born in B.C. 14, he was only 53 years old when he died in A.D. 49, and his age amounted to no more than 55 or 56 years when, quite at the end of A.D. 41, or early in 42, he was appointed to the command of the army which was sent against *Chiao-chih*.*

§ 6. That 吐蕃 *T'u-fan* is the old Chinese name of the Tibetans, is well known; and it is also quite probable that the K'iang or Ch'iang 羌, a rapacious people whose principal seats, in the first century of our era, were in the region of the Kukuor, were, as Biot† cautiously expresses it, 'ancient tribes of the Tibetan race' ('*anciens peuples de race tibétaine*'); but when we read (Manual p. 149) that 'in A.D. 36,‡ *Ma Yüan* was sent to repel an incursion of the *T'u-fan* (Tibetans), whom he drove back

* The appointment was made in the 12th moon of the Chinese year.

† Dictionnaire des noms anciens et modernes des villes et arrondissements compris dans l'Empire Chinois (Paris 1842), p. 309.

‡ This date is not quite correct. See below.

across the western frontier,' the impression is necessarily produced that there was at that time in the Kukunor region a people of the Tibetan race which was called T'u-fan by the Chinese of those days. This, however, is a decided anachronism; for, as Ma-tuanlin says on fol. 5 vers. 2 of the 333d book of his great work: 'The T'ufan began to play a prominent part [in the history of China] at the commencement of the T'ang Dynasty (唐初土蕃始興焉).' In speaking of Ma Yüan, the term T'ufan ought therefore to have been avoided. The Chinese authors simply say that in the summer of A.D. 35, and again early in 37,* Ma Yüan was sent to defend the north-western frontier, that is, the modern Kansu, against the incursions of two different clans of the Ch'iang, who gave much trouble to the Chinese in those days. The T'ufan were not even the immediate successors of the Ch'iang in those regions, but after the Ch'iang we find there first the T'ukuhun, and only then come the T'ufan.

The above does not exhaust the inaccuracies in the article on Ma Yüan; but let us turn to another page.

§ 7. The articles No. 672, 673, 1-3 and No. 675 to 679 (Manual p. 205 to 207), all treat of different members of the 馮 Tou family, which played a prominent part in politics under the former, and especially under the later, Han Dynasty. These articles contain seven or eight statements regarding the mutual relationship of the members of this family, but of these, only two are correct, whilst all the rest are erroneous.

I shall say a few words on the members of the Tou family treated of in the Manual, in a chronological order.

* Ma Yüan's second campaign is mentioned in the T'ung-chien Kang-mu quite at the end of the 12th year of the period Chien-wu, so that it must have commenced very late in 36, or at the beginning of 37. As the Hou Han Shu (Bk. 24, fol. 5 ult.) speaks of it distinctly as having taken place in the 13th year of Chien-wu, I have simply said 'early in 37' in the text.

§ 8. Tou Kuang-kuo or Tou Shao-chün (Man. No. 676) was in fact a brother or, more accurately, a *younger* brother of the first empress Tou (673,1), the consort of the emperor Wên Ti who reigned from B.C. 179 to 157. His name, however, is Tou Kuang²-kuo 廣國, not, as the Manual has it, Kuang¹-kuo (廣國), and he was not ennobled as Earl of An-fêng (安豐侯), but as Earl of Chang-wu 章武侯. See Sze-ma Ts'ien's 史記 Shih Chi, Book 49; Pan Ku's 'History of the Former Han Dynasty,' Book 97 A (67th A of the Lieh-chuan).

§ 9. Tou Ying (Manual No. 678), who lived in the 2nd century *before* Christ, could, of course, not have been a son of 'the preceding,' i.e. of Tou Wu (No. 677), who lived in the 2nd century *after* Christ. Evidently by 'the preceding' Tou Kuang-kuo was intended, but this also is erroneous. Tou Ying was in reality a *nephew*, or, more accurately, the *son of a cousin*,* of Tou Kuang-kuo (No. 676). He stood, of course, in the same relationship to the first empress Tou (673,1).

§ 10. Tou Yung or Tou Fung† (No. 679) was, according to the Hou Han Shu, Book 23 (fol. 6 vers.), 78 years old when he died at the end of the year A.D. 62 [or, at the commencement of 63, for his death took place in the winter of the Chinese year]. He was, consequently, born in B.C. 16. He was a descendant in the 7th generation from Tou Kuang-kuo.‡ After his death the honorary designation 'Earl of Tai' 戴侯 (Tai hou) was conferred upon him. It was not his grand-daughter, but his great-grand-daughter who became the second empress

* The expressions 從兄 *ts'ung-hsiung* [so in the case of Tou Ying] and 從弟 *ts'ung-ti* for 'cousin' are of very frequent occurrence in the Histories. Our Dictionaries, however, do not contain them.

† Tou Fung is the more common pronunciation in the north.

‡ Hou Han Shu, Bk. 23, 1, 3.

Tou, i.e. the consort of the emperor Chang Ti who reigned from 76 to 88. (Tou Fung's eldest son was Tou Mu 穆; Mu had a son named Tou Hsün 勳; and the second empress Tou was Tou Hsün's daughter. See the Hou Han Shu 23, fol. 7, 5 *a fine et seq.*; Kang-chien-chêng-shih-yüeh,* Book 11, fol. 3.

§ 11. Tou Ku (Manual No. 675), whose literary appellation was Tou Mêng-sun 孟孫, was not a grandson, but a *nephew* of Tou Fung. (Tou Fung had a brother called Tou Yu 友. Tou Ku was Tou Yu's son).

§ 12. We now come to the famous and ill-famed Tou Hsien (Man. No. 672), whose literary designation (omitted in the Manual) was Tou Po-tu 伯度. Tou Hsien was a son of Tou Fung's grandson Tou Hsün,† already mentioned above (in § 10) as the father of the second Empress Tou, the consort of the Emperor Chang Ti. Consequently, Tou Hsien was a great-grandson of Tou Fung (Man. 679), and not a *nephew*, as the Manual says, but a *brother*, and, as we know from the Hou Han Shu,‡ an *elder brother*, of the second empress Tou.

§ 13. We then read in the Manual that, 'with Pan Ch'ao as his deputy, Tou Hsien achieved a signal victory in Central Asia, and caused a memorial of his triumph to be engraved on a rock at Mount Yen-jan, near the scene of his victory.' Here the expression 'Central Asia' might easily mislead the reader; the victory alluded to was achieved against the Hsiungnu, and its scene was the northern part of the present Mongolia, beyond the desert, where also Mount Yenjan must be looked for. Pan Ch'ao, however, had nothing to do with this

* The Kang-chien-cheng-shih-yüeh, 綱鑑正史約 is one of the most useful and best printed Compendiums of Chinese history that I know. It does not contain the Ming Dynasty.

† Hou Han Shu 23, 8, 2.

‡ The Hou Han Shu 23, 9, 3 *a fine* calls the 2nd empress Tou distinctly Tou Hsien's younger sister (女弟 nu-ti).

expedition of Tou Hsien's against the northern Hsiungnu; but of this more anon (§ 18).

§ 14. 'On re-entering China,' the Manual proceeds: 'Tou Hsien met his *cousin* the young Emperor (Ho Ti)' etc.

For '*cousin*' read '*nephew*'; for Tou Hsien, as we have seen, was the elder brother of the Empress Tou, the mother of Ho Ti, who reigned from 89 to 105.

§ 15. The account of Tou Hsien's death is likewise erroneous in the Manual. The Manual says that 'Tou Hsien, with a number of his kinsmen and adherents, was surrounded in the palace and despatched by a chosen body of guards.' The fact is that none of them were cut down on the spot, but Tou Hsien's adherents were cast into prison, where they died, whilst he himself was for the moment only deprived of his Generalissimo's* seal, and, as well as some of his kinsmen, banished from the Capital. The disgraced nobles were ordered to proceed to their feudal possessions, and, not wishing openly to execute them out of regard for the Empress Mother, the Emperor appointed special officials to maintain a rigorous and careful watch over them. These officials, evidently in accordance with secret orders, succeeded so well in rendering life insupportable to the banished noblemen that Tou Hsien and several of his kinsmen committed suicide soon after arriving on their estates.

§ 16. We now come at last to Tou Wu (Manual No. 677). He is said in the Manual to have been a great-grandson of 'the preceding.' By 'the preceding,' however, probably not Tou Kuang-kuo (No. 676) is intended, but rather Tou Jung (No. 679). In either case, the statement is wrong. In reality, Tou Wu was a great-great-grandson of Tou Jung. The genealogy is as follows:—

Tou Jung's eldest son Tou Mu had, be-

• 大將軍 ta-chiang-chün, Generalissimo.

sides Tou Hsiin,* two other sons, viz.: Tou Hsüan 宣 and Tou Chia 嘉.† Tou Chia had a son named Tou Wan-ch'üan 萬全, who was consequently Tou Jung's great-grandson.‡ Tou Wu is called a nephew (弟子 *ti-tze* 'son of a younger brother') of Tou Wan-ch'üan,§ so that he was Tou Jung's great-great-grandson.|| That the empress-consort of Huan Ti, who reigned from 147 to 167, was Tou Wu's eldest daughter, is correct¶

§ 17. With a few words on Pan Ch'ao and Pan Ku I will conclude these observations.

In the article regarding Pan Ch'ao (Manual No. 536) some mention of the ancient city of Sulê or Shulê, i.e. the modern Kashgar,** one of the principal scenes of Pan Ch'ao's activity in Central Asia, ought not to be looked for in vain. But this might be passed by as an omission; two statements, however, are contained in the same article which ought not to remain uncorrected. We read (p. 168) that Pan Ch'ao 'carried the imperial arms to the borders of the Caspian.' Now this assertion rests merely on imagination. It might be said that in consequence of Pan Ch'ao's vigorous policy *the prestige of the Chinese name* extended far into the more western

parts of Asia and made it respected amongst the kingdoms on the borders of the sea o Aral and the Caspian. But to speak of the *imperial arms having been carried to the borders of the Caspian*, is a rhetorical expression which has no foundation in history. The bold and romantic exploits of Pan Ch'ao are remarkable enough in themselves and need no exaggeration in order to render them deeply interesting to the student of history.

§ 18. That Pan Ch'ao did *not* serve under Tou Hsien, in the latter's victorious inroad upon the Hsiungnu (Manual, p. 168 in No. 536, and p. 205 in No. 672), has already been briefly pointed out above, at the end of § 13. The Manual here confounds Pan Ch'ao with his brother, the famous historian. It was—not Pan Ch'ao, but—Pan Ku (Manual No. 534), who, in his official capacity as a 中護軍 *Chung-hu-chün*, accompanied Tou Hsien beyond the Mongolian desert, and from Pan Ku's pen was the rock inscription, in which Tou Hsien's victory was recorded, on the Mount of Yen-jan.

I cannot conclude these pages without expressing my thanks to my learned friend Dr. Edkins for the great trouble to which he has put himself by looking over the manuscript of his paper in order to remove the more prominent solecisms which one, writing in a language not his own, would not easily be able to avoid. Several passages of the article, however, have been rewritten after the manuscript had passed through the hands of Dr. Edkins, and I wish, therefore, distinctly to acknowledge myself alone responsible for any un-idiomatic expressions that may still be found in it.

C. ARENDT.

Peking, June, 1884.

* Comp. above, § 10.

† Hou Han Shu 23, 7 *vers.* 2 *a fine*; 8, 1.

‡ Hou Han Shu 23, 8, 2.

§ Hou Han Shu 23, 8, 3.

|| So, viz.: Jung's 玄孫 *yüan-sun*, the Hou Han Shu calls him distinctly in Book 69, 1, 3.

¶ See for instance the Kang-chien Chêng-shih-yüeh, Bk. 12, 12 *vers.* 2; 16 *vers.* 4; or the Hou Han Shu 69, 1, 5.

** The name Shulê or Sulê 疏勒 for Kashgar has, however, quite recently been reinstalled into its venerable rights by the Chinese Government.

TARTARS, TIBETANS, TURKS, HINDOOS, &c.

The Tibetan Ruler of the Ts'in dynasty in the year A.D. 405 appointed Kumara-jivas [鳩摩羅什] as Grand Vizier [國師]: he treated him as a divinity [神], and went at the head of his ministers and *sramana* [沙門] to hear him preach: he also instructed him to translate into Chinese the Western Classics and writings [西域經論], and built temples and pagodas on a wholesale scale: ninety per cent. of the people in the provinces worshipped Buddha. A pleasant piece of wag-gery on the part of the disaffected prefect of Shao-hing, near Canton, shews that appointment to that distant Province was at this time regarded as a sort of exile or foreign post of employ. He sent to the conqueror 劉裕 [see Mayers], who was just succeeding to the fortunes of the collapsed Ts'in dynasty, an envoy with tribute of 'wisdom cakes,' in return for which Liu Yü sent a present of 'lease of life broth.' In the year 407 a Hun named Hülenbobo [赫連勃勃] set himself up as King of Bactria [大夏天王], in the modern 寧夏. This Hun was the son of 劉衛辰, one of the two Huns mentioned in a former paper, between whom the principality of 代 had been divided. Hitherto Bobo had been in the service of Yao Hing, but he revolted and took the surname of Khelen [which is probably the same as 祁連, previously stated to be the Hun word for 'Heaven']. This year Mujung Hi, Ruler of After Yen, was murdered by his adopted son 高雲, who also took the style of 天王. About this time the

capital of Southern Yen [near modern 青州府] was surrounded by Liu Yü's troops, and the irrepressible Kivukenkwei, who had again started as 西秦王, was defeated by Bobo. Kau-yün was murdered by 馮跋, who took the style of 天王. The Wei Emperor was murdered by his son [紹 by Mistress 賈], and succeeded by his son and heir 嗣 [by the lady 劉], who killed his brother and became Emperor, afterwards known as 太宗明元帝. It is stated that, according to the invariable rule of the Tobas, as soon as ever a son was proclaimed heir, his mother was put to death, and Lady Liu formed no exception. In the year 412 Southern Yen ceased to exist, and both its capital and its ruler Mujung Ch'ao were taken by Liu Yü, who executed the latter at (modern) Nanking. Thus, after nearly a century of rule in the north-east, the Mujung power at last came to an end. Kivuship'an 熾磐 succeeded Kivukenkwei, who had been assassinated, as ruler of Western Ts'in, and Tsük'ü Mêngsun of 凉 assumed the style of 西王, and Toba Nukdan, ruler of South Liang, was attacked and put to death by Kivuship'an, who annexed his dominions. In the year 416 Yao Hing died, and was succeeded by his son Yao 弘. Tremendous preparations were now made by Liu Yü to overthrow the Tibetan dynasty of Ts'in. The Toba Emperor was taking a great interest in the struggle, and the remark made to him by Ts'ui Hao [Mayers 789] is of importance: 'Shen Si [關中] contains a mixed population of Chinese and Tartars [華戎], and if Liu Yü,

after the conquest of Ts'in, tries on the civilizing methods of south China [荆楊] with the rough population of the north, he might as well try and catch a tiger with a net.' Wang 鎮惡, grandson of Wang Mêng, was one of Liu Yü's generals, and captured both Yao Hung and his capital city (modern) Si-ngan: Yao Hung was sent by Liu Yü, on his arrival, to Nanking and decapitated there. Thus ended the Tangut or Tibetan dynasty founded by Yao Ch'ang. Bobo was of the same opinion as Toba Sz as to the possibility of Liu Yü's holding the north, and said that he himself would try. With this object in view he sent on his son 璜 with 20,000 horse, and himself brought up the main army of attack. Owing to the dissensions of the Chinese generals, several of whom were assassinated, Bobo nearly succeeded, but was defeated by 傅弘之: at last, however, he took Si-ngan, and assumed the dignity of Emperor. Bobo's murder of a craven literate on the ground that 'you fellows are civil enough when we conquerors live, but you ruin us with your pens after death' illustrates forcibly the struggle between Tartar bravery and Chinese intellect. Bobo's capital 統萬 was south of the Khara-omo or 黑水 and near the modern 寧夏. In discussing the disappearance of the Ts'in dynasty, the historians mention that the progenitor of the Tobas, Ilu 猗盧, was first a feudatory of theirs, but that, after one generation, the family gradually became Chinese [漸變華風], a remark which future events will shew to be important. In the year 423 the Tobas built a wall 700 miles long, from a spot in modern 延安 to a spot in modern 平涼, with the object of protecting themselves from the 柔然 tribe [P Jurjis] of 狄, and the Emperor Sz died the same year. His successor's first act was to encourage the worship of Taoism (which first flourished from this date) by the erection of a 天師道場. His minister Ts'ui Hao, who, Mr. Mayers says, was 'devoted

to Taoist mysticism' objected to what is explained to mean Taoism and Chwangism [不好老莊書], which he described as 'mischievous unnatural twaddle' [矯巫之說不近人情] he even more strongly objected to Buddhism, and could not understand 'why this Tartar God was worshipped' [何爲事此胡神]. Notwithstanding this, he seems to have had faith in the Taoist K'ow K'ien-chih [Mayers 35], and to have believed that he received the Taoist Commandments [圖籙真經] from Heaven [上靈], through the angel [神人] 李譜文, descendant from Lao-tsz. Bobo died in A.D. 425, and was succeeded by his son 昌. [As there are places marked on modern maps 赫 (or 賀) 蘭山 near the spot where Bobo's capital was, we think it probable that this name is of antiquarian interest, and possibly means [天山]. A determined assault was made by the Toba armies upon the Hia dynasty in the year 427, but without any very definite results, except that the Hia capital was occupied. Next year, however, they captured Ch'ang, who, however, was succeeded and avenged by 定, his successor, in a decisive battle. The same year Kivuchihban, ruler of Ts'in, died, and was succeeded by Kivuh 鼻末. It is noteworthy that the Toba Emperor had then living at his Court the chief of the Uigurs [高車], who are described as 北狄. Possibly, for reasons previously given, these are the same as the 龜茲. In the year 430 the Ruler of Yen [馮跋] died, and was succeeded by his brother 弘, who murdered the legitimate successor. In the year 431 the Hia armies exterminated the Kivuh or Ts'in dynasty, and killed King Mumo. Meanwhile desperate fighting was going on between the Toba armies and the Chinese or Sung dynasty. The Hia monarch now resolved to attack Tsü-k'ü Mung-sun, who was still reigning in 涼, but his power was defeated by the Tungusic tribe of 土谷渾, and he himself was taken pri-

soner. Thus ended the Helien dynasty. Meanwhile Mung-sun died, and was succeeded by his son 牧犍. In the year 434 the Prince of Yen offered his humble submission to the Toba Emperor, and sent him a young girl as handmaid. The Toba Emperor called upon the heir-apparent to appear at Court, and the Yen prince sent back one Uzman [于什門] who had been at the Yen Court as envoy for 21 years, and had steadfastly refused to do obeisance, though he was imprisoned until his clothes became one mass of lice. [It is worthy of note that the Tobas described the legitimate Chinese as 吳子輩]. The Yen dynasty was overthrown by the Tobas in the year 436, and Prince Hung fled to the Tungusio [東胡] country of Corea [高麗]. [Compare Griffis' maps of Kokorai]. The Prince Mukien of Liang succumbed in the year 439, his stronghold of 姑臧 having been taken by the Toba troops. This prince appears to have cultivated literature in his distant kingdom, and, indeed during the century of 張 rule, this part of the world seems to have been highly civilized. The leading men of Liang were well treated by the Toba Emperor, who from this date abandoned the exclusive regard hitherto paid to military ability, established colleges, and encouraged Confucianism [儒風]. His minister Ts'ui Hao was instructed to compile a contemporaneous history. The style which the Toba Emperor now took for his reign [太平真君] was derived from the Taoist Bible [神書] of the K'ow K'ien-chih above referred to. Just at this time the Jan-jan [蠕蠕] Tartars, who are explained to be the same as the Jou-jans above mentioned, and are called 北狄, began to grow powerful. [It is not impossible that the 善善 of a previous paper are these identical Turks, for 然 in the 上聲 and 善 are, from an etymological point of view, the same sound, and are still actually the same sound in many parts of China. The fact of this con-

temptuous name being alliteratively given to them supports our speculation that the Tobas and 突厥, or 'bald heads,' were one and the same, and were also the same as the Manchus. The Toba Emperor had a minister named 古弼 who had a very pointed head, and the Emperor was in the habit of calling him 筆公, or 'Mr. Pencil.' This fact has three points of significance. 1. It is an instance of a pure pun. 2. It shows a tendency to giving nicknames. 3. It supports Dr. Maegowan's speculations in the first of the Asiatic Society's journal about the alleged Manchu custom of flattening the head.]

After having said so much about the north, we must now revert to Annam, part of which [交州] seems to have been, at least nominally, under the direct rule of Chinese functionaries during all the vicissitudes of the Tartar invasions. The prince of 林邑, described as a 南蠻, by name 范陽邁, continued paying tribute to Sung, but kept up an incessant marauding. The Chinese expedition seems to have consisted of two divisions, one of which was naval. Elephants were used by the Annamese. A place called 區栗城 was invested and Lin Yih was taken, with great plunder in gems. This same year (416 A.D.) an important event took place at Si-ngan. The Toba Emperor, having discovered through the instrumentality of Ts'ui Hao that the Buddhist temples had become houses of debauchery, ordered a massacre of all *Sramana* in his dominions, and the burning of all Buddhist books and images [佛像胡書]. The heir-apparent, who was still a believer, gave the priests time to escape and to hide many books and images, but not a temple or a pagoda was left. Ts'ui Hao was executed in the year 450 for having published a true, frank history of the Toba dynasty, and for having set it up in stone at the cross-roads. This would be a most valuable relic could it be dug up. It is interesting to note that part of the grand attack made by the Sung upon the Tobas

this year consisted of a naval force, which ascended the Hwang Ho up to near the modern 肥城: also that the Toba Emperor's popular name [小字] was 佛狸, and that the Chinese South of the Yang-tsz called Ho Nan (or old Chinese) men 儋 or Ts'eng, a word which in several modern dialects is still of the same sound as 秦. The Toba Emperor advanced far into the modern Shan Tung, removing the leading families to his capital, and, following precedent, took the opportunity of sacrificing an ox to Confucius, whose temple had been repaired by the Sung, in 443. The devastating Tartars swept like an avalanche over modern An Hwei and even reached the Yang-tsz at a point opposite Chinkiang. Peace was made between the two Empires, and the Toba armies returned North, but the effects of their cruelties in Shan Tung and An Hwei seem to have been amongst the most serious ever felt in China: moreover, half of the Toba hosts perished during the operation, and during the subsequent retreat to the Toba capital, the modern 大同. The Toba Emperor and his successor were both murdered by 宗愛 who was, with his three generations, himself exterminated by 文成帝. The first act of this monarch was to reintroduce Buddhism, and to establish a new calendar [立始曆] invented by 趙歐 of Northern Liang. This supports what we have already said that science and literature had been most active in this Central Asian region during the 4th and 5th centuries. In the year 465 the Toba Emperor died, and was succeeded by his son 弘. Two years later, the greater part of the Sung possessions north of the Yang-tsz [北四州] fell into the hands of the Tobas, one of whose ablest generals was Mujuŋ, 白曜 evidently one of the old stock. Strange to say, the initiative in making a treaty of friendship was taken by the conquerors, who seem to have been above the puerile questions of dignity which did, and do still, so harass the Chinese mind.

In the year 471 the Toba Emperor abdicated, and was succeeded by his son 宏, giving his own able mind to Buddhist, Taoistic and Hwangistic studies [黃老]. The Sung Emperor also at this time built a magnificent Buddhist temple at the modern 儋州, and it is worth while noting the selling of children and pawning of wives [貼婦] to meet these exactions withal. In the year 483 the Toba State for the first time interdicted marriages between the same surnames, an interesting fact, the historical significance of which is not yet ripe. Meanwhile Buddhism was becoming fashionable at the Ts'i Court, which dynasty had now succeeded that of Sung at Nanking. Amongst those who welcomed distinguished priests was Siao Yen, destined to become the founder of the Buddhist Liang dynasty. The Toba and Ts'i dynasties seem to have exchanged many friendly embassies about now, and the Tartar Emperor was so delighted with the Southrons [江南], that he held them up as models to his courtiers. One 李元 made a very witty, as well as a very caustic remark: 'True, Your Majesty, the Southrons are excellent fellows: they change their dynasty about once a year: we northerns are a poor lot, we keep ours for at least a century.' His Majesty was crest-fallen. Under the guidance of 王肅, the Toba Emperor began to adopt Chinese etiquette and customs, and to make his subjects take to study. In the year 495 he even prohibited the Tartar costume [胡服]. Preparatory to his attempted conquest of Ts'i, he made a visit to Confucius' tomb, and left there a tablet, which, if still existing, should be of great interest. His next step was to prohibit the use of the Tartar language, weights, standards, and measures, and to order a search for hidden books of antiquity: he himself was an ardent student and even drafted his own decrees. All this is important as bearing upon the philological history of China. In year 497 the Emperor changed his surname to 元 on the following grounds:—'The

northerners call 土 "earth" 拓, and they call 后 "a ruler" 跋. Now the Tobas [魏] issued first from 黃帝, who ruled under the aegis of the element "earth" [以土德王]: hence the house of Toba. Now, earth is the representative colour of that which is yellow, and is the beginning of all things: for this reason I change my name to 元.' The Emperor's reasoning is somewhat obscure and specious, but throws light upon a conjecture hazarded in *Chinese Notes*, namely, that the five elements are the true key to the exogamic mystery. The History Book goes on to say that he proceeded to arrange his genealogy [初定族姓], and set apart a dozen surnames as 'illustrious.' The successor of this Emperor, 宣武, reverted to Buddhism, and there were over 3,000 foreign priests [西域沙門] at the Toba capital of Loyang: the faith was cultivated with such enthusiasm that in a short time there were 13,000 temples [寺] in the Toba dominions. The barbarous Toba custom of killing the mother on the proclamation of a son as heir-apparent was now for the first time dispensed with; but the next Emperor 孝明 was almost as bad, for, on his accession he drove the Dowager-Empress, his step-mother, into a Buddhist nunnery. This monarch's mother (who at last murdered her son) built near Honan Fu a nine-storeyed pagoda, 900 Chinese feet high, with flag-staffs 100 feet high. At the same time the Liang Emperor forbade the working in of human and animal forms in embroidery lest they should be out. This is interesting when compared with the utter absence of such forms in Saracen and Mahomedan architecture.

The sacrifice of animals and flesh was also prohibited, and vegetables were ordained instead: this edict caused a tremendous commotion amongst the Confucianists. In the first year of 神龜 (518 and not 517 as given by Mr Mayers) the Toba Emperor sent an envoy to the West to search for Buddhist books. The envoy's name was 宋

雲, and he took with him a *Chikchu* named 慧生. They travelled 4,000 *li* as far as the Red Mountains [赤嶺], at which point they left Toba territory: they then 'still went West for another year' till they reached 乾羅國, whence they returned with 170 complete works. [This must be 乾陀羅 or Candahar, which is described elsewhere as being in North India].

In the year 524 the Tartar 乞伏莫于, evidently a scion of the Kivuh house which had ruled in Shan Si from 385-428, rebelled, and the chief [酋長] Erchu Jung [榮], great-grandson of the 爾朱羽健 mentioned in a former paper, was commissioned to crush him. It is interesting to note from a remark of Erchu's that the Tartars, even at this period, clipped [剪] their horses. In order to test the bravery of 高歡 (founder of the Eastern Wei dynasty) who was at this time intriguing against the falling house of Toba, he ordered a vicious horse to be clipped without either halter or hobble. As Kao Hwan's private name [小字] was 賀六渾 it is evident, that he was of Tartar birth. The Toba Dowager-Empress, who had celebrated her novel exemption from slaughter by murdering her own son, was drowned in the river near K'ai-fung Fu by Erchu Jung, who at the same time massacred 2,000 princes of the Toba stock, and the chief officers of state. Erchu Jung was killed by the Emperor 莊, who was in turn murdered by Erchu 兆. Erchu Chao's puppet was dethroned by Erchu 世隆, brother of Jung, and Kao Hwan inflicted a serious defeat upon Chao near the modern 真定府, and again near the modern 臨彰 in Ho Nan: deposing the puppets set up in the Erchu interest, he planted Prince 脩, grandson of 孝文, on the Throne, and drove Erchu Chao back to Shan Si [秀容] where he was at last hunted down and killed. In 535 Yü-wên T'ai murdered the Emperor, and the Toba dynasty split up into two hostile divisions, Yü-wên T'ai taking charge

of the West and Kao Hwan of the East, and each setting up his own puppet prince. The 柔然 Tartars took advantage of these dissensions to attack the Western Tabas.

About this time the Nanking dynasty of Liang had troubles with modern Annam and Kwang Si, but 陳霸先 (afterwards founder of the Ch'ên dynasty) was sent to quell them.

In the year 543 the Eastern Tobas built a great wall [長城], much farther south (modern 忻州) than those formerly built, to keep out the nomad Tartars. In the year 545 the Western Tobas sent an embassy to the 'Turks' (突厥), who are described as having originally been a small nation in the West 'surnamed Oshno' [阿史那] which had for generations lived south of 金山 (described here as near the modern 永昌 in Kan Suh, but by Porter Smith as being the Altai Mountains), but were now becoming menacingly powerful. Kao Hwan, the able regent of Eastern Wei, died in the year 547, and was succeeded by his son 高澄, whom the rebel 侯景 described as a 鮮卑兒. Hou King, who had been holding Honan in the Eastern Wei interest, now gave over his allegiance to the Western Tobas, and almost immediately afterwards to the Chinese or Liang dynasty of Nanking. Kao Ch'êng, the new regent of Eastern Wei, seems to have greatly bullied the unhappy young Toba Emperor, and even on one occasion to have 'punched his head' [拳毆]: he also roasted his enemies alive in the market place. He was murdered in the year 550 by a high-born Chinese slave whom he had flogged. Hou King succeeded in overthrowing the venerable Liang Emperor, and Kao Yang [洋], brother and successor of Kao Ch'êng, obtained for the Eastern Wei dynasty the whole of 淮南. In the year 550 Kao Yang dethroned the Toba Emperor, and substituted himself as the Emperor of the 齊 dynasty. An interesting statement is made by the History Book *à propos* of his succession. It appears

to have been an old Tartar custom to cast a molten image of those proposed as Empresses or heirs-apparent: if the cast were successful, the augurs were favourable: this may have significance in tracing back the origin of the Tartar races. In the year 551 Yü-wên T'ai of Wei [宇文泰] organized a completely new military system called 府兵: there were 100 *fu*, each consisting of 24 軍. He also instituted the nine degrees of rank which have continued in use to this day. [Some years ago it was suggested in *Chinese Notes*, with reference to Mr. Hepworth Dixon's remark that Peter the great substituted the Tartar *chins* or 'ranks' for the ancient Russian castes, that the Russian, Turkish, Mongol, and Manchu official systems would be found to have the same origin: it is now evident that such is the case]. Yü-wên T'ai seems to have got his idea from the ancient Chinese 九命, as to which see the Book of Rites. He also made the last Toba Emperor 恭 resume the surname of Toba in place of that of 元 taken by 孝文帝. Yü-wên T'ai's generals put an end to the Liang dynasty in 555, when the Emperor 元 was captured and murdered at his capital, the modern 荊州. A feudatory puppet named 蕭警 was set up with a morsel of surrounding territory about 100 miles in extent, and a Tartar resident and supporting garrison [助防] were left to watch him. A feeble attempt to set up a grandson of Wu Ti at the modern Foochow was made by Ch'ên Pa-sien, mentioned above, who had for some years been the chief supporter of the falling Liang dynasty. This is the first mention of Foochow [晉陽], which, like Canton, must have still been a mere outlying half-subject dependency. The Tobas were now well across the Yang-tze, and held a great part of Hu Kwang, which for some years had been a semi independent appanage of the above-mentioned Siao Ch'ah, a grandson of Wu Ti, whose feeble government had inspired this prince with ambitious hopes, and led him into a correspond-

ence with the Tobas. He is termed **中宗** and **宣帝** of the After Liang dynasty, which reigned until A.D. 587, but is not mentioned in Mayers' Manual. It is mentioned incidentally that about 50,000 Chinese were presented as slaves to the Toba troops on the capture of the Liang capital. The Ts'i dynasty of Tartars in the year 555 employed 1,800,000 men in building a wall from near the modern Peking to Ta-t'ung Fu in Shan Si. Persons who visit the Great Wall at Nank'ou see this only, and not the Great Wall of Ts'in Shi-hwang, built 800 years before.

The Ts'i Emperor also took it into his head to amalgamate the Taoist and Buddhist religions: Taoist priests were therefore ordered to shave, and to call themselves *sramana* [**沙門**] under penalty of losing their whole heads instead of the hair only. The Liang Emperor at Nanking, who under the guidance of Ch'ên Pa-sien had displaced his uncle **貞陽侯** (the puppet of the Ts'i dynasty), gave in his submission to that power, of which he became feudatory, so that at this moment two Tartar dynasties, Wei and Ts'i, ruled the whole of China, each with a puppet Chinese Emperor as vassal. The virtual ruler of Wei, Yü-wên T'ai, died in 556, and was succeeded by his son **覺**, who arrogated to himself the title of **周公**. He established the Northern **周** dynasty at Si-an Fu in 557, but was murdered and succeeded by his half brother, the future **明帝**. At the same time Ch'ên Pa-sien dethroned the last of the Liangs, and set up the Ch'ên dynasty. There were thus now in the field one Chinese and two Tartar dynasties. The Ts'i Emperor massacred all the royal Tobas [**元氏**], 721 in number, except one or two to whom he gave his own surname of **高**. It was from this time apparently that the barbarous custom of rooting out the members of each dethroned dynasty became fixed in the Chinese mind. Leaving the Tartars for a moment, we find that **歐陽紇**, prefect of Canton, rebelled against the Nan-

king dynasty of Ch'ên in 569: as the 'heads of the tribes' [**酋長**] were engaged to crush his rebellion, it is evident that even so late as this Canton was barely entitled to be called Chinese. In the year 573 the Tartar heir-apparent at Ch'ang-an was married to the daughter of Yang Kien, founder of the Sui dynasty [see Mayers' Manual, which is not quite correct], who had several years previously inherited the dukedom of **隋** from his father **忠**. Another of the Tartar dukes **李昞**, created duke of **唐** in 565, was father of the man who was destined to overthrow the Sui dynasty. The Chou Emperor **武帝** receives immense credit from the historians for the strictness with which he went into mourning for his mother the Empress **叱奴**. [It is marvellous what a powerful hold these ceremonies have upon the Chinese mind: no achievement, military or civil, draws from the commentators such a chorus of remarks as the appreciation or otherwise by monarchs of the charms of 'a good solid funeral']. The same Emperor, after at first fixing in the following order the precedence of Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism, ended by abolishing the two last, destroying all their books and images, and directing the bonzes and taoists to return to the laity [**還俗**]. In the year 577 the same monarch undertook successfully the conquest of the rival Tartar dynasty of Ts'i, whose capital [the modern **臨漳** in Ho Wam] was victoriously entered, and whose Imperial stock was totally annihilated. A new head-dress [**常冠**] was now for the first time introduced by Chou, consisting of a whole roll of black crape hanging down behind like a hood and cut into four tails: this turban or pagari may have a historical significance: it appears to have been the progenitor of the **襍頭** and perhaps the **紗帽**. Two codes of laws are mentioned as having emanated from the Chous, one the **刑書要制** (somewhat Draconian), and the other the **刑經聖制**.

The Chou or Tartar Emperor 宣帝 abdicated in 579, and took the title of 天祐皇帝. He reintroduced images of Buddha and Lao-tsz, and gave a grand popular entertainment, in which he himself figured between the two gods. On the death of this silly fellow, Yung Kien (Mayers No. 889) came to the front, and caused the last of the Tartars [靜帝] to formally reintroduce both Buddhism and Taoism. People were allowed full freedom in religious matters from this time. In the year 581 the Chou dynasty ceased to reign. Thus, from the accession of the Tobas in A.D. 386, to the downfall of Ts'i and Chou, (the two Tartar dynasties built upon the divided Toba power), that part of modern China North of the Yang-tsz had been almost uninterruptedly under Tartar government for two centuries. In addition to this, the Hun dynasty of 劉淵 and the Wether Hun, Tangent, and Tibetan dynasties, previously described, had directly ruled in the modern Shen Si, Kan Suh, Shan Si, and Chih Li

even since A.D. 304. Yang Kien followed the pernicious example started by the Nanking Ts'i dynasty in A.D. 479, and followed by the Tartar dynasties of Ts'i and Chou: he massacred the whole 宇文 race. In the year 597 it is mentioned that the Chinese envoy at 欽州, near the modern Pakhoi, inspired such confidence in 甯長真, the native prefect of that place, that he came in person to Court. It is distinctly stated that this man was a chief [酋長] of the barbarians [蠻夷], so that the fact that the country south of the Mei-ling was, until the close of the 6th century at least, only a congeries of colonies, may now be definitely accepted.

Note.—In support of a suggestion made in this paper that the Jou-Jan and the Shen-shen are the same Tartars, it may be mentioned that the Lou-Lan 樓蘭 and Shen-shen are known to be the same people; and probably the J and the L are both attempts to produce a Turkish R.

E. H. PARKER.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

NOTES.

The Governor of Chê Kiang positively cannot send his full amount of aids [協] to other Provinces, since the *likin* on silk and mulberries has fallen off so badly, on account of the unfavourable weather. He can only undertake to send his contingent, and his aids to Kashgarian and Manchurian defence [東北防]. He says that the *likin* on silkworms and trees amounts to almost as much as all the other *likin* of the Province.

The Hangchow Silk Commissioner re-states his accounts for 1882-83. He has received from the Treasurer Tls. 8,000,

58,793 and 42,000 from the landtax of 1881, 1882, and 1883 respectively, and Tls. 57,529 *likin*. Balance from last year Tls. 1,814. Balance carried forward Tls. 8,175. The 372 silk and crape coats are Tls. 4,926 as last time: the 制帛 are Tls. 22,802. The Revenue Board takes 6,000 catties of floss at Tls. 74,140, and 228 pieces of Kan-suh 俸緞 at Tls. 5,504. Sz Ch'uan's share is Tls. 24,285; handkerchiefs £5 a piece as before. The 造辦 takes 200 sheets of plain and 200 sheets of gold paper, and 200 kerchiefs at Tls. 3,568. Eighteen embroideries for Imperial use cost Tls. 5,764; then 460 pieces of silk Tls. 7,696; more silk coats and floss Tls. 3,571; gauze Tls. 884. Total, Tls. 157,962.

It is proposed to move the Manchu garrison from Palikan, and to amalgamate it with that of Urumtsi. The military lands thus vacated will be devoted to the support of the Chinese troops there. It is also proposed to strengthen the Manchu garrison at Kuoh'êng by removing the families of Manchu soldiers from Kweihwa Ch'êng.

The Customs Superintendent at Kalgan should collect Tls. 20,004 正額 and Tls. 40,555 of 'extra' every year. Since Russian teas ceased (after the Treaties) to pay duty there, receipts have gone down, and last year only Tls. 38,030 were collected in all instead of Tls. 60,500. [This information will supplement a recent *Chinese Note* on the subject]. He applies to be allowed 'as usual' 40 per cent. of the Tls. 22,500 short collected. [If he is able to pay up 60 per cent. of this, i.e. over Tls. 12,000, he must pocket large irregular profits].

The Ningpo foreign customs fund has to pay a sum towards supporting envoys abroad [出使經費]. Its Peking contingent is still fixed at Tls. 200,000 from this fund.

The heroes of Chinese plays are performed by the 生, who are divided into 正老 and 武, according to the parts they play, like our 'first' and 'walking' gentleman. The female characters are always performed by the 旦, of whom there are very similar subdivisions. The 淨 take the parts of ghosts, great criminals, monsters, savages, &c., and paint their faces black and red. The favorite rôles of thieves, clowns, &c., are taken by the 丑. Finally the lowest comedy is performed by the 末, who act the parts of beasts, rustics, and persons of low degree.

The Empire of Yao, Shun, and Yü is explicitly stated never to have extended east and west farther than the [China] sea and the borders of the Shen Si desert: the tribes

north and south who desired intercourse got it, but no compulsion was used.

During the reign of Han Wu Ti the Yellow River burst its banks at 大名府, but was, after 20 years' delay, repaired. During the reign of 元帝 it burst its banks at the modern 館陶, and divided itself into two branches, one forming the modern 衛 River at that city. No steps were taken, and, shortly after, it burst again at the modern 恩縣, in consequence of which the Wei River, which had entered the sea in a north-westerly direction, ceased to flow. [The first occasion on which the great bank burst was B.C. 167, at the modern Yenching District north of K'ai-fung Fu. This great bank [金隄] had been successively built up and maintained for thousands of years from the modern Jung-yang in Ho Nan to the 陽信 district (now otherwise called) in Chi-nan Fu, Shan Tung. An army was raised in order to repair it]. In the reign of 成帝 it again burst somewhere in 東昌府 and submerged 32 districts. The recovery from this disaster evidently gave the name 河平 to the reign.

The Cantonese (or, perhaps, Hakkas) have a saying 劉王鄭殺人不填命 'the three surnames of Lau, Wong, and Cheng are so powerful that they need not give life for life in homicidal cases.' This illustrates the ideas still deeply rooted in the Chinese mind that justice is always comparative, and that any life is sufficient to satisfy a *vendetta*.

An old Chinese saying runs: 不如意事常八九可與人言無二三 'Nine-tenths of our affairs run against the grain, and not a quarter of them are likely to meet with any sympathy.'

Customs taxes [算商車] were first instituted in the reign of Han Wu Ti.

As an instance of territorial organization we find that 江陰 district, near Shanghai, has 440 保, or hundreds, each of which is subdivided into ten or more 甲 or tithings. In the district of Yung-chia (Wênchow) there are over 50 都, each subdivided into five 圖, and the headmen are usually called 保正, or, if riverine, 旗長. In some parts of Kiang Su the headmen are called 現年. In Kiang-yin it has been customary to compel landowners to serve as headmen [甲長] in turn, making them responsible for taxes. In Yung-chia, besides the working headmen, or 保正, there are gentlemen spokesmen called 都正 and 協正.

There is a department (in either the Board of Revenue, or the Household) at Peking, called the 造辦處, which does not appear to be mentioned in Mayers' *Chinese Government*. One of the Silk Commissioners [? Hangchow] sends Tls. 27,000 to this office, being unspent moneys voted to silk purveyance for the year 1879, and paid in to him by the Provincial Treasurer in four annual instalments.

A 侍生帖子 is a modest card used by a senior, just as the junior would use a 晚生帖子. If he desires to be very polite he may say 眷侍生帖子 頓首.

The 截取 officials have been previously described. It now appears that 員外郎 and 郎中 are candidates for this status. Other expectant *taotais* and prefects are taken from 庶吉士改用 and from 小京官升用. It takes all the above about 10 years to receive an appointment. Seventy per cent. of all *taotais* and prefects come from 截取京察, and 30 per cent. from District Magistrates, under the present system; and all the 70 per cent. begin as Hanlins, or junior clerks, at the Boards, or as metropolitan graduates [科]. The rule with regard to 主事

(2nd class assistant) is that 五缺一輪, or 'five vacancies make a round of distribution;' Nos. 1 and 3 are 留補; Nos. 2 and 4 are 留題 and No. 5 is 咨選. Senior and second secretaries [郎中和 員外郎] by rule are taken one by one in the above order. Some time ago the Censorate wished to have two 留題, and to make 'four vacancies one round' by making each of the 留題 alternate with a 留補 and a 咨選. But the Board objected that this last category consisted of purchasers [捐] as well as examinees [正途]. Now that purchase is abolished, and there are, therefore, fewer in this category, it is suggested that the senior and second secretaries be put on the same footing as the assistant secretaries.

Another rule is that only three 司員 can be recommended at a time. For some years, however, the Foreign Office has been ignoring this rule.

The *bitkeshi*, or writers, of the Moukden Boards are recruited from men who have purchased rank or been (nominally) examined. As both classes are incompetent, and young men whose fathers have done eminent service [蔭生] are not admitted, it is now requested that the Banner *chijên* graduates, of whom there are 300 at Moukden, may be allowed to compete, in the same way as now at Peking they are allowed to compete for *bitkeshi* and 大挑 appointments. It appears that at Moukden there are 60 Manchu, 3 Mongol, and 24 Chinese-Banner *bitkeshi*. In the ordinary course of promotion, these clerks become secretaries and under secretaries.

The Chinese statement that all Tartar tribes [胡] worship the 龍神, and that their trysting place, capital, or city, is thence called by the generic name of 龍城 may yet turn out to have historical significance.

Mr. Ross' statement that 'what is usually written Khan in English, or rather in

French, whence it was taken, is never so written by the Chinese, from whom it was translated; it is always *kokan* 'is too bold'. Kublai Khan, when called Khan at all, is always called 忽必烈罕, and in all recent Memorials 罕 was used for the princes about Yakoob Beg. We have often seen 汗 used alone: e.g. 其汗 'their Khan:' in fact, except in Williams' dictionary, we have never seen 可汗 at all. See also Mayers' *Chinese Government*, page 83.

The 'bear's liver,' which Mr. Ross says women in travail take, is evidently 熊膽, which probably bears the same* relation to bear's gall (not to say liver) that the bear's grease of British barbers does to hog's lard.

* Inverse relations? i.e. The one is very little bear's gall the other is very much hog's lard.—ED.

Mr. Ross' account of the Korean rules of euphony is interesting. That *b g* at the end of a word are *p k* is a fact, not only in Korean but in modern German and ancient Sanskrit. Many Chinese transpose *l* and *n* as obstinately as the Koreans. All that Mr. Ross says about euphony falls under what is in Sanskrit called *Sandhi*, and the whole human race seems to have similar instincts in this regard. The confusion of *sia* and *sha* still exists in at least one Chinese dialect. Mr. Ross is quite wrong in supposing that the softening of *ying* or *king* into *ching* [金] has anything to do with Manchus. All over Hukwang, Yün-kwei, Sz Ch'uan, and almost everywhere where 'mandarin' is spoken but Ho Nan and Nanking, the initial is soft. It is soft even in Chêkiang. Mr. Ross' views upon *dz*, *sz*, &c., (page 386) appear to us crude. He seems to assume, as many do, that our own standard of vowels and consonants is anything but arbitrary. It is quite easy to say *dz* without any vowel whatever.

During the reign of the Han Emperor King-Ti, the land-tax remitted by his father

was again imposed one half [民田半租], in addition to which over three per cent. transfer fees [三十而稅一] were charged.

What is called *Guna* in Sanskrit exists in English as well as in the Foochow dialect, and in exactly the same way. For instance, the short *a* in *can* 'takes Guna' and becomes *can't* (*cahnt*). The modern Americanism *cān't* is an outrage upon the 'laws' of language. So the *u* in *do* (for letters cannot affect sounds) is changed by Guna from *I du not* to *I don't* (*doughnt*). So far is this true that from the word *won't* it is possible to lay down that the original word must have been *I wull*, and not *I will*.

The system of dating from the beginning of an Emperor's *nien hao*, or reigning style [改元有年號], began with the Han Emperor Wu. It was under this Emperor that communications with India and Central Asia were first opened, and his innumerable though devastating conquests may be compared to those of Cæsar and Pompey, who flourished a generation later.

The Canton Viceroy says that the quinquennial surveys of grassy levels have been neglected during the past 30 years, during which time the receipts have amounted to Tls. 222,000, of which Tls. 150,000 have been spent in suppressing local risings. In the five riverine magistracies there are 74,731 *mu*, say 15,000, acres of 草白坦, [evidently the 'grassy' levels of a previous *Note*], and now termed also 未熟 or 'unripe.' There are only 147 *mu*, or say 30 acres, of 'ripe' (or what we previously termed 'reclaimed') levels. It is proposed by him to whitewash the neglect of the past 30 years and to start afresh, collect taxes, remeasure regularly, and turn over a new leaf. Taxes should be paid and the land quoted as taxable [升科] when 'ripe': remitted when the barriers fall in; cultivation forbidden where the current is obstructed.

ted; and confiscation imposed for clandestine cultivation. The term 溢坦 or 'submerged flats' seems to be applied to all alike.

The 星字 so frequently mentioned in Chinese history cannot well be a comet, as stated by Dr. Williams under the name of 字星. There are 53 mentions of these nebulae (?), and 17 of comets [慧星]. The commentators state that on account of their frequency they are more sinister than comets [慧爲異非字比也].

The term 斬賊首級 originated with the Ts'in Dynasty, for every enemy's head one step [級] in rank [爵] was the reward.

The Viceroy of Sz Ch'wan mentions certain military tenures in 懋功 Sub-prefecture. Married soldiers [眷丁] get 30 *mu* on which they pay an annual tax of a little over 2 斗 one 升, or a trifle more than seven gills [合] of rice the *mu*. Unmarried soldiers [單丁] pay the same tax, but only receive 15 *mu* of land. The encampment or lines are called 慶寧營.

Mr. Kleinwächter's speculations as to the relation of Chinese to Sanskrit numerals are ingenious. It is well known, however, that 1 or 7 is the letter *e* of *ekah*, one; 2 is *dv* of *dvau*, two; 3 is *tr* of *trayah*, three; 4 is *ch*, *chatvārah*, four; 5 is *p* of *pañcha*, five. For the old forms see Max Müller's Grammar, and compare Turkish numerals. Possibly the Chinese *ma tsz* may have been derived from the Hindus.

The act of marrying (or buying) a concubine pending engagement to a legitimate wife [停妻娶妾] is a punishable offence.

The sentence 民有昆弟訟田 in the annals of the Han Emperor Sūan shews that for 2,000 years at least the landed property of brothers has been separately

owned: it also shews that from ancient times division has been thought less respectable than tenancy in common.

A republican government was the earliest known to China [五帝官天下], in which the succession went to the ablest citizen [官以傳賢]. But the semi-mythical empire of the 三皇 or 王 was hereditary [三王家天下], in which the succession went to the descendants [家以傳子孫]. The phrase 官以傳賢聖 means 'according to the *kwon*, or public form of government, the succession went to the worthiest.' See No. 48 of Mr. Balfour's Dialogues.

The following words from the 'Delegates Version' of N. J. are not included in Dr. Eitels' Cantonese Dictionary 攔 64.13 wán² Luke 11.21; 區 9.11 'ü Luke 13.11; 湖 85.11 p'ang Luke 21.25; 饒 188.13 tuk, John 19.17; 蹀 157.8 wa Acts 3.7; 筆 118.8 'ohui, shui II. Cor. 11.23; 獍 94.11 King' Philip: 3.2; 拴 93.6 ts'ün Heb: 10.5; 藎 140.8 ün, chui Rev. 11.1.

A. D.

The Linnenese have a rather ponderous equivalent for 'A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush,' 菓子雖小現成到口好過你想蒜頭唔得入口: More direct than 東虹日頭, 西虹雨 'Eastern rainbow (is a sign of) sunshine; western rainbow of rain' is the Linnenese 朝虹水灑灑, 晚虹曬裂瓦. 'Three removes are as bad as a fire' is 遷上遷落費去十担穀. 'The greedy man screws himself into the hole of a cash and gets stuck there all his life' 貪利之人鑽入錢孔一生唔得出. 'Killing two birds with one stone' becomes 'Stringing two eagles on one arrow' -- 矢貫雙鵬. Matthew VII., 3 睇見人家至細微, 自己眼前至大都唔見.

A. D.

As to the antiquity of surnames, it is mentioned that the Han Emperor 成 wished to find, amongst the thirteen surnames owned by the descendants of the 殷 monarchs, the direct line, or 嫡. He was unsuccessful, so he made 孔吉, the grandson in the 14th degree of Confucius, a Marquis, and then a Duke, and the family of Confucius were to be patented as descendants of 湯 [封孔子世爲湯後].

Shih Tan [師丹] seems to have been a sort of Chinese Gracchus: he brought before the Emperor 成 the great inequalities between the patricians [諸侯王列侯公主], rich official classes [吏民] and the poor. The consequence was an edict forbidding the lands called 名田 held by 關內侯吏民 to exceed 30 k'ing [600 acres], and their slaves, male and female [奴婢], to exceed 30 individuals. The result of this was that the price of slaves fell, and the matter was soon dropped. Wang Mang forbade for a time the sale of land [王田] and slaves [私屬], and ordained that all excess of land over one 井 should be divided between the 九族 and the 鄉里 in cases where there were not more than eight males to occupy it.

The minion of Ts'in Shih Hwang's mother (Mayers No. 258) was named Lao Ngai, and not Kiao Tuh. The first character given by Mr. Mayers is correct, but the second is 毒 and not 毒. Dr. Williams' dictionary is correct on the subject.

The Han dynasty held the third 戌 day after the winter solstice to be the last day of the year [臘]. This word is of the same origin as 獵, to hunt, because on this day the captures of the chase were sacrificed. Owing to the Chinese giving a cyclic character to days as well as months and years, it is possible to count back events within one day to the remotest antiquity. The usurper Wang Mang made the 12th moon

of his predecessor's reign the first of his own [始建國]. The reason why a 戌 day was fixed on is thoroughly Chinese in its complexity. The Han dynasty's symbol of government was 火; but fire is at its height at mid-day [午], and weakest at sunset [戌, or 7-9 p.m.]; therefore the year should go out on a 戌 day. Q. E. D.

Prince 宣 of the Chow dynasty sent 尹吉 on an expedition against the predatory Huns [then called 獯狁]. The Ode alluding to the event runs 侵鎬及方至於涇防; and, again, 薄伐獯狁至於太原.

All ancient rhymes are of interest in fixing ancient pronunciation. Thus 寧逢赤眉不逢太師: 'We would rather meet [General Pan Ch'ung, head of the] red-eyebrow [army] than [General Wang K'wang] the Protector.' Again 太師尚可更始殺我; 'but even general Wang is better than the Renovator [Lien Tan], who would eat us up.' In modern dialects there is a great diversity as regards these two couplets.

It appears that the Governor of Kwei Chow is extending the military colonies to the regular army [推屯於練], and encouraging them to grow tobacco, cotton, silk, hemp, varnish, flax [葛] and tea where they find that the abandoned land [荒] now taken up will not do for wet crops [田]. He mentions that H. E. Li Hung-chang's soldiers have thus of late years reclaimed [成熟] several million mu of land on the Tientsin coasts, and that H. E. Tso Tsung-t'ang made his armies feed themselves all the way from 涇州 to 玉關 in Kan Suh.

In Chih Li and Shun-t'ien there are a number of fee-farms [莊田] held by princes, dukes, &c. [王公貝勒], and managed by stewards [莊頭], or bailiffs [攪頭]. When the Emperor grants remission of taxes

on common socage tenures, these dukes are directed to make a proportionate reduction in their rack-rents, and proclamations are issued by the local authorities stating to the people to what remissions they are entitled. The rents on those lands the stewards of which have been degraded [革退] by the Household Department [內務府], are collected for the noble owners by the local authorities. The glebes attached to the Mausolea, [東陵衙門永濟庫]; the estates supporting the Western River repairs [步軍統領衙門西河歲修]; and the various temple glebes [香燈], to all of which rents [租] are appurtenant, are, as to their cultivating tenants, placed on a similar footing.

There appears to be a sort of official duty known to the Boards as *wupu* (probably a Manchu word). The term occurs in the phrase 撤其烏布 'deprived him of his trust,' or 'his *ch'ai-shih*.'

The Buddhist priest Lotsangtanpiwang-shuk'o, who has been on a pilgrimage from Kan Suh to Lhasa, reports that he has changed his name [改名] since his interview with the Dalai Lama [受戒] to Chiamupats'utop'u, which latter is now his 法名. On 'receiving a warning,' such priests burn nine holes in their foreheads [燒疤]. The 法名 is not used for ordinary purposes.

The ancient Chinese Emperors used to conduct their own armies [將兵] and were called 上將軍. This would be a very appropriate title for the Presidents of France and the United States instead of *police tenter* and 'head captain,' as they are now styled.

The 太學 or High College was first established by the After Han Emperor 光武.

According to the Governor at Urga no Chinese is understood among the Tsatsens

and all documents must be translated into Manchu and Mongol.

The Governor Wang Wên-shao in 1876 reduced the internal *likin* on rice and grain in Hu Nan to one payment. The collection now is not $\frac{1}{10}$ of what it then was, and as the deficit is said to be over 100,000 taels, the *likin* on grain and rice in Hu Nan must have amounted to Tls. 150,000 annually against, say, Tls. 15,000 now.

The Amur authorities are continuing the winter hunt this year by way of exercising the troops.

During the period covered by the 春秋 242 years there were 36 eclipses of the sun. If astronomers can calculate the truth of this,* it conclusively proves the authenticity of so much Chinese history at least.

* It has been calculated long ago.—Ed.

The old Chinese saying 千人所指 無病而死 is very like 'give a dog a bad name and hang him.'

The 潞 salt is now finding its way into Shen Si, where a *likin* tax is imposed upon it.

The prefect of 東川 received Tls. 238,828 from June 1878 to January 1882 in payment of the cost price of Yün Nan copper including portage [本脚]. During this time 1,433,234 catties have been sent, or are ready to be sent, to Peking. Tls. 8,729 have been spirited away by the Prefect. If reference be made to previous Notes, it will be found how far the above rate of, say, 6 catties the tael [which means Tls. 15 or so the pecul] compares with the price paid to the miners.

'Misfortunes never come single' perhaps fits in with 一波未平一波又起.

Brevet steps [級] may be valuable when they are 實, or available to count against degradation [抵過]. For conveying rice safely to Peking only 尋常 steps are given, and only one at a time, or, as a special distinction, coupled with two good marks [紀錄二次]. The lowest reward of all is to have one's button changed [換]. Only Chih Li men can be charged with the rice delivery business, and only 130 Tientsin and Tungchow officers and gentry can be rewarded each year: half for Ché Kiang rice and half for Kiang Nan.

Since 1874 Kiang Su rice has been sent by the [? sea] direct route [改徑].

Chinese civilisation is rapidly spreading in the north. The Manchurian authorities are now establishing a training school at 新民 sub-prefecture, the population of which defrays all expenses. The number of Manchu paid licentiates is to be increased, so as to equal the Hanchün in number. Separate graduates are to be allotted to the sub-prefecture, and a share of 拔貢.

It is a curious thing that in several dialects the character 兩 is read in two ways, accordingly as it means 'two,' or a 'tael.' When 'two' it is in Cantonese ⁵lōng; in Hakka ⁵lōng; in Foochow ²lan², and in Wénchow ⁵lae. When 'tael' it is in Cantonese ⁵lōng; in Hakka ⁵lōng, (which in that dialect is the same sound as ⁵lōng); in Foochow ⁵lōng or ⁵lōng (the two being indistinguishable tones in that dialect); and in Wénchow ⁵lae. Here we find the Hakka tone flatly contradicting Canton in each case. A treatise might be written upon this point, which would, however, probably be delectable to as few as Dominie Sampson's treatise upon the Greek letter ταν. Suffice it to say that we believe the word for 'two' to be an ancient and distinct word from the word for 'tael.'

The *Peking Gazette* says that 三分三 is a name given to common Manchu soldiers

from the rate at which they are paid. This supports the theory advanced in explanation of the Cantonese 二分二, 'a slave.'

It seems that all the land but 105,000 晌 (of which 71,000 are 熟) has been subjected to taxation (升) in the Amoor territory. Some years ago, it was proposed to colonise these 105,000 *morgen* with 300 Manchus from Peking, each man getting 50 晌, and meanwhile 300 local bannermen were to cultivate for them. There were to be four 旗, each consisting of five 屯 of fifteen men: i.e. 300 Pekingese, and 300 acting cultivators, or 600 in all. It was estimated that each Pekingese would need Tls. 250 to build a house and buy stock,—Tls. 61,500 in all. If after 7 years no Pekingese claimant turned up, the acting cultivator was to be made absolute owner [已業] of 15 *morgen*, and hold 35 *morgen* as tenant in fee-farm [管業], of which last 35 twenty *morgen* were, after five more years, to pay 660 cash a year for each *morgen*. It is now requested that these 105,000 acres be still not taxable for the present. It is incidentally mentioned that the Amoor territory depends for its revenue entirely on land-tax and customs.

The saying 有千日作賊無千日防賊 is something like 'the pitoher always goes to the well once too often,' i.e. 'you may be a rogue always, but you cannot guard against rogues always.'

It appears that Mongol Emperor or king 也先, who held the Ming Emperor 正統 in captivity for so many years, was at 長安 in Shen Si, so that up to that date it is evident that the ancient capital of China was still in Mongol hands.

It is a curious thing in Foochow the Peking dialect is called *king p'ie*; in Wénchow *kiang pi*, and in Yangchow *ching p'ie*. In none of these cases is there any tradition of the meaning of the word *p'i* or *p'ie*.

In a recent *Peking Gazette* 等因 is used by a high officer with reference to an inquest held by his inferiors, after a sentence beginning 'it was found that' [驗得]. However, the high officer is Manchu, military, and in northern employ, all of which three points are unfavourable to knowledge of official stereotyped forms.

Mr. Griffis says the Ya-lu river is also called the 'Ap-nok, the former name referring to its sinuous course, meaning the dragon's windings, and the latter after its deep green colour.' The characters 鴨綠 used by the Chinese are pronounced Yalu in Peking, and Ap-luk in Canton. The words are the same.

It is a pity Mr. Griffis does not give us the Chinese characters for Corean-Chinese words. For instance, Tai-wen-kun or Tai-in-kun, the title of the captured Regent. The three *chong* or ministers may be 相: the *pan-cho* or 'heads of departments' are probably 班曹: the *cham-pan* and *cham-é* are almost certainly 參辦 and 議. The *dai-jin* or council should be 大臣. The six classes of cities *yin*, *mu*, *fu*, *ki*, *ling*, and *hi'u* are probably 縣 [?] 府 畿 [?] and [?] 都. The *kam-sa* or Governor of a province will be 監司 or possibly 觀察. The *yup* or obeisance is undoubtedly 揖.

The Corean *ho-pai*, that is personal ticket or passport mentioned by Mr. Griffis, is the ancient Chinese 符或節. It was in the reign of 漢高帝 that they first began to be cut in half. The rope chairs for nobles of the third rank are probably the 籠 introduced by that Emperor, in order to prevent brawlings at Court. Nothing could be clearer from a perusal of Mr. Griffis' book than that Corean civilization is almost purely that of the ancient Chinese.

Though the order in which the Boards are mentioned is 吏戶禮兵刑工,

yet the 兵 ranks second, the 刑 fourth (after the 戶 and the 禮 before the 工). After hammering away at this subject in *Chinese Notes* for some years, we have at last got it right.

The 'flat wand' said by Mr. Griffis to be used by the Corean nobles in the king's presence is the Chinese 笏. The 'baton of command' is the 如意, and the *sang chang* are simply the 喪杖 mentioned in the *Li ki*, and used at funerals in China to this day.

Mr. Boulger's history of China down to the fall of the after Han dynasty is on the whole an exact *resumé* of the most important events. He errs on page 6 in confusing the term 黃帝 with that of 皇帝; and on page 16 in referring 越裳氏 to Siam, when he or it is clearly traceable to Annam or Tonquin. He is again mistaken in using the term 皇帝 as the personal name of Ts'in Shi Hwang-ti, and in ascribing to the founder of the Han dynasty respect for men of letters, whereas, until nearly the close of his reign, he treated them with outrageous insult [溺冠]. The expression 'lesser Emperor' taken from Mailla as an equivalent for 太上皇 is quite unjustified as a translation. If 'dowager' were applicable to males, the term 'dowager Emperor' would be nearer the mark: for the characters are also applicable to an Emperor who resigns his civil functions to a successor, but who retains his family supremacy. The 皇太后 who now rules China is, strictly speaking, an individual in the same position. The 'Prince Chowhow of Nan-yuei' should be Chow T'ò [趙佗]. The word *Sin* was not used by Wang Mang as the name of the Empire like the name Han: he took the style of 新皇帝, or 'new Emperor.' The anecdotes and quotations are accurate, and though there is much confusion in the spelling, owing to French and English forms being promiscuously used, these first

chapters may well be accepted by persons unacquainted with Chinese literature as a faithful outline. There are several slips in English. For instance: 'What Heaven hears and sees *manifest themselves* by &c., &c. Again: 'Mayuen, who ranked with Fongy and Keng Kang as the best generals of the age, was &c., &c.

There is a tribute of gold [沙金] due from some Mussulman tribe described as 南回部坎巨提. One of the Manchu Generals in the Kuldja region forwards 1½ ounces of this gold, and states that, in accordance with rule, a few pieces of silk have been conferred upon the chief in question.

Students at the foreign College at Canton are eligible as 府經歷縣丞 as soon they have attained the position of 繙譯生監, and they may then go up for their *chü-jên* degree. It appears that there is also a foreign degree called *fan yih chü-jên*, but this does not seem to have the same effect as a proper degree [文鄉試]. Formerly Bannermen who had become *fanyih shên-y-chien* might become Captain [防禦] if they wished to join the army; but, as this promotion is now considered too rapid, they will henceforth have only the same chance as the others. It will be noticed again that new 底子 or 'openings' are never invented: the fiction of a 監生 is here again repeated.

The *Shên Pao*, though more careful now, still calls the Emperor Napoleon 法主, and, whilst, in translating from the *N.C. Daily News*, it calls the Chinese minister 欽使, it only calls the British minister 公使. These ill-judged distinctions in the long run cannot be of service to the Chinese cause. In a later number, however, the *Shên Pao* uses the very proper expression 巴欽差 for H. M. Minister.

The Chinese have a saying: the good dootor cures the tail, the quack only the head of a disease: 性實的醫生治病尾道昧的醫生治病頭.

Ho Nan has also to send silk to Court. For 1883 it was ordered to furnish 500 pieces of 卡綢, and 500 of 卡縐.

To the newly started fund for poor Peking officials (which is fixed from 1883 at Tls. 260,000 annually), Fu Kien contributes Tls. 20,000; Sz Ch'uan Tls. 14,000 and Ché Kiang Tls. 12,000. The 飯銀處 is the office charged with receiving and distributing this money, which, as far as possible, is directed to be taken from the moneys detained in each Province for local revenues [外銷].

The Chinese for 'govern,' as a verb does a noun, is 過, and for 'agree with,' as an adjective, 承. Both terms seem to be interchangeable according to the context.

'Tis the last straw,' &c., is well expressed by 蓄極而發. The saying 舉大事者不忌小怨, or 'those engaged in great affairs do not shrink from petty enmities,' does not seem to have an exact English equivalent.

The 大運 purchases made for 1882 by the Silk Commissioner at Nanking consist of 400 龍蟒緞綢 for the Board of Revenue, and the following things for the Household Department: to wit, 1,280 pieces of silk; 300 kerchiefs; 3,000 pieces of 布; 100 catties of white silk; five catties of 蓮草, or *Aralia papyrifera*; and 96 catties of 紕縷. The Manchu term 特哈 is used in the sense of 正貢.

The Chinese saying: 官大招險樹大招風 is exactly the same as the French saying: 'Les grandes arbres attirent la foudre, et les grandes fortunes les quolibets.'

The cannibalism borne witness to by Colonel Meany, and attested in previous notes, is frequently alluded to in Chinese history. For instance, the tongue of **王莽** was cut out and eaten by a bystander when his head was exposed [**切食其舌**]. The phrase 'eat the flesh and sleep in the skin' of an enemy is colloquial.

The Chinese have a saying: 'The great man easily makes friends; the rich one easily gets a wife [**貴易交富易妻**].'

Isaac Disraeli uses the expression 'the stag was started, and the hunt was up' in reference to the conquest of Henry the 7th. The first of the beautiful **唐詩** commences with these words:—

Old China once more hunts the stag,
Away my pen! Come here my steed!

See Mayers' Manual, No. 434, where 'hunting the stag' is shewn to be an ancient Chinese expression for 'aiming at the throne.' Dr. Williams, under the character **鹿**, erroneously ascribes to Ts'ao what came from the mouth of Chao Kao 500 years earlier.

In the admirable novel **玉嬌梨**, the hero marries two girls at once, at his adopted father's (his uncle's) house. The maternal uncle of the senior bride acts as **主婚**; and two friends of the bridegroom act as **媒** for the girls, the youth who acts for the junior bride being a distant agnatic cousin of the bridegroom. Both the brides are **新人**, and it is only because the one is a year the older that the bridegroom passes the first night with her. Each bride has a separate apartment, and the second son of the elder wife is given as grandson in adoption to the said wife's father. The happy trio are called **夫妻三人**, so that it would appear that, under certain circumstances, two women at once could (during the Ming dynasty) have the status of wife, or **妻**.

The expression **着爲令** 'let this be law' used in rescripts by the earlier Emperors of this dynasty does not seem to be so much in vogue now. The Han Emperors said **其爲令**, 'be this law.'

The Military Governor at Urga has, since the year 1,799, been charged with the duty of inspecting in person once every ten years the **卡倫** or **西卡** frontier station at Kiachta.

It seems from a recent *Gazette* that the Banner Head Quarters or Banner in attendance for the year [**值年旗**] receives Decrees for transmission as well as the Cabinet. Its office is called the **票籤處**.

There is an officer called **奉祀生**, (not mentioned by Mr. Mayers), appointed to perform sacrifices at honorary shrines: one authority says that he is under the **太常寺**.

Among the medicines requisitioned for Imperial use are the **白朮** or *Atractylodes*, the wild specimens of which are most valuable. The **於潛** district of Ché Kiang produces the best, but **仙居** and **天台** are also famous for this vegetable and drug.

Since the commutation [**改折**] of Honan rice tribute for money, the old rice-boat crews, [**幫手**], have drawn Tls. 40,000 a year as before: the Governor (late prefect at Canton) has now discovered that the whole thing is a squeeze, and that the 'crews' are his own clerks.

The Governor of Shen Si uses the term **承接咨開** in alluding to the despatch of the Commissioners sent to his Province. He alludes to them in a Memorial as **欽差** only, raising these characters two spaces.

In ancient times the only tax was a land tax of 10 per cent. [**古者什一而稅亡他賦役**].

According to a Memorial from the Governor of Shan Tung, the Chefoo *taotai* 督同稅務司, which (it proper) makes a Commissioner of Customs subordinate to a Customs *taotai*. The expression 飭稅務司 is used by the Telegraph prefect in writing to the Canton Hoppo.

The Chefoo *taotai* reports 24 customs stations under his charge great and small.

The Hunch'un referred to in the *China Review* are all 布特哈 Mongols or Tartars [牲丁, Mayers No. 375]. They are now being reorganized under a 總管, and taught the blessings of civilization [歸籠]. The appointment is to continue to be what is known as a Manchu 公缺.

The military toxophilite examinations at Peking are held in 圍, each distinguished by a letter from the 1,000 character classic. The Emperor usually appoints a high Manchu dignitary as 監射 and a high Chinese officer as 較射.

The 許墅 Custom House at Soochow is pronounced as if it were 許, out of deference to the Emperor Kienlung, who mistakenly read the character as such. Chinese Emperors are *supra grammaticam*.

From a remark made by a degraded judge, it appears that high officers (at least such as he) summoned to Peking, have to pay their respects to [參見] the Cabinet Council, [軍機].

It seems that even a paternal uncle's being a runner is sufficient to disqualify one for examination. A graduate gives as an excuse for not being degraded that his paternal uncle was not successful in getting him to personally represent both the said uncle and his (the graduate's) father [兼祧], but that he (the graduate) gave a son in adoption to the childless son of his (the graduate's uncle's) son.

The grave of Ki-tsz (Mayers 242A) has been discovered in Corea, with the characters 箕子墓 still visible on a slab. Though desecrated a few years ago by the Japanese [? Americans] it is now surrounded with an iron paling, so that no rubbings can be taken. All the descendants of Ki-tsz in Corea are now surnamed 單子 [which is the old Imperial title of the Huns].

The phrase 罄其軍籍 is used by the *Shên Pao* in the sense of [though France] 'brings all her available troops,' i.e. 'registered soldiery.'

The Tartar-General at Canton has (as previously proposed) now turned his 'navy' of 1050 into an army, of which 7/10 will use spears and 3/10 rifles, which rifles will be given them out of the 1,000 some time ago presented by the Tartar-General. Previously he had a land force [陣] of 1,500 men in three 營 of 500 men each, of whom 384 in each *ying* had rifles. Each *ying* had also six guns, 18 in all, of which 12 were field-guns, [行炮]. He has now bought six more field-guns complete, presumably for the transformed marines.

The *Shen Pao* makes use of the local character 塊 in the words 大橋塊, which appear to have reference to local Shanghai constructions. It also alludes to some mysterious newspaper by the name of 叻報.*

* 叻 is a name for Singapore.—ED.

Taotais and department magistrates have been appointed to Kashgar and Aksu.

QUERIES.

1. Is it a belief among the Chinese that 'The toad, ugly and venomous, wears yet a precious *pearl* in his *body*?' And similarly of the centipede?

2. What is the composition of the 五彩皮蛋? Are they seen beyond Kwangtung?

A. D.

BY JOHN CHALMERS, LL.D.

甚麼歌 士葛人湛約翰譯

一 篤實者流處貧居賤 豈有攢眉怯甚麼
屈節卑躬目不屑見 我們能貧屈甚麼
算甚麼 算甚麼 勞而莫知患甚麼
爵秩不過印在金面 人自是金印甚麼

二 簞食是餐瓢水是飲 衣更懸鶉奈甚麼
任彼愚奸酌疊衣錦 人自是人羨甚麼
算甚麼 算甚麼 其外金玉內甚麼
篤實之人縱貧已甚 南面不易缺甚麼

三 覲彼驕漢翩翩公子 視高步闊像甚麼
堂上一呼羣諾應矣 無補癡狀誇甚麼
算甚麼 算甚麼 帶紫腰金值甚麼
自立不移浩然之士 目笑輕之曰甚麼

四 國主有權能加華袞 封到公侯封甚麼
惟篤實人鳴高肥遯 誓不下他下甚麼
算甚麼 算甚麼 駟馬高車等甚麼
明哲存衷款誠悃悃 此非天爵是甚麼

五 今當祈禱顯日已近 時既來時待甚麼
款誠得所明哲興運 善加一世更甚麼
算甚麼 算甚麼 福世乘權碍甚麼
此際人人天下國郡 不稱兄弟稱甚麼

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS

AND LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan.

Volume XII. Part III. Yokohama, R.

Meiklejohn & Co. London, Trübner &

Co. July, 1884.

In these days of æsthetic feeling, we think we shall not do wrong if we assign to Mr Chamberlain's translation of Motoori's Notes on Japanese Art the chief place among the five papers that go to make up the present number. As many of our readers are aware Motoori was the greatest scholar and the most effective writer of Modern Japan. Its literature and politics have been equally influenced by him. Like the writings of Erasmus at the Reformation epoch, it was the writings of Motoori that gave the first impetus to the movement that culminated in the restoration of the Mikado to his ancestral rights. With regard to his notes on art he does not speak as a painter or a connoisseur but merely as a well informed man endowed with shrewd native talent bringing his mind to bear on what he saw being created around him. He is a merciless critic, and we may add that what he says regarding the faults of Japanese Art, is far more applicable to the native ugliness of Chinese Art forms from which Japanese art has sprung. Most Chinese landscape paintings are repulsively ugly, he tells us, 'because of their painting as the spirit moves them.' Chinese artists are deficient in composition: roads and bridges are placed in impossible situations, rocks and trees are found where they

should not be; they are sketchy when they should be detailed, and abounding in detail where it were better to be sketchy. Chinese artists paint ships and boats crooked, as they generally are, but the result is bad art. From their excessive adherence to nature, their birds and insects though correct in detail, are lifeless, 'they do not look as if they were flying or running' a fault from which every one must admit Japanese art is free. A further defect he remarks is their neglect of indicating the line of the ground when painting trees and plants. 'There being in nature no such line to mark the ground, they are,' he supposes, 'imitating nature in omitting it. But in a painting, the absence of such a line causes confusion. What we mean by the ground, relatively to actual objects, is the place where the objects are not, a place without any colour in particular. But the ground of a painting being white, that part of it which is destitute of objects will be white. Hence a difference for the painter between it and the colourless ground in nature: hence also the absolute necessity for a line. The neglect of Chinese artists to mark such a line arises from ignorance of this consideration. Even in Chinese pictures, however, the line is unavoidably inserted in the case of the human face. From the apparent absence of conventions, and from the consequent license given to the individual artist in China comes the unsatisfactory representation of the manner in which branches

spread, of the stems of herbs and flowers, and of the position of leaves. The existence of such conventions regulating everything would seem to have preserved Japanese schools from such defects.'

Motoori here strikes at the roots of nearly all the defects in Chinese art. We call it native conceit and ignorance of perspective: now the question arises how far the conventions referred to are in harmony with the laws of perspective? Are these technical tricks or valuable hints resting on a solid artistic basis? They are, we feel assured, well worth considering. There must be something in them when we think of the immense influence Japanese art decoration through its own intrinsic merit is exerting on the domestic ornamentation of this section of the Nineteenth century!

The other papers are of a local interest. Mr. Skorschelt discusses the water supply of Tokio, in a most elaborate paper. He has analysed the different waters with which the Japanese capital is supplied and has offered suggestions for the provision of a continuous and pure stream at the trifling expense of 6s. per head. In Europe such a supply has never been less than from 12/ to 15/, and amounts in the average to 18/ or 24/ per head; in exceptional cases as in London, Marseilles and New York to over 50/. Professor Summers paper on 'Chinese Lexicography,' has been sent probably to most of our readers, and we need not enter further into its merits.

The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal, Vol. XV., May-June, 1884.
Vol. XV. No. 3, Peking Road, Shanghai, China.

Mr. Parker begins what seems to be a valuable paper on Chinese Philology. Dr. Edkins gives an account of 'Steps in the Growth of Early Taoism,' and 'The Proverbs and Common Sayings of the Chinese' are still further lucidated by Mr. Smith. Hoinos contributes a characteristic paper on 'the Mongolian Language,' which among

other things is remarkable for the flexibility of its verbs. It has besides other verbs for which Mr. Gilmour thinks it would be difficult to find 'verb' equivalents in other languages. He instances the verb *to thus* which might be rendered by *to act in this fashion*, and another *to act in that fashion*, both verbs being usually accompanied by appropriate gesture. 'To how' is a very much used verb one part of which is the idiomatic way of asking a man how much he paid for a thing, the phrase being in this case elliptical. But, perhaps, the verb which appears most extraordinary to a stranger is that which signifies 'To do a thing fairly well.' A brief memoir of the life and services of the late S. Wells Williams, written in excellent taste, concludes the number.

Practical and Inductive Book-keeping, adapted for the use of schools and for self-tuition by J. L. Hart Milner. Prof. Commercial School, Macao. Kelly and Walsh—Hongkong and Shanghai, Kelly & Co., Yokohama.

Many of our books on book-keeping being the work of practical accountants are often found much too difficult for boys at school, or in their first year at a desk, to master. Other books again of the book-keeping-made-easy style are so elementary as to be of no practical use whatever, and these have deservedly brought the teaching of book-keeping into such serious disrepute, that fathers of boys have prohibited it being taught altogether at school, preferring to wait till the boys entered an office and learned the art from the book-keeper. But this sort of thing is going out of fashion, and heads of houses now look for lads who have had either some previous training in an old fashioned firm, or in what our American friends term 'A Business College.' As a rule these boys get the preference. Accordingly we think that Mr. H. Milner while doing a good turn for the mercantile aspirants under his own personal care, is

also conferring a great boon on all lads intended for commercial pursuits, especially to such of them that have a higher ambition than mere copyists. We do not profess to have gone over many of the pages of the present book, but as far as we have gone,

we can safely say that the system is sound, and the information given in as easy, non-technical language as the subject permits. It seems to be particularly suited for the use of junior clerks, whose native language is other than English.

BOOKS WANTED, EXCHANGES, &c.

(All addresses to care of Editor, *China Review*.)

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A copy of Eitel's *Handbook of Chinese Buddhism*, 1870.

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Travels in China, by John Barrow. London: 1804. 4to.

Travels of the Russian Mission, by George Timkowski. London: 1827. 2 vols. 8vo.

Address, Librarian N. C. B. R. A. S.,
Shanghai.

Dr. Pfizmaier, 25 Abhandlungen über Japan (aus den Sitz. Ber. der K. K. Acad. der Wiss. Wien), bound in 2 vols., for \$6.
C. P.

TO CONTRIBUTORS.

Contributions to the *China Review* are invited upon the following subjects, in special relation to China and her dependencies :—

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Translations of native works, novels, plays, etc.

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THE CHINA REVIEW.

THE LIFE OF KOXINGA.

PART I.

Closely connected with the history of the Dutch occupation of the island of Taiwan, and of their colonies in Formosa are two remarkable men, the pirate Chên Chih-lung 鄭芝龍 and his son Koxinga. To fully understand the extraordinary troubles and reverses that befell the Netherlands' East India Company in the last days of their tenure of that island and of their adjacent settlement a short biographical sketch of the last named of these men, Koxinga, becomes necessary. I purpose, therefore, in the following pages, to give an account of some of the most prominent acts of that remarkable man's life, who not only played so conspicuous a part against the Dutch, but who also played a most important role in the history of his own country. In the small fishing village of Shih-taing 石井, near An-hai 安海, in the Chin-chew Prefecture 泉州府, there still exists the ancestral temple of the Chen 鄭 family, in which there was to be seen some ten years ago a portrait of Koxinga, dressed as a literary graduate. In a small fishing hovel in this village Koxinga's father, Chên Chih-lung, was born, and his relatives are still quite numerous in that neighbourhood, and Koxinga's body, removed from Formosa, is buried on a mountain in the district.

Being very poor, Chen Chih-lung went to

Macao to better his fortune, and while there was baptized by the name of Nicholas. He was also known by the name of Yih Kwan, 一官. From Macao he went to Manila, but in both these places he was engaged in very menial employment. He next went to Japan, where he fell in with an uncle, who was tolerably well off. The uncle, seeing his nephew was sharp and clever, entrusted him with the management of his business, and married him to a Japanese woman, by whom he had a son, to whom he gave the name of Chêng Kung 成功, who in later years was to become so famous.

Nicholas won the confidence of his uncle, by the aptitude he showed in business, so that he eventually entrusted him with a vessel loaded with treasure and costly wares to go and trade with in China. Suddenly finding himself possessed of so much wealth, his cupidity got the better of him, and without the least reserve or scruple of conscience he kept all to himself and turned pirate. He succeeded so well in his nefarious trade, that he became the terror of the Chinese coast, and the Emperor, in order to win him over, took him into his service, and gave him the rank and title of Admiral, and pardoned the many heinous crimes of which he had been guilty.

He fixed his residence at An-hai, only a short distance from his native village, and about twenty miles from Amoy. From

thence he fitted out ships and carried on trade with the Straits, Siam, Java, Manila, Macao, and Formosa. It is said that he had a fleet of some three thousand junks, great and small. He grew so immensely rich, that in time he is said to have exceeded the Emperor in wealth. His son, Chéng Kung, left Japan for China at seven years of age and apparently lived at An-hai with his father. He was looked upon as a prodigy of learning, for he is said to have passed as a literary graduate at Nangan, at 15 years of age. He attracted the notice of Prince Tang,* 唐王, (one of the Princes of the Ming dynasty who held power in the South) who conferred upon him the surname of Chu 朱, his family name, in addition to his own name of Chéng Kung, and regretted he had not a daughter to bestow upon him in marriage.

From the Emperor having conferred upon him his own family name of Chu he came to be called Kuo Sing Ye 國姓爺, i.e. he of the Royal surname, which in the Amoy dialect is pronounced Kok Sing-ia or ya.

Chen Chih-lung had 500 converted negroes for his body guard, for he would trust no others. He led these men to battle with the war cry of St. Jacob.

The Tartars on entering Fookien did their utmost to get him into their power and

* Tang was a prince of the blood who was taken by the generals of the army, who fled from the Tartars from Cheh-kiang, and was declared Emperor in Fookien. The Tartar army had at this time taken the city of Shaohing in Cheh-kiang, and the whole of the province would have doubtless submitted had not the Tartar victors in an evil moment issued an edict ordering that the whole Chinese population should shave their heads like the Tartars. Rather than submit to such an indignity the people took to arms and drove the invaders out of the city and compelled them to cross the river. Another Chinese prince, named Lu, defended and kept Shaohing for a long time, but was at last overcome and compelled to beat a retreat. He fled to Chusan, which island long served as an asylum to him and his followers and to those who would not submit to the Tartar coiffure.

often invited him to their feasts, but he always had his body guard of blacks with him, and they were a source of great terror to the Tartars. They at last got him by stratagem to Peking. He greatly repented of having gone thither and every one chided him for his folly. He was at liberty for some time but closely watched. The Emperor Shun-cho, a kindly monarch, would not execute him without a cause. On the Emperor's death the guardians of the prince soon found means to put him to death. On Koxinga hearing that his Father had been inveigled by the Tartars, he was deeply grieved, and meeting his brother Sieh-shé 襲舍 shortly after, told him what had happened, and asked him to help him to carry out certain designs which he had formed. This his brother promised to do and they together raised a band of 18 followers and possessed of only a \$1,000 they embarked in a small junk at An-hai and went to Koolang-soo, an island opposite Amoy, and there raised the standard of rebellion. Koxinga could only induce a few hundred men who were without means to join him. This was in the spring of 1648.

It happened that about this time, a junk arrived in the roadstead of Amoy from Japan. On boarding this vessel she was found to belong to his family and that she had treasure on board to the amount of 100,000 taels. Koxinga asked that this might be given up to him, but this the Captain refused to do; whereupon Koxinga killed the Captain and took forcible possession of the ship and treasure. Being thus well furnished with funds, he soon got an army together, and daily numbers flocked to his standard. Amoy and Quemoy soon fell into his hands. Amoy he made his head-quarters and gave it the name of Soo-min-chow 蘇民州.

His next aim was to get possession of the rich prefectural city of Changchow. As a preliminary step to this undertaking, he fitted out an expedition to take the city of Hai-tséng 海澄 at the entrance of the

Changchow river, which city fell into his hands in the spring of 1653. The Commandant of the Tartar forces gave himself up as a prisoner of war, but the Prefect of the city threw himself into the river and was drowned.

Koxinga then moved his forces up the river to attack Changchow. He was encamped before it for 6 months, but had eventually to retire. In the following year, the Tartars attacked Haitsêng, but they were repulsed with serious loss. Two years after, in the spring, another attack was made on this city but without success. An expedition that was sent against it in the summer succeeded in getting possession of it by treachery, and Haitsêng once more came under Tartar rule.

Amoy and Quemoy were Koxinga's great strongholds, and from their insular position he could, with his large fleet, bid defiance to the Tartars.

During his occupation of Amoy the Dominicans had a mission there. This mission was under the control of Victorio Ricci, who left Manila for Amoy in 1654 and obtained permission from Koxinga to build a chapel,* opposite his palace, which he opened for public worship on the 5th August 1655.

As this venerable missionary's career in China is intimately connected with Koxinga's doings I shall in this narrative have to make frequent reference to his work and labours.

Ricci had a branch mission at Pezoa, near An-hai, where he administered to the spiritual wants of some 150 Christian refugees.

In 1658 Koxinga's power had reached such a pitch that he acquired and was everywhere acknowledged to merit the title of Sovereign of the Seas.

* This chapel was probably built on the hill adjoining the present native Hospital, formerly the residence of the Rev. Mr. Macgowan. Near this place, according to tradition, was Koxinga's palace. Numerous foreign graves of the 17th century are still to be seen there.

This was the year that he set out on his expedition against Nanking.

'Never before or since,' says Ricci, who was an eye witness, 'was a more powerful and mighty fleet seen in the waters of this empire than that of Koxinga's, numbering more than 3,000 junka, which he had ordered to rendezvous in the bays and rivers round Amoy. The sight of them inspired one with awe. This squadron did not include the various fleets he had scattered along the neighbouring coasts.'

Koxinga's expedition against Nanking failed; his loss in men and ships was considerable.

Koxinga appears always to have treated the Dominican missionary Ricci with much consideration, but during his absence at Nanking he suffered much tribulation.

The fleet being away, and the island quiet from the turmoil of the army, Father Ricci was about to profit by their absence, to extend and beautify his church.

Kin Sie 錦舍, Koxinga's son, who shared the government of Amoy and Quemoy with his uncle, during Koxinga's absence, frustrated his plans and opposed his carrying out his work, on the plausible pretext of requiring the land that Ricci wanted for his father's palace. As Kin Sie was not ignorant of the protection that his Father had always afforded this missionary he did not dare openly to oppose his plans, but gave secret orders to his soldiers to destroy at night the roof of the church and the house in which the missionary lived. Matters went to such a length that Father Ricci was compelled at last to lay a complaint before Kin Sie, who promised to redress the grievances complained of, but instead of doing so gave secret and opposite instructions to his underlings.

About this time a most disgraceful affair occurred, which tended greatly to aggravate the situation in which the missionary was placed, and to a certain extent to compromise him.

An English ship had been compelled to put into Amoy under stress of weather, she having suffered greatly in a typhoon. The Captain obtained the necessary permission to repair the damage he had sustained. The Chinese, however, most shamefully broke the laws of hospitality, which are accorded to shipwrecked sailors in all parts of the world. A band of ruffians, bent upon spoil and plunder, seized the vessel and cargo, and by force threw the Captain and his officers into the sea and put the crew into prison.

The excuse they gave for their conduct was that the Captain and crew were spies sent by the Tartars.

The sailors managed to escape from prison and to reach the mainland, where they received better treatment at the hands of the Tartars.

Their escape from prison, without any further evidence than that they were Europeans, was attributed to Father Ricci.

The good Father was further accused of holding secret communication with the enemy, and of having written to Manila asking the authorities there to discontinue sending rice to Amoy, and he was also accused of endeavouring to Christianise the Chinese with the view of getting up a revolution by means of his converts, and handing the island over to the Tartars.

These continual persecutions compelled him to give up his work, and to seek refuge on board a junk, commanded by a Portuguese, who had long been in Koxinga's service. The abandoned church was at once taken possession of by Kin Sie, and rented by him to a pawnbroker. The news of Koxinga's reverses at Nanking arrived at Amoy about this time. Kin Sie was furious about it, and in his rage gave orders for the church to be levelled to the ground, and houses of ill repute to be built of the materials. This was not, however, carried out. These events took place in 1659.

Koxinga's expedition against Nanking, as stated before, utterly failed, and he returned with the remainder of his fleet to

Amoy in a greatly crippled state. The decline of Koxinga's power in China may be said to have commenced at this date. The Tartars appear to have been determined to follow up their enemy's discomfiture by sending a powerful squadron to Amoy. Ricci says that some eight hundred Tartar junks, bent upon the total destruction of Koxinga's power, appeared in the waters of Amoy soon after the Nanking disaster. The object of this fleet was to deal a blow at Koxinga before he had time to recover from the losses he had sustained at Nanking. Koxinga, nothing daunted, determined to give them battle. He could, however, so great had been his losses, only muster some 400 large junks, which at first sight appears but a small force to oppose to a fleet in every way superior to his, and to fight which seemed only to court certain defeat.

Koxinga, however, more accustomed to naval warfare than his enemies, and being well acquainted with the tides and currents in the channels round Amoy, did not fear the superiority of numbers, but at once set about placing his fleet in the most advantageous positions, ready to receive the attack of the enemy. The Tartars, under the command of the Tartar General 達素 and Governor General of Fookien Li Su-tai 李率泰, distributed their fleet as follows:—The large Fookien junks had their rendezvous at the entrance of the Changchow river and were to descend upon Amoy from that direction, the smaller junks of their fleet were stationed in the T'ang-oan river and were to attack Amoy in the direction of Ko-kia. The Canton contingent of the fleet was to attack Amoy from the seaward.

To oppose them, Koxinga himself commanded the ships that were to sustain the attack coming from the entrance of the Changchow river at Haimung, Chen-tai 鄭泰 commanded the squadron at Quemoy, which was to keep the Canton fleet in check, while one Chen P'eng 陳鵬

was entrusted with the command of the garrison at Ko-kia and the naval forces there, which were to oppose the enemy coming from Tàng-oan 同安縣.

The possession of this fortress of Ko-kia was the coveted point of the Tartar army, for once that had fallen into their hands and the fleet there dispersed, troops could have easily been poured into the island of Amoy from the mainland, from which it is only separated by a narrow strait about a mile and a half in breadth. Chen P'eng, the commandant of the fortress, had a secret understanding with the enemy to give the place up to them. The Tartar troops nearly effected a landing and would have done so had they not been vigorously repulsed by one Chen Meng 陳蟒 (the second in command, who refused to join Chen P'eng in his treachery), who compelled them to retire.

Chen P'eng was by Koxinga's orders at once put to death and the command of the place given to Chen Meng 陳蟒. Koxinga himself gave a good account of the fleet sent against him from Haimung. Two days after the Canton fleet appeared off the entrance to the port and the Commander, learning the total defeat of the Tartars both at Haimung and Kokia, at once put out to sea and refused all combat. The Governor General Li, on his return to Foochow, committed suicide. Father Ricci informs us that the above fight took place on the 17th June, 1660, and that for a whole day victory was uncertain, but at last it decided in favour of the indomitable courage of the pirate. For many weeks after putrid corpses and wreckage strewed the shores of Amoy and Quemoy.

In October of this year (1660), Father Ricci informs us that three Dutch ships from Taiwan, having on board an Embassy from the Governor of Formosa, arrived at Amoy with the view of entering into a commercial treaty with Koxinga. As this powerful pirate had already devised plans to make himself master of that island and

fearing lest Ricci should divulge his designs to the Dutch Ambassador he took the precaution of placing a guard at the residence of the missionary, and gave strict orders that he should not communicate with any one.

The sentinels abused their orders and made the missionary acutely feel his position. In the trouble he was in, Father Ricci wrote to Liu Huning, the confidant and private secretary of Koxinga, and told him of the annoyance and vexation he was suffering, and begged him to use his good offices with his lord and to assure him of his loyalty towards him, and to tell him how strange he thought it that he was not in any way allowed to communicate with the members of the Dutch Embassy, who, although they were Europeans, were nevertheless the avowed enemies of his religion and country. Liu Huning brought the arbitrary conduct of the guard to the notice of Koxinga and he was requested to inform Father Ricci that he had only adopted the measures he had done in case anything should happen to his mission, but that he would give orders to the guard to treat him and his fellow missionary with the respect, and decorum that their persons merited.

The Dutch Embassy stayed twenty days in Amoy and on their finally leaving the port the guard was removed from the house of the missionaries and they were allowed to carry on their work with the usual liberty and freedom.

From Dutch sources we learn that Mr Co-yett, the Governor of Taiwan, hearing of the great warlike preparations that Koxinga was making at Amoy, sent at the time mentioned by Father Ricci three ships from Taiwan, with express orders to demand from Koxinga, whether he was for peace or war, and he further instructed the Commanders of these vessels not to wait more than ten days for a categorical answer. One of the Captains of the Dutch vessels gives us the following account of his doings there:—'Our limited time being near expired, I went

ashore in a boat, ordering our vessels to be upon their guard. The banks of the river were so crowded with people that I had much to do to pass through them; by good chance I met with a Chinese who understood Portuguese, who was so complaisant as to go along with me to the place where my colleague and his attendants lodged; but they being gone abroad to see Koxinga muster his forces, I was obliged to take the same way; we addressed ourselves to him, desiring a speedy and positive answer, the time of our stay being expired. He gave us for answer, that being at present busy in mustering his forces, he would give us his resolution tomorrow in a letter directed to the Governor of Taiwan, which he did accordingly. In this letter he told him, that he had not the least thought of any war against the company, but that he would cultivate a good correspondence with them. To remove all occasion of jealousy he sent several merchant ships to Taiwan, which, however, did not remove the suspicion they had conceived of him there, especially after we on the 22nd December gave a verbal account of his vast preparations to the Governor of Taiwan.' His letter was as follows:—

KOXINGA'S LETTER.

'Being at great distance from you, I could not but receive your letter with a more than ordinary satisfaction, which I perused more than once, to inform myself the better of your intentions. You mention some false rumours, but at the same time seem to give credit to them. In my father Iquam's time, the Dutch possessed themselves of a certain place in the isle of Taiwan, with his consent, for the convenience of trade, which I have not in the least interrupted, and therefore judge you to be obliged to me upon that score. I have of late years been so deeply involved in a war with the Tartars, that I have had no leisure to trouble my head with an inconsiderable island that produces nothing but grass. It not being my custom to disclose my designs, but rather, if I aim at the east to point to the west, how can you

suppose to be informed of them by rumours. The reason why so few of our ships come to that island, is, because they cannot trade thither with any profit, the custom being so heavy. It was but this year the Tartars made a strong invasion into the low lands of China, in hopes to put an end to the war with one blow, but they were so bravely received that they were forced to retreat with the loss of 100 of their commanders and a great number of their men; we then retired into the islands of Ey and Quemoy, in hopes to draw them thither, and so catch them in the trap. Concerning your complaints of having been treated in a hostile manner in the island of Pescadores, if it be really so, it has been done without our knowledge. I sent back an immediate answer, together with your presents, to the letter sent to me from Batavia four years ago, by which I understand, that you intended us but a very slender satisfaction, for the Jonken or ships and the loading and money aboard them detained by you, notwithstanding which I did not think fit to urge the business any further for fear of occasioning a rupture betwixt us; it shall be my endeavour, as soon as the Tartarian war is brought to a conclusion, to encourage trade as much as possible may be, and don't question but you will on the other hand contribute to it, as far as lies in your power. Given in the 14th year, the 19th day of the 10th month of the reign of King Indick.'

Koxinga's real designs as to Formosa at this time are sufficiently seen in his treatment of Father Ricci, whom he kept a close prisoner during the time of the stay of the Dutch Embassy at Amoy.

Mr. Coyett, the Governor of Taiwan, put no confidence whatever in Koxinga's representations as set forth in the above letter, but Admiral Jan Van der Laan was most persistent in turning a deaf ear to the opinion of the Governor and his Council. This worthy, not unappropriately nicknamed Headstrong John, had been sent with a force of six hundred men and twelve ships to For-

mosa with orders to stay there if necessary, but if it were found that his presence was not required he was to proceed and attack Macao. He was most violent in his language to the Governor and his Council. He told them that he did not believe in the reports that were current about Koxinga's designs to attack Formosa, although the most reliable proofs were laid before him of the truth of their statements. He informed the Governor and his Council that he considered his presence no longer necessary in Formosa and he intended to proceed direct to Macao and attack that place according to his instructions. The Governor strongly opposed him in this, whereupon he rated the Governor and his Council not a little and threatened he would take vengeance on all who stood in his way, and called all of them a set of mere cowards and informed the government at Batavia that there was not the least reason for fear existing in Formosa, but that the Governor and his Council were a set of base, ignominious and cowardly persons, who got frightened before there was any necessity for it. Headstrong John left Formosa on the 10th April to attack and take Macao, in which he signally failed. The six hundred military he brought with him were reluctantly left behind, as were also three of his ships. Koxinga, no sooner heard of his departure, than he seized the favorable opportunity and appeared on the 30th April at break of day with his large fleet off the coast of Formosa, from which he at once landed 20,000 well drilled troops at Sakam and Baxemboy. But we are anticipating events.

To return to Koxinga at Amoy. On their learning at Peking of the total rout of their army, the loss of their fleet and of the unforeseen calamity that had befallen their best laid plans, which they thought would have secured to them the complete triumph of their arms, and the utter ruin of the pirate, the Emperor decided upon other means to attain his ends hitherto unexampled and unprecedented in the annals of any people. Despairing of ever overcoming on the water the powerful

pirate who held absolute and sovereign command in those seas, he thought that he could reduce him by hunger by making it impossible for him to obtain provisions from the villages along the sea-board. A decree was issued ordering the inhabitants of all villages and towns situated along the coast from Canton to Nankin to retire four leagues inland and to submit to have all their dwellings destroyed.

This order was at once carried into effect, in spite of the supplications and tears of so many millions of inhabitants, who were unable in any way to touch the hearts of the tyrants. To prevent the great number of destroyed villages from being rebuilt, forts* were erected at the distance of every three miles and each one garrisoned with 100 men, who put to death, without pity or without any form of law, all the unfortunate beings whom they happened to find in the immense belt included in the twelve mile radius.

The Spanish mission suffered severely at this time of trouble. Many a chapel and house belonging to the mission was burnt and destroyed, many christians rendered homeless and many families were driven by desperation and hunger to commit suicide in order to put an end to the great misfortune that had befallen them.

A few days after the promulgation of this Draconian decree the Emperor Shun-che died in the youth and flower of his age. He was succeeded by his son, a child four years old, to whom was given the name of Kanghi. During his minority he was placed under the guardianship of his mother and four Nobles, who carried on the government and consolidated the conquest of the Empire in his name. This destruction of the towns and villages along the seaboard was fraught with evil consequences to the Dutch settlements in Formosa. Although it has been shown that prior to their destruction, Kox-

* Many of these forts are to be seen in the neighbourhood of Amoy near the Pechina river.

inga had already formed designs against Taiwan, yet the carrying out of the same was greatly hastened by the cruel conduct of the Tartars. Cut off from all means of provisioning his numerous fleet he found himself compelled at all cost to attempt the conquest of Formosa, so that he might have a granary from whence he could draw supplies for his forces.

He determined at the same time in no way to let go his hold upon Amoy and Quemoy, nor did he despair of eventually overcoming the Tartars.

To carry out his plans, a powerful squadron of 500 first class vessels with 40,000 veteran troops sailed from Quemoy in the spring of 1661.

They crossed without mishap the narrow strait that separates Fookien from Formosa and landed at Taiwan without opposition or resistance on the part of the Dutch colony there. The chief fort that the Dutch had there was built on an eminence enclosed with a strong wall and well mounted with guns of heavy calibre.

Koxinga at once seized a small fort called Chiaeara Chih Kan,* Provintia, divided by a small arm of the sea from the larger fortress, took possession of the town of Zeelandia without the loss of a single man and laid siege to the fort both by sea and land. This master-stroke of Koxinga, which the

unfortunate Dutchmen could not foresee, placed them in a most lamentable situation.

Koxinga hoped to have carried the fort by storm, but after many engagements and indecisive assaults, he had to lay regular siege to it and it held out for ten months, and would not have given in then but for treachery on the part of some of the garrison. Twelve soldiers, driven by hunger and privation after a long protracted siege, deserted over to the enemy and pointed out to him where to press the attack with the greatest advantage, which he did most vigorously and soon made the fortress untenable.

The Governor at last reluctantly agreed to capitulate and to give up the citadel on condition that the lives of the garrison were spared and that all be allowed to leave the island with their private property and possessions. On the 12th Feb. 1662 Koxinga hoisted his flag on Fort Zeelandia and the Dutch were driven out of Formosa. On his death it came under the rule of his despicable son and soon after his decease it was given over to the Tartars, who have kept it until now as one of the richest possessions of the Empire.

Nine thousand Chinese and six hundred Dutch are said to have perished in the siege.*

G. P.

* Historia de los P. P. Dominicas. Tomo 3, pp. 32, 33, 34.

(To be Continued.)

* This fort was still standing within the walls of Taiwanfoo about 5 years ago, but it is now destroyed and a Temple built upon the site.

SCRAPS FROM CHINESE MYTHOLOGY.

Translated by the late Rev. DYER BALL, M.A., M.D.; annotated by J. DYER BALL.

(Continued from Vol. XII, page 407.)

THE SEA DRAGON* AND THE FORTUNE
TELLER.

An officer of His Majesty the Dragon King, walking on the shore one day, met a fisherman, returning home with a large quantity of fish. He asked the man if he was successful. The man replied he was, for he had a friend, a fortune teller, in that village, who told him where to cast his net, and he always had a good haul.

The officer hearing this hastened home,

* Called also the Dragon King (龍王), The Dragon God (龍神) 'There are four kinds of Lung,' Mayers *Chinese Reader's Manual*, p. 142. 'He is worshipped in China as the principal dragon king,' Eitel's *Chinese Buddhism*, under Sāgara.

This God, under the direction of the Pearl Ruler (玉皇上帝), collects the clouds, raises the water, and sends down the rain.

Compare with the Chinese ideas of the Dragon King the following:—

'The Latin Neptune is manifestly from his name. [It is closely akin to the Greek γίαννα, γίρος, γιρίλη, Lat. nebuld, &c.] The god of the cloud is the source of moisture and water, and therefore, in strictness of speech, not a god of the sea at all. But following the fashion of his time, Virgil gathered round him all the myths which in Greek poetry we find attached to the Hellenised Posidon.'

Cox's *Introduction to Mythology and Folklore*, p. 212. See also note 1, p. 482 of the same author's *Mythology of the Aryan nations*.

In temples he is represented in human form; his native form being that of a sea monster (or, as Mayers puts it in his *Chinese Readers Manual*, p. 141, 'depicted as a four footed reptile resembling in its shape the huge saurians which paleontologists have brought to light in recent years') some 12

and informed his master. The Dragon was quite indignant at the report, and was on the point of going directly to the village of the fortune teller, undisguised. His officers told him that if he went in an angry mood the clouds would follow, the rain would fall, and something might happen, which might prove an offence to High Heaven. They said:—'It would be better to go in the character of a literary graduate, and carefully investigate this affair, and ascer-

or 20 feet in length with a scaly body and fins of fish. He has a peculiar shaped head, a large mouth from which he is sometimes represented casting out pearls. He resides in a palace of brilliant pearls located in the Chinese Sea—'at the bottom of the ocean N. of the Mern,' Eitel's *Handbook of Chinese Buddhism*, p. 107.

On the 15th day of the fifth moon this god descends to the earth; and the saying is if there be rain on that day the year will assuredly be fruitful; if not the harvests will not come to maturity. He is 'especially invoked for rain in seasons of draught' (Eitel's *Handbook*, p. 107). Edkins gives his birthday in his chapter on the Buddhist Calendar amongst that of the 'three divine protectors of the monasteries.' *Chinese Buddhism*, p. 207; and elsewhere (247) he remarks that 'Tauist idols are numerous employed in the Buddhist temples,' and gives Lung-Wang, in conjunction with Kwan-ti and Hwa Kwang, as having been formally adopted by the latter sect as protecting divinities. *En passant* it may be interesting to note that Lung is one of the words which in Chinese Buddhist works has been translated and not transferred, the original word being 'Naga' (p. 216). At the Feast of Lanterns, which takes place about the middle of the first month of the Chinese year, a representation of this monster is sometimes borne along by several individuals, whose bodies are mostly concealed

tain whether it be true or false; if true, send some one to destroy him.' The King took the advice of his officers: he entered the village in the character of a student, saw the sign of the fortune teller, on which were written the words: 'The Divine Fortune Teller.' He entered his dwelling, and was asked his business. The pseudo student replied he had come to enquire what the weather would be the next day. The fortune teller said:—'There will be rain to-morrow morning.'

'Much or little, and at what time will the rain begin to fall?' asked the King.

within the body of the beast, which is illuminated by paper lanterns. These shining through the thin paper sides look rather pretty. The beast is borne zigzag along with a wide open mouth, apparently endeavouring to catch and swallow a lamp which is supposed to represent a pearl, the bearer of it retiring backwards and shaking the pearl as the dragon approaches. A large crowd accompanies the procession, some with drums, some with gongs and flutes, fifes and other wind instruments, and the rear is brought up with a throng of men and boys carrying paper lanterns made in the shape of carp and crab. These are raised on high by short bamboo sticks, and are illuminated by small candles. D.B.

It is interesting to notice some points of similarity between the sea Dragon King and Neptune, or Posidon.

Posidon is a subordinate power to Jupiter.

The sea Dragon King is a subordinate power to Shangti.

During the Trojan war a message was sent from Zeus to Posidon.

A messenger is sent with the Imperial Will, 'Besides his residence on Olympus, Neptune had a splendid palace beneath the sea at Ægræ.'

'No mais interno fundo das profundas
Cavernas altas, onde o mar se esconde,
Lá donde as ondas sahem furibundas
Quando as iras do vento o mar responde
Neptuno mora.'

Or, as Aubertin puts it:—

'In the most inward deepness of the deep
And lofty caverns, where the sea lies hid,
There whence the waves in rage and fury
leap,
When ocean by the angry winds is chid,
Dwells Neptune.'

Camoens *The Lusiads*, Canto 6, s. 8.

The soothsayer replied:—'To-morrow at 7 a.m. it will be overcast, at 9 a.m. it will be thick and cloudy, at 11 a.m. it will begin to rain, at 2 p.m. the rain will cease to fall: the quantity that falls will be 3 feet, 3 inches and 48 parts of an inch.'

The Dragon said:—'This is no joke, no trifle. If to-morrow, the rain falls in the quantity named, and at the time specified, I will give you a present of 50 taels of gold; if your predictions be not fulfilled in all respects, I will come and cut your doors to pieces, take away your sign, drive you out of this place, and not suffer you to dwell in

So Hoi Sung Wang resides in a palace located in the Chinese sea, or 'at the bottom of the ocean North of the Mern.'

Furthermore,

'As portas d'ouro fino, e marchetadas

Do rico aljofar, que nas conchas nace,
Given by Aubertin as:—

'The gates are of fine gold, and all inlaid
With richest pearl which in the conches
breeds.'

Camoens *The Lusiads*, Canto 6; s. 10.

So the Chinese deity resides in a palace of brilliant pearls.

'Neptune was drawn by sea-horses or dolphins . . . These sea-horses had the tails of fishes, with only two feet, which were the fore feet of horses, according to the description given in Statius,

'Good Neptune's steeds to rest are set up
here

In the Ægean gulf; whose fore-parts
harness bear;

Their hinder parts fish-shaped.'

—(Madwright's *Grecian and Roman Mythology*, p. 132).

In the Chinese deity it is he himself who is fish like, 'some 12 or 20 feet in length with a scaly body and fins of a fish.'

'The dolphin and other marine objects accompany his images.' (Anthon's *Classical Dictionary*).

So in the procession of the dragon 'the rear is brought up with a throng of men and boys carrying paper lanterns made in the shape of carp and crab.' 'Then the presence of some strange marine animals in the river opposite the city confirmed their fears. A shark was brought up on the "bore" and left in shallow water where it died. A shoal of porpoises . . . came up and performed their peculiar pranks to the great dread of the populace. The people say, in explanation of these pheno-

this village, and deceive the people.' The soothsayer said:—'It is thus settled.'

The Dragon God returned to his palace, and to his sea officers. He had but just arrived, when a voice was heard crying aloud from mid-heaven:—'The Dragon King of the rivers and sea receives the royal message respecting the rain, on the coming day;' and immediately a message bearer presents himself, dressed in garments, embroidered with gold, and handed the Dragon God the imperial will, and retired. The King compared the message of the Pearl Ruler with the prediction of the soothsayer,

menon, that the Sea Dragon is angry and has sent these creatures out to scourge the country.' *Hongkong Daily Press* of 5th October, 1881.

The question naturally arises is there any connection between these two deities, or are the few similarities merely those incident to the poetic machinery necessarily connected with the two gods and description of their surroundings and which would spring up naturally and spontaneously in describing the abodes and surroundings of two sea deities. There is no doubt a great deal may be said in favour of the latter proposition; at the same time it may not be amiss to look at the possibility of the two deities being one and the same in their original conception.

Some 'have supposed that the Phœnicians first introduced him (i.e. Neptune) as a deity into Greece,' (Madwright's *Grecian and Roman Mythology*, p. 131). The Phœnicians themselves, according to their own account, came originally from the shores of the Persian Gulf, (Anthon's *Classical Dict.*) Herodotus, 789, seems to be the authority for this statement. The establishment, indeed, of the earlier Phœnician race in the Persian gulf and the enterprising habits which always characterized this remarkable people would seem to point to a very active commerce carried on in the Indian seas, at a period long antecedent to positive history, and may perhaps furnish some clue to the marks of early civilization that are discovered along the Western shore of the American continent,' (Comp. *Ritter*, *Erdkunde*, Vol. 2, p. 163), Anthon's *Classical Dict.* p. 1,050. Is it not then possible, supposing the Phœnicians left their footprints of civilization in India, as well as in Europe and America, that the Buddhist God, Hoi Lung Wong, is an Eastern outcome of the Phœnician deity who was the prototype of Neptune? It may be so.

and found that both were alike in all respects. The King was greatly alarmed; his soul fled, his spirits were scattered. He exclaimed:—'There is one truthful man on earth who cannot be outdone.' His officers remarked:—'The preparing of the rain depends upon your majesty; if the quantity be a trifle less than is specified, and the time a trifle shorter, it will all pass off well.'

The King followed the suggestion of his officers; at 9 a.m. it was cloudy; at 11 a.m. it rained; at 1 p.m. a small quantity fell: at 4 none, and, behold there had fallen

The origin of zoölatry, or beast-worship, in some of its phases, is not easy to explain. The supreme usefulness of black cattle made them the representatives of the *prithivi mātār*, the benevolent, all-sustaining earth-mother. Crocodiles are invaluable scavengers, and in the granaries of Egypt cats were indispensable enough to deserve an apotheosis. But how did serpents and monkeys come by that honour? In Africa snake-worship marks the lowest stage of 'animism,' but nearly every nation seems to have passed through that stage. In a very curious account of the customs and superstitions of the Haytian negroes, Mr. Moreau ('*History of St. Domingo*, by Mr. L. E. Moreau) describes the Voodoo idol as 'a serpent supposed to be endowed with the gift of prescience, which it communicates to its favourite attendants, the high-priest and priestess of the Voodoo temple.' This superstition Mr. Moreau believes to have been derived from Whydah, in Southern Congo, where the French had a trading-port. But did not the Delphic Pythoness likewise derive her name from a serpent, the great Python of Parnassus, begotten in the ocean-mud of the Deucalian Deluge? The Hebrew word *Ob* is the equivalent of the Grecian *ophis* and the Chaldean *ohēb*, a dragon, a serpent; and in the Vulgate the witch of Endor, the 'woman who had an *Ob*,' is described as a *mulier pythonica*; and the 'consulters with familiar spirits' (Deuteronomy, XVIII, 11) as 'men who worshipped *Ob*. The temple of Bel (a contraction of *Ob-El*, the snake god) was covered with representations of flying serpents, the wings having been added to indicate the swiftness of the miraculous Python—perhaps the prototype of the Chinese dragon, of our 'old serpent' and possibly of the mediæval dragon-myths. *Popular Science Monthly*, Vol. XXII, pp. 351, and 352.

but 3 feet and 40 parts! Thus the soothsayer erred in quantity, and also in time no small degree. The Dragon King stepped on a cloud* and went direct to the soothsayer's shop, dressed like a student, tore down the sign, and reproached him, calling him an imp that deceived the people:—'For your prognostication,' said he, 'is not correct; it errs both in time, and in quantity. You had

* Those who have read the previous numbers of these Scraps will have noticed that the clouds are the vehicles of the Chinese gods. Nor is this idea confined to Chinese mythology. We have here a trace of the myth so wide spread through different nations, revealing itself in the Norse story of Big Bird Dan in the boat which sails of itself; in the 'mysterious ships of the Phæacian King Alkinoös in the Odyssey (Od. 8, 557). These vessels have neither rigging nor tackling, helmsmen nor rudders; but they know the thoughts and minds of men, and dread no disaster as they pass from one land to another, for not one of them has ever been stranded or wrecked or failed to reach the point which it was seeking. But it is not here only that we come across these marvellous ships. The bark *skidbladnir* can carry all the Æsir, the gods of the Teutonic Olympus, and yet may be folded up and borne in the hand like a garment. (Cox's *Introduction to Mythology and Folklore*, p. 3). We have our counterpart again amongst the Chinese in the wonderful white mule which was the constant companion of one of the eight genii, Chang Kwoh (張果) 'which carried him thousands of miles in a day, and which, when he halted, he folded up (in the form of a package of paper. See *China Review*, Vol. XI, p. — note), and hid away in his wallet. When he again required its services he spirted water upon the packet from his mouth, and the beast at once resumed its proper shape.' (Mayers' *Chinese Reader's Manual*, p. 6, also see last number of these Scraps *China Review*, Vol. XI, p.—). For it is no more strange to suppose that this white mule is a cloud than to believe that the cows, which Indra in the Hindoo form of the myth rescues are the clouds (see Cox's *Introduction to Mythology and Folklore*, p. 34, but to continue our quotation from Cox without which the connection may not appear clear:—'In another Norse story—that of Shortshanks, Dasent—the ship becomes bigger and bigger as soon as the voyager steps into it, and when he leaves it becomes again as small as it was before. These ships are the fleets which sail across the blue seas of hea-

better quietly leave the village, lest I be satisfied only with your death.' The soothsayer listened to all this unmoved. Raising his eyes towards heaven he said, weeping:—'I am free from sin which merits death. I fear you have committed the sin deserving death. I do not admit what you say. You are the Dragon King of the sea and the rivers, and this day you have erred in sending the rain, both in time and the quantity; and thus you have disobeyed the orders of heaven; and I fear it will be difficult for you to escape a stroke from the knife.'*

The King, frightened, fell on his knees and begged the soothsayer not to think it strange. He was only joking; he did not know that he had violated any of the regulations of heaven, and hoped that he would save him from all harm this once.

The soothsayer said he could not protect him, but he could put him in the way to escape danger. 'To-morrow,' he continued, 'at 11.45 a.m., the executioner will receive orders to behead you. There will be no difficulty in securing the protection of that officer.' The King thanked the soothsayer, and left. At the third watch, he went to the palace of the executioner, the great Wei, just as the Prince Tai Chung was dreaming that he saw the Dragon King, in human form, bow before him, and, in a beseeching tone, ask him to 'save life,' saying:—'I am the Dragon King of the sea and rivers. I have violated the command of heaven, and am to be beheaded by your officer to-morrow. I hope your majesty will rescue me from the fatal knife.'

ven. They are the clouds which swell and shrink, which go straight to their mark with unerring instinct without failure and without hurt,' (p. 3). So in our Chinese genii story 'when he wished to proceed he spirted water on the paper which became the mule again.' (See *China Review*, Vol. XI, p. note). It seems plausible enough to suggest that the water spirted on the paper is the idea of the clouds being formed by moisture.

* Alluding to the knife used by the executioner of the shape of a hook.

The great Tai Chung replied :—'This execution is by one of my officers ; I can protect you.'

The Dragon thanked the King and retired. Tai Chung awoke from his dream, and was pondering it in his heart, when he went to his hall, found both classes all present excepting Great Wei. He was much alarmed, and was on the point of sending for him, when he appeared, and, as he was entering, he received the Imperial Mandate. He thanked the bearer, opened and read it. He was ordered to go at 11.45 a.m. and in a dream behead the Dragon King.

Tai Chung seeing Wei present, ordered the others to retire. He called for the chess board and the King and Wei sat down to a game of chess. They played till 11.45 a.m., when Wei fell asleep, yet the king did not arouse him. Presently he awoke, and apologised for sleeping and hoped His Majesty would pardon him.* The King replied that he found no fault. He had scarcely done speaking when an officer brought in the head of the Dragon, and put it before Tai Chung, who asked :—'Whose head is this?' He was told that it was the head of the Dragon King. The Great Wei dared not deny the fact, but said he went in a dream, and beheaded the Dragon God in obedience to the Imperial Will. Tai Chung was much alarmed, and ordered the head to be suspended, in the market. He directed his officers to retire, and he fell into a deep sleep, in which he saw the Dragon, in a loud voice cry out :—'Tai Chung give me back my life.' At the same time, he seized, and held him fast, and would not let him go, till the Goddess of Mercy came and forced him to let him go. The Dragon then ran to the seat of the ten judges,† and entered a complaint. It is reported that Tai Chung awoke from his dream, in a profuse perspiration, issuing from every pore. He said

* *lit.* pardon his sin.

† *i.e.* 'The judges of the Ten Courts of Purgatory,' Giles' *Strange Stories*, Vol. 2, p. 362.

he had been aroused from his sleep by a ghost. The officers assembled in the hall, as usual, but did not see the king on his throne. They knew that he was sick, and had called his physician. After a few days* the officers waited at the door till the physician came out. He reported that the King said that the disease was not an external or internal disease, but he feared it could not be cured. The Queen came to the palace, and the three Dukes. After the usual ceremonies had been performed, the King said :—'At night, I was sleeping outside the door, when I heard a ghost cry aloud for me. I was sorely alarmed.' *King*, a courtier, replied that His Majesty need not fear that he with *Paon* would guard the Palace doors that night, and ascertain what spirit it was that visited the Palace. At night the officers put on their armour, and stood at the doors, and the King rested quietly through the night. They guarded the Palace for a few nights in this manner, when the King, unwilling to give the officers such trouble, directed an artist to paint pictures of the two officers, and paste the pictures on the doors. Thus he slept quietly at night, but in two or three days after there was heard a strange, disorderly sound at the back door. The picture of Wei was painted, and put on the front and back doors. This gave the King rest, yet it was evident that he was growing worse and worse and was near his end.† Wei addressed him, saying :—'I

* *lit.* Three or five days.

† The following account gives the name of the minister and differs slightly from the text :—'Wei, *Kwei-kū Shien-sang* 魏鬼谷先生, the invincible soothsayer. —' He lived on the sea shore in the time of Tang and the fishermen came to consult him as to where they should fish. They took large draughts in consequence, which, being observed by the Dragon-god of those seas, he endeavoured to prevent him lest the sea should be left without fish. Falling in with the soothsayer, the sea-god said to him : "As thou art so clever, tell me when it will rain." He answered : "It will rain to-morrow ;" upon which the sea-god, sup-

have something to say to your Majesty that may prolong your life.'

'How can that be when my sickness has come to its present hopeless state?' said the King.

'I have a good friend,' said Wei, 'in Hades. I am constantly meeting him in my dreams. I will give you a letter of introduction to him. He is a Judge and will assuredly send you back to life.'

His Majesty took the note and placed it in his sleeve and gradually his seven spirits departed and entered Hades. As he was walking over 'Grassy Waste' he saw someone kneeling at the side of the path, who

posing that he exercised sway over the waters, said: "Let me lay a wager." "So be it," said the other. Returning to the sea, he received the commands of Yü-hwang 玉皇 "the king of heaven," to cause rain to fall on the following day. As there was no help for it, the Dragon caused it to rain only a little, and he came boasting to the soothsayer, who said to him: "Thou art deceived; the Emperor's Minister has orders to kill thee, because thou hast caused so little rain to fall." "What is the remedy now?" he asked. "Go," he answered, "tell the Emperor that, perhaps, this matter may perplex his Minister." He went to the Emperor and supplicated his pardon, which he obtained; and the following night, when the term of the order had arrived, the Emperor called for the Minister, and sat down with him to chess. Being well pleased, a stone fell near the Minister, who stooped as if to pick it up, but remained for some time motionless, and the Emperor thought he had fallen asleep. He soon raised himself up, and was covered with perspiration, which the Emperor wiped away. When the Emperor was gone, the spirit of the sea-god appeared, and said to him: "Thou didst promise to save me, and, more than that, though didst aid the Minister, wiping away his perspiration after killing me; thine shall be the same fate;" and he departed. The Emperor, much frightened, ordered that the first and second Ministers should guard the gates of the palace every night until Tang San-tsang 唐三藏 returned from the west with the writings of Buddha (Hence originated the custom of placing the effigies of these two ministers upon doors to protect houses).—*Chinese and Japanese Repository*, Vol. III., p. 86 and 87.

begged his pardon for not having met him before. The King enquired who he was. He replied that in life he was the intimate friend of Wei, His Majesty's assistant. The King was much pleased, and said:—"I am afraid I have troubled you to come so far to meet me. I hand you the letter which I bring from your friend for you." Yuh took the note, opened it, glanced at it, and said:—"I see it is on business—business in reference to your rescue. Your Majesty may calm your anxieties;* your worthless servant will conduct your Majesty back to life again. We have now arrived at the seat of the Ten Judges. Let us enter, they are waiting for us." After the mutual courtesies were exchanged, and all were seated, Thae Kwang Hwang, folding his hands, thus addressed the king:—"The old Dragon of the Seas and Rivers has entered a complaint against your Majesty: you promised to rescue him from the fatal knife, but you did not; how is this?" The king replied:—"I dreamed that I promised to save the life of the Dragon, he earnestly begging me to do so; but, at the hour appointed, I was playing a game of chess, with Wei, when he suddenly fell asleep, and in obedience to the Imperial will went and beheaded the Dragon. It is thus that it happens the purposes of the gods are brought to pass, through the instrumentality of men.† It was not my fault. The Dragon had sinned against Heaven, and deserved death.'

The Judges ordered the Recorder to bring the Book of Life and Death. The officer went hastily to the library, took the Book of Records, looked into it, and saw that it had been decreed that the king should sit on the throne thirteen ‡ years. He took a pencil

* *Lit.* lay aside your anxious heart.

† This part of the story seems to be an exemplification of the proverb 'man proposes but God disposes.'

‡ *Lit.* 'one ten and three years (一十 三) (3) i.e. three ten and three years instead of one ten and three years (一十 三). It is very interesting to notice what

and ink and added two more strokes to the figure one, thus changing it to thirty three years. He then carried the book and handed it to the Judges. They examined it, and found the King's name, and under it was written:—'It is settled that King Tae Chung shall reign 'three tens of years and three;' at the end of this period, he must die.' The Judges then addressed the King:—'Your Majesty has been on the throne thirteen years, by our register, there are remaining twenty years more, for you to

an exact reproduction of life on earth, these representations of a future existence are even to the most minute particulars. As an illustration of this it may not be amiss to draw attention to a case which occurred in the Summary Jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of Hongkong some two or three years ago. A Chinese sued a European for the balance of an account for carpentering, &c. The defendant's statement was that the whole work was to be done for \$5, of which sum he paid \$3 on account and that he drew up a bill in English shewing the balance due to be \$2 at the bottom of this bill. The Chinaman wrote two columns in Chinese, which, on being produced in Court, were found to state that \$2½ were due. The plaintiff, on the other hand, stated the sum to be larger, viz. \$6½ and acknowledged the Chinese writing at the foot of the bill to be his, but said that he wrote \$3½ instead of \$2½ and suggested that his figures had been tampered with. He stated that he had written 三 but on the bill it was 弌 the stroke down through the three horizontal lines had been added by some one else according to his story. This is also a practical illustration of the utility of the Chinese complicated figures, as in such a case no such statement could be made. The other three which was used for the money received on account used by the Chinese was not the simple 三 but a more complicated form.

Compare also the following story:—

Kwán-loh 管輅, divination by the diagrams.—'The youth Ngan 安 having come to him to ascertain when he should die, was told that it would take place in three days. When the father heard this, he went to the diviner, and represented to him that, being his only son, he was indispensable to him, and prayed him to instruct him how his fate could be avoided. The diviner replied: "Go to the southern mountain, and take wine with thee; thou wilt

fill the seat of your empire:* be pleased to return to the world of light to your own body.' The King thanked the Judges. He asked whether all the members of his family were well. The Judges replied:—'Your Majesty's family are all well, except your young sister, and her life appears to be now of short duration.' The King again respectfully expressed his thanks and said that he regretted when he returned to the upper world, he would have nothing better than a melon † to present to them as an offering.

The Ten Judges gave the King two attendants, Choo and Judge Tsuy: the flag bearer taking the 'spirit flag' led the way, the King walked next, and the attendants followed. The King raised his eyes, and saw they were on the 'World's Road,' and

there find two men playing at chess, one dressed in scarlet, who is the king (the star) of the South, who presides over life; the other in green, who is the king (the star) of the North, and he rules over death. When though arrivest, place wine before them, and, when they turn to drink, present thy petition." The father having followed these directions, and they having drunk, though he did not observe them, said: "I pray to be aided in my strait, and that the doom of my son may be revoked; it is hard that he, my only son, should die at the age of 19." The king of the North, then opening the book of fate, saw that it was so written; but the king of the South, having drunk of the father's wine, felt himself obliged to favour the son, knowing that it was an artifice of Kwan-loh. He therefore wrote a figure 9 (九) before the figure 19 (十九), which represented 九十九 or 9 times 10 and 9, making 99, which was the number of years the youth Ngan lived.'—*Chinese and Japanese Repository*, Vol. III., p. 107.

* 'The Infernal Regions are supposed to be pretty much a counterpart of the world above, excepting in the matter of light.' Giles' *Strange Stories*, 2 Vol., note p. 95.

† It appears that this promise was kept for 'When the soul of the Emperor T'ai Tsung of the T'ang dynasty was in the infernal regions, it promised to send Yen-lo (the Chinese Yama or Pluto) a melon; and when His Majesty recovered from the trance into which he had been plunged, he gave orders that his promise was to be fulfilled. Just then a man, named Liu Ch'üan, observed a priest with a hairpin belonging to

said:—‘This is the wrong road’ The Judge replied:—‘This is the right road; The way to Hades is not the same as the way from Hades. I am now guiding Your Majesty

his wife, and misconstruing the manner in which possession of it had been obtained, abused his wife so severely that she committed suicide. Liu Ch’üan then determined to follow her example, and convey the melon to Yen-lo; for which act he was subsequently deified.’ *Giles’ Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio*, Vol. 2, p. 351, note.

The following account is from another Chinese book:—

In A.D. 627, a person 劉, named Laoo Chuen 金, had for a wife a woman named Le Shui-leen. He went abroad to trade. In his absence a priest came for alms and his wife took her hair pin and gave it him. Her neighbours said she behaved improperly with the priest and spread a bad report about. When her husband came home he reproached her for her conduct. She was so mortified that she hung herself. In Hades she entered a complaint before the king of Hades. The king sent a messenger and took him and examined fully into the matter and ascertained that it was a case of unjust death. He released both husband and wife and sent them back to life. The body of Le Shui Leen had wasted away: her soul had no body to return into. Therefore the King of Hades directed one of his attendants to go and seize the spirit of a servant girl belonging to 唐 the King, who had lived out her allotted time. The officer went into the palace, pushed the girl to the ground and seized her soul alive and then took the soul of Li and put it in the body. The Queen, seeing the girl fall, was frightened and called to the King. The King came in and called out to the girl, the girl crawled along. The woman, Laoo Chuen’s wife, having entered the body cried out to her husband:—‘Wait husband, wait for me. People do not wish that I should live. I am Li of the Kin department because I made a present to a Buddhist priest; and my husband reproached me. I hung myself from the ridge pole. Now having by the favour of 唐 king sent the squash to Hades I have obtained the favour of the king of Hades, who directed my husband and myself to return to life. He sent us both back to be again united.’

The King was in the hall when suddenly it was reported by an officer that Laoo Chuen’s soul had returned and was at the door waiting the royal will. The king

through the dark windings* for entering your body again.’ The king could only keep pace with them by running. They pass Yin mountain; they arrive at the 18

ordered him to come in and immediately asked what report. Laon Chuen said: ‘The King of Hades was exceedingly gratified: he asked my surname, because my wife had hung herself. He ordered that we should see each other, and examining the records told us we had still longer to live and sent a messenger to conduct us back. I returned first; my wife followed. I know not in what direction my wife has gone. I know not the foundation of the affair about the king of Hades taking the body of the king’s girl for my wife. I have not yet gone to search for her.’ 唐, having heard him through, could believe the affair of his servant’s dying, and directed the woman to go out to recognize her husband. She went out and seized hold of her husband and said: ‘Husband, why did you not wait for me?’ Laon dared not recognize her. The King gave her a toilet, dresses, wedding ceremonies and presented her to Laon to take home, D.B.

Western Rumbles, 2 Vol., p. 2.

Such stories must have a bad effect on the Chinese in encouraging suicide, for it is only natural that if unjustly accused she should take what appears to her a sure though sharp remedy.

* ‘The place where the wheel of Fate goes round is many leagues in extent, enclosed on all sides by an iron palisade. Within are 81 subdivisions, each of which has its proper officers and magisterial appointments. Beyond the palisade there is a labyrinth of 108,000 paths, leading by direct and circuitous routes back to earth. Inside it is as dark as pitch, and through it pass the spirits of priest and laymen alike. But to one who looks from the outside everything is seen as clear as crystal, and the attendants who guard the place all have the faces and features they had at their birth. These attendants are chosen from virtuous people, who in life were noted for filial piety, friendship, or respect for life, and are sent here to look after the working of the wheel and such duties. If for a space of five years they make no mistakes they are promoted to a higher office; but if found to be lazy or careless they are reported to the throne for punishment.’ (*Yü Li or Divine Panorama*, translated by Giles). But our hero, being a regal personage, is provided with a judge as well as another attendant; and it would seem from what follows that they had not reached the wheel of Fate or Transmigration.

stories of Hades; they came to the 'Passable River Bridge' and arrived at the city inhabited by those who die by accidental or violent deaths, suicides, and those who have unjustly suffered the punishment of death. Here they meet a headless, neckless ghost barring the road. The King was alarmed and cried out to his attendants: 'What is this?' The Judge replied: 'There are the 64 locations occupied by the souls of rebels, and also the 72 residences of spirits of pirates. These all are the souls of those, who come to their end, by violent means.* If your majesty will scatter some spirit money among them, then you can pass on.'

The King replied: 'Your humble servant has not a cash about his person.' The Judge said there was a person living at the market door near the river, who had a treasury containing thirteen chests of silver. 'You can borrow,' said he 'from him by giving him a note to be paid when you return to earth.'

The King wrote the note, and borrowed a chest of silver and gave it to the headless, neckless being, to share with his companions. Tsuy added that when His Majesty arrived in life, he could get up expensive festivals, for the benefit of these destitute spirits, who have no ancestral tablet, to which to resort, or family to care for them. The guide directed the standard bearer to wave the flag and they passed the habitations of those who die by violent means; they passed also the oppressed families and advanced to the place of transmigration. The Judge said: 'These are called the Great Roads of Transmigration. Here is the Genuine Road, the Honourable Road, the Happy Road, the Man Road, the Wealthy Road, the Ghost Road: each takes a road that accords with the profession, the business that a person followed in life.'

* 'Violent deaths are regarded with horror by the Chinese. They hold that a truly virtuous man always dies either of illness or old age.' Giles' *Strange Stories* from a Chinese Studio, note Vol. 2, p. 363.

The King said: 'It cannot be said there is no order in the affairs of the world: it must be as the gods above and the gods below direct and order.' The Judge put the King into the Honourable Road, and said to him: 'This leads to the upper world. I will now leave you in the hands of the conductor Choo, and your humble servant will return. When you have entered life again, you will not forget to get up a splendid festival, for the benefit of those poor spirits, who are without dwellings,' (that is ancestral tablets.) The conductor Choo hurried the King, to mount a horse. They arrived at the river. The King raised his eyes and saw the two headed fish sporting in the water. The conductor looked forward to the river, and pushed the horse with its rider into the water.*

Thus His Majesty came to the end of the Honourable Road of Hades, and entered the borders of life.

It is said that the officers on the report of His Majesty's death assembled, and filled the White Dragon Hall with bitter lamentations. They propose that measures be taken to place the Heir Apparent on the throne. Wei advised them not to be in haste. 'Who can say,' continued he, 'that our sovereign will not return to life.'

Just at that moment a voice was heard from the coffin crying out: 'I shall be drowned; no one comes to my rescue.' The officers approached the coffin and replied: 'Your humble servants are here.† If Your Majesty is in trouble speak out, and do not

* *The Divine Panorama* gives the following account of the transit to life:—'When they (i.e. the spirits) have drunk (i.e. of the waters of forgetfulness) they are raised by the attendants and escorted back by the same path. They are next pushed on to the Bitter Bamboo floating bridge, with torrents of rushing red water on either side. . . . they try to jump on shore, but are driven back into the water by two huge devils.' Giles' *Strange Stories*, Vol. II., p. 386.

† *Lit.* 'they drown me dead' I think the likeness of this phrase to our English drowned has already been pointed out.

act in this way.' Wei remarked: 'The soul of our ruler is returning to its body.' He hastily opened the coffin and they beheld the face of their sovereign, who exclaimed: 'They drown me; I cannot escape.' The officers replied: 'We are all present to assist our monarch.' The King opened his eyes. Wei called the physician, who gave him medicine for quieting his troubled, agitated mind. He recovered his senses, and during that day and night slept quietly.

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THE DRAGON'S SON TAKES THE TEMPERANCE
PLEDGE AND BREAKS IT.

The Pearl Ruler called a meeting of his councillors to make arrangements respecting the winds and rain. The Dragon thinking over the matter said to himself: 'It is too much for an old man like me to go so far—to walk in a long gown and appear in a court dress this hot weather is really too much.' The son heard his father and said: 'Father, I will go in your stead.'

His father replied: 'I should be pleased to send you were it not for one thing: you are fond of whiskey. I am afraid you would drink freely and then do business badly.'

'But, father, I promise with an oath I will not drink. If I do my father shall see the face of his son no more.'

'With such pledges my son,' said the father, 'my heart will dismiss all anxiety.'

He repeated to his son the rules of court etiquette, and the son left the paternal palace. He travelled by day and rested by night. One morning he entered a village, and as he passed along he saw a shop with a whiskey sign. He cast his eye upon it, and queried with himself thus: 'Shall I go in or not: shall I drink, or shall I not drink? If I do not take a drop, I shall be thinking of whiskey all the time: it will be better to take a few cups now; then I shall go on forgetting whiskey.' So he went in and called for whiskey, merrily repeating poetry and singing. He paid the bill and went on to the assembly. The Dragon kings having arrived, they mutually greet each other.

The master of the assembly read the rules which were to be observed by the members of the meeting viz:—

1st. They were to sit in order and wait for their associates.

2nd. Those who drank whiskey should be careful that they did no mischief.

3rd. It would not be permitted to ramble about from one seat to another.

4th. The cup bearers must not use disorderly words.

5th. Those who violated these rules would be thrust out of heaven and degraded.

The Dragon kings were furnished with a pot of whiskey, and were conducted to their respective tables and seated, according to their age and rank. Ironhead's * son seeing the whiskey before him said to himself: 'This is celestial drink; to get it once a year is no easy thing. I cannot avoid taking a few cups.' He then drank some tens and became very drunk.

A quarrel followed, for he accused the Governor of the Feast of being unjust: he had not the seat, said he, that his father had; the whiskey was not handed to him as it was to his father. An altercation took place, the drunken Dragon was thrust out of heaven and the assembly dismissed.† The son, filled with shame, concluded not to return to his father's palace: so he transformed himself into a large carp more than twenty feet in length‡ and went sporting up the river, dashing the water from side to

* This would appear to be one of the epithets applied to the Dragon king of Seas and Rivers, though the narrative does not so inform us.

† Note to the Assembly breaking up in disorder the Chinese proverb says '一龍阻住千江水' *Lit.*: One dragon may obstruct a thousand rivers.' Freely rendered: 'One man may obstruct many.' See Scarborough's *Chinese Proverbs*, No. 889.

‡ This Dragon seems to have carried into effect the wish expressed in the Music Hall song:

'I wish I were a fish
With a great big tail Oh!'

side; but alas for him! One morning he found himself left by the tide on the beach.

A fisherman of a village near by saw the fish and with several of his fellow fishermen came with knives and cut a piece here and a piece there, each suiting his own taste.*

In a mangled state he made a desperate effort and threw himself into the water, in doing which he struck some of the fishermen dead with his tail, while the others fled. He made the best of his way home to his father's palace, with just enough life left to relate to his parent the sad tale of his miserable son, and, begging his sire to avenge him of those merciless villagers, he expired.

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This story of a transformation into a fish or sea monster is not without its parallels in the West, though the affinity, if any at all, seems very slight. What we want in Chinese mythology is a Fox or a Müller with time to devote to its study and to shew the affinities between it and the myths and folklore of the West. In the Chinese story we have the son of the Dragon King voluntarily taking the form of a fish. In the West we have the story of Glaucus, who was originally 'a fisherman in Boetia, observing one day the fish which he had caught and thrown on the grass to bite it, and then jump into the sea, his curiosity excited him

* The poor Dragon's son would here experience the truth of the Chinese proverb which says 龍遊淺水遭蝦戲 In shallow water dragons become the joke of shrimps Scarborough's *Chinese Proverbs*, No. 868.

This seems to be the converse of the idea of the carp entering the Dragon's gates and changing into a dragon and used as an illustration of a humble student metamorphosed by passing through the gates of knowledge into a superior position.

'The students in Tokio have a saying: "I'm a fish to day, but I hope to be a dragon to-morrow," when they go to attend examination.'

to taste it also. Immediately on his doing so he followed their example, and thus became a sea god' (Anthon's *Classical Dictionary*). Then we have the story by the poets of Glaucus falling in love with the beautiful maiden Scylla, 'who was fond of associating with the Nereids,' but he, 'being rejected, applied to Circe to exercise her magic arts in his favour. (Circe wished him to transfer his affections to herself; and, filled with rage at his refusal, she infected with noxious juices the water in which Scylla was wont to bathe, and thus transformed her into a monster.' (Anthon's *Classical Dictionary*) Camoens gives the whole of the stories in such a succinct form that I must be excused for quoting it here:—

'E o deos, que foi n'hum tempo corpo humano,
E por virtude da herva poderosa
Foi convertido em peixe, e deste dano
Lhe resultou deidade gloriosa,
Inda vinha chorando o fêo engano,
Que Circe tinha usado co'a formosa
Scylla, que elle ama, desta sendo amado;
Que a mais obriga amor mal empregado.'
Os Lusíadas Canto VI. s. XXIV.

Which Aubertin does into the following English doggerel:—

'The god who once the human form did know
And by the power of poisonous herb was made
To take the shape of fish, and by this blow
Was as a glorious Deity repaid,
Came mourning still the treachery which
her foe,
Circe, upon the lovely Scylla played,
Whom Glaucus loved, while Circe loved him well;
For slighted love to all things will impel.

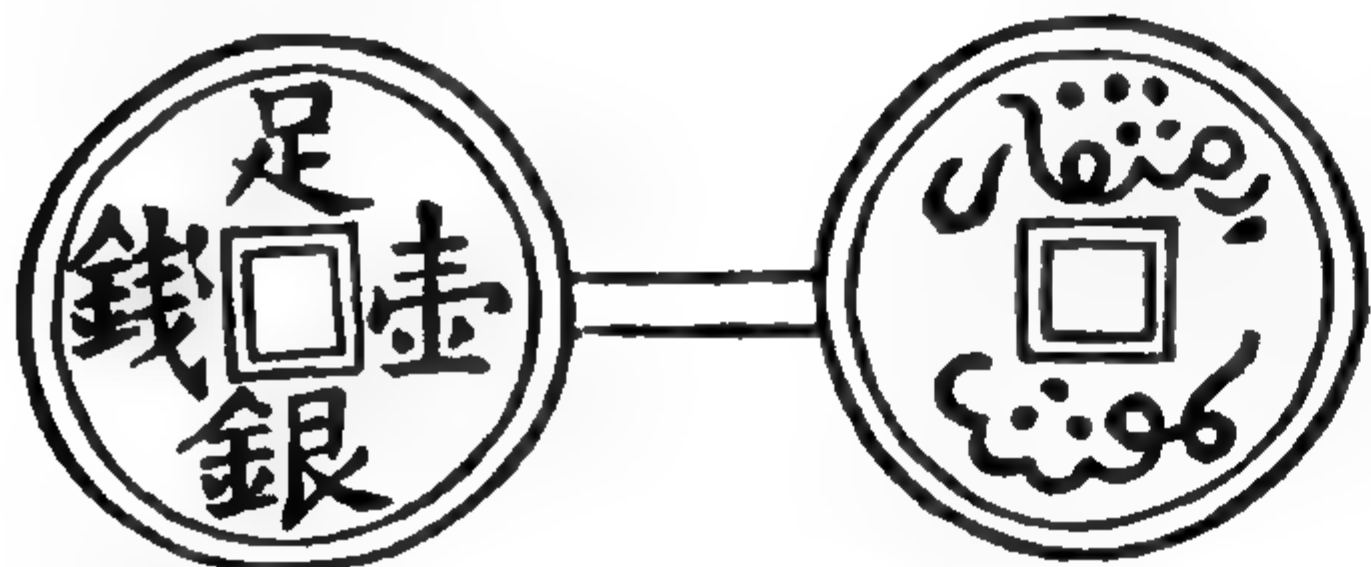
Those who like Heyne wish to show that in such stories or fables, as they will call them (such as Circe and her transformation of men into swine), have an object and that object the desire to show 'the brutalizing influence of sensual indulgencies' will find ample material for such a theory in the story of the Dragon King's son.

A NEW SILVER COINAGE FOR CHINESE TURKISTAN.

After the conquest of Eastern Turkistan by China in the reign of Chien-lung, mints were established in the principal cities, and copper coins cast after the model of the ordinary Chinese *cash* with an inscription in three languages, Chinese, Manchu and Turki, supplanting the thick unpierced *pul* copper pieces of the country.

During the sway of the Atalik Ghazi Yaakub Beg of Kashgar from 1865 to 1877 a new currency was issued modelled upon that of Khokand, inscribed with the name of Abd-El-Aziz testifying to Yaakub's allegiance to the Othmanli Sultan of Constantinople. Two of the gold coins weighing 57.5 grains, of the years A. H. 1291, 1292, are described in the Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum, Vol. vii. No. 244, and one of them figured in Plate v.

After the Chinese re-conquest silver money seems to have been first cast at Lan-chou-fu by Tso Ts'ung-t'ang, the Governor-General of Kansu. A few pieces have been brought eastward by one of the Germans employed in the cloth manufactories founded there, and I am indebted to Mr. Tanner of the Imperial Maritime Customs for the specimen figured here:—



It is of fine silver, weighing 60 grains, the diameter equal to °6 of Mionnet's Scale. There is a raised rim round the circumfer-

ence and the square hole in the centre is bounded by a narrower rim. The obverse bears the inscription in Chinese *Tsu yin yi ch'ien*, 'one *ch'ien* of pure silver' indicating the value—one tenth of a tael. The reverse has two lines in the Arabic character but so badly formed as to be hardly decipherable. The line above the hole appears to be *El Kashkár*, that below perhaps *Ush*. Kashgar is the chief city of the Western Division, Ush Turfan one of the principal cities of the Eastern Division of Chinese Turkistan.

The circulation of this coin must have been very limited, for we now hear of a new silver coinage from the mints of Kashgar and Yarkand, examples of which have already found their way to Europe. Like the Chinese silver money of Tibet, which I have described in the *China Review* (V. vi. p. 348, V. viii. p. 392), these coins are of the value of one *ch'ien* and of five *fên*. One of the former is described in the *Berliner Münz-Blatter*, No. 45, May 1884, by Dr. V. Winckel, who found a specimen in Bombay. The inscription is in three characters; on the obverse in Chinese *Kuang hsü yin ch'ien*, 'Silver money of Kuang. hsü'; on the reverse, in Chinese *yi ch'ien*, 'one mace,' in Manchu *Kashgar*, and the same in Turki or Arabic with the date 1295. It is of fine silver weighing 3½ grammes. The Chinese and Manchu characters betray a foreign hand, the Arabic are better written.

The smaller pieces, which are one half the value of the larger, are represented in the British Museum collection by two specimens, of the size °65 of Mionnet's Scale, from the

mints of Kashgar and Yarkand. They have the same inscription in Chinese on the obverse; on the reverse *wu fên* 'five candareens' in Chinese, and *Yerkiang* (Yarkand) or *Kashgar*, to the left in Manchu, to the

right in Arabic letters. They will be published in the forthcoming volume of the catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum by Prof. Terrien de Lacouperie.

S. W. BUSHELL.

TRANSLATIONS FROM CHINESE NEWSPAPERS.

I.—A LEADING ARTICLE—OCTOBER 8TH, 1884.

In ancient times when holy Emperors and wise Kings ruled the Empire, they glorified virtue and would not look at weapons, they cultivated letters and let war alone, they regulated society by ceremonial, and taught the people virtue; their laws and orders were issued and filial duty and brotherliness prevailed, the supply of clothing and food was sufficient and civility and deference flourished. Thus they were able to govern with folded hands, and the results were noble and glorious. But coming down to later ages we observe a growing predilection for military affairs and strife, with a spirit of ambition and pretension, whence arose a succession of men eminent in the tactics of war. The destinies would have it so, but the contrast is too painful to be spoken about. Since the Tartar Dynasty established universal sway, the Empire has been governed by love and filial duty and the masses nourished with liberality and munificence. Bountifulness and benevolence have been transcendent for over two hundred years, and there has been an uninterrupted succession of Holy Emperors, outshining those of the former dynasty. When the Empire was in the enjoyment of peace, the seas were radiant and the rivers were clear, the officers were obsequious and distant countries came to enjoy and to submit. In the reign of K'ien-lung, indeed when the West was opened, and warlike affairs came into vogue,

there was great improvement in armour and warlike implements, as for instance, the jingal with the nine revolving balls (?chain-shot), by which the enemy were out in pieces, like the splitting of bamboo; there was no standing against them, so that the military prowess was about perfect; and the awestriking fame of Manchau and Sohlun (索倫) soldiers astonished the world. Never in time had there been such a development of the Empire as then. Afterwards there was a period of rest, and military affairs were not mentioned for several decades; till, in the beginning of the reign of Taukwang, trade between China and foreign nations, and the opening of ports, gradually worked a tremendous change in the social state and feeling of the country, and by the end of that reign the longhaired rebels arose like bees in Kwangsi, occupied Nanking, and laid waste the provinces of the Siang and the Cheh, trampling under their feet half the Empire for twenty years. During that time the torch of war flared in the sky and fearful omens in every quarter. But for the heroic deeds and unshaken loyalty of men like Loh, Chang, Tsang, and Tso, the fire then kindled would have been hard indeed to extinguish, and the sad devastation which might have followed, one cannot endure to think of. Still, however, the practice of arms was confined to the putting down of internal rebellion on land, and naval warfare remained untried. But now

that the French have commenced hostilities, whilst they are vaunting their naval power, confiding in their iron clads and great guns, and four ships and guns are also made as strong and effective as possible. Our first encounter with them cannot but cause vexation. Looking back over the time since China's intercourse with foreign nations commenced, we cannot be said to have been inattentive to naval preparations against such an emergency. Regardless of expense we have ordered and had made in Germany ships of war and large cannon as if we could not have enough of them. We have also established Arsenals at Canton, and Foochow, and Nanking for the manufacture of arms and machinery and the building of ships. We have selected able officers to superintend these works, who should have exerted themselves to the utmost with public spirit to bring them to perfection. And for months and years the Imperial Government has been spending millions of money for these objects. There has been no want of time and no remission of endeavour. Yet, we have no sooner encountered the French on the Min and at Kiplung than we hear that many of the Chinese armaments have but a name without the reality, or that the powder has been adulterated. And so the French have it all their own way. Was there ever reckless greed or neglect of duty to exceed this? In the conduct of war it is absolutely essential that the armaments be without defect and the discipline stern and thorough. Unfurnished gear is not fit for the field; frail ships are not fit for the sea; blunt spears and feckless guns will not repel an enemy. At this juncture the obtrusiveness and audacity of the French and their contempt of China all come of our ships and armaments being so far from perfection that they are no match for theirs. And, since they have burnt the ships on the Min and destroyed the Arsenal, China is suddenly left without any resource wherewith to meet her enemies, and at the same time no amount of ingenuity

can discover what their further intentions may be. If the gentlemen at the helm of affairs in China do not take this opportunity to institute a thorough investigation of the army equipments, testing the guns and the ammunition till they have made assurance doubly sure that everything is as perfect and fit for use as it can be made, let them not mistake shams for realities or imagine that quantity is quality. Then it may be possible when the struggle comes to trust the weapons without fear. This is the most urgent matter of the hour, especially as no one can tell what turn events may take in this struggle with France. The news from Tientsin the other day was that France was wishing to come to terms. But the most reasonable view of the matter is that France wants to gain time, and has some deep plot in hand. We learn by yesterday's telegram from Shanghai that the members of the Foreign Office had made a secret representation to the Throne on the subject, and the decree was to stop the discussion. Imperial wisdom has evidently anticipated their subtle design, and is not going to be befooled by an enemy, and meekly take the bait. And as regards Li Hung-chang being called to the Capital for consultation, we imagine it is rather that in the profound councils of the court it is deemed necessary to make some personal communication as to the carrying out of measures already determined upon for the defence of the country and the peace of the people, than that advice is needed.

These humble words we think will meet with full appreciation in the breasts of all our worthy readers who may be in positions of trust.

II.—ADVICE TO THE TROOPS BY WONG CHEUK-T'ONG, INTENDANT OF LUI-CHOW
AND K'ING-CHOW.

Sit down and listen for a little while
To good advice in simple words, my men!
You're far from home on soldiers' service
now

To toil for kith and kin and earn renown.
Think how in every province many posts
Are filled by those whose life commenced
like yours.

Now China and the French are bent on war ;
And by decree both North and South prepare,
But most K'ing-chow, so near to Häiphong,
Where you may have to fight at anytime.
We're told the Frenchmen's steel-clad ships
are strong.

They dare to work their perverse will at sea.
Our ships are few and weak compared with
theirs ;
But, on the land, why should we fear the
French ?

Precise they are, but we will hem them in
By overwhelming numbers speedily.
The her must stand up for state and home.
Come, soldiers, one in will, be like a wall
Against the mighty foe, each lance in front.
By daily drill attain to perfect skill.
In musketry fail not to hit the mark ;
Then when you fight each shot will wound
a man.

In handling sword and spear be firm of foot ;
To thrust or stand on guard be still prepared.
And gunners, first of all, be self-possessed.
The victory depends on cannon most.
With shot and powder in proportion due
And aim precise like magic strike the foe,
Shield-practice too and crouching must be
learnt

To shun the balls and ward the falling blow.
Twice daily, morn and night, be prompt at
drill.

Learn aught but sloth, which numbs the
hands and feet.

The more you exercise the stronger you.
Work makes of iron steel, and glass of flint ;
So I would have you wrought to perfectness.
For courage you of Séung and Yüt are famed.
Be patient workers too, to dig and build.
Avoid, I pray you, sloven negligence,
The trenches must be deep and wide and
firm,

Just as your courage must, to meet a foe.
As he who holds a house must keep its doors
With bolts and locks all fast to bar access,

So you must cover every passage well.
Stand firm as hills, as water nimbly move.
And first, I warn you—*Smoke no Opium.*
He cannot walk or run who smokes the drug,
But weeps away his days, a victim base.
Oh, well I know that weapon's deadly power !
The climate here is changeful and severe,
And temp'rance is the way to keep your
health.

They says they ward miasma off by smoke.
They lie, I vow. Avoid the tempting snare.
Again I warn you—*Gamble not at all.*
Believe me, if you do, you're sure to lose.
The rogues that keep the dice will fleece you
clean.

They've ruined many good and honest men.
To leave your homes is hardship any way,
If e'en you hope to gain somewhat thereby ;
But sadder far to bear all this for nought,
And waste your means on thankless vaga-
bonds ;

E'engraving that your crime is not found out.
If 'tis, you're flogged, or else dismissed, to
boot.

And further—*Keep from drinking and de-
bauch.*

Each selfish lust self-punishment will bring.
In brothels men may buy diseases dear.
One thoughtless hour may sink you down
to hell.

But virtuous women even more, I say,
Dare not to touch or rudely look upon.
Of deadly sins adult'ry is the worst ;
And martial law counts rape the basest crime.
Thus far you have eschewed this evil here ;
And may you all eschew it evermore !
So keep the laws, and keep your manhood
too.

Unless on duty, *stray not from the camp.*
*And don't cut down the trees, or brawl, or
cheat.*

You're nourished for the State and people's
weel ;

But, if you break the peace with those below,
They'll dread you as they dread bandits
Or savage Li whose hordes infest Hainan.
Our people oft have found our troops a
scourge.

But you must treat them as your flesh and blood,
 In friendly concert, paying as you go ;
 The more that now in this emergency
 They all unite to drill as volunteers.
 On me the double charge of both devolves,
 And my desire is for impartial ways.
 Good-will to soldiers I have always shown,
 And sympathised with sick and suffering men.
 The death of one has caused me sleepless nights.
 I would not punish wrongly for the world.
 Hear then my words. Be faithful to yourselves.
 If wrong, amend. If right, then persevere.
 And may we soon be blest with news of peace!

Then you'll go home and feast on what you've saved.
 But failing that, if fight we must, or fall,
 You'll brave the worst, and leave a glorious name.
 These counsels few, though rude and badly rhymed,
 Lay to your hearts assured they come from mine.
 Don't let them pass your ears like gusts of wind,
 And thankless slight the best a friend can give.
 Through toils and pains march onward to success.
 Forever true's the word :—THE STOUT HEART WINS.

A CHIP FROM CHINESE HISTORY, OR THE LAST TWO EMPERORS OF THE GREAT SUNG DYNASTY, 1101-1126.

(Continued from Vol. XII., page 498.)

Cheng Ho, 7th year, 1117.—The Prince of Ta Li, in the 2nd moon gives tribute. This is brought about by the intendant of Kuang-chow. The lord of the country is made the Governor of Yunnan, with the title of Ta Li Prince. The Emperor makes a progress to the pure precious temple and orders Lin Ling-so to expound the Taoist classic. Taoists now received salaries from the state, many thousand of acres of land are conferred on them and at their celebrations many hundreds of strings of cash are expended. Thousands of people adopted the cloth square cap to obtain a daily full meal and 300 cash. These assemblies were styled fairs of the thousand Taoists. In this case scholars and

people were invited to hear the discourse. The Emperor himself had a tent on one side. Lin was seated on high and the people bowed and asked questions of him, but his discourse was trivial, full of buffooneries and indecencies, causing shouts of laughter and quite destitute of allusions to the duties of Prince and Minister. Lin then ordered the people to receive divine scrolls and crowds of scholars lusting for advancement came forward. Mean men are now at the height of their pride, but the prevailing peace was apparent not real ; yet do the Prince and his people devote themselves thus to superstition ! Ts'ai Ching and Wang Pu, the Ministers, and Tung Kuan, the General, all flat-

ter Taoism; the Emperor proceeds not to the examination hall but to the temple, where not the classics but Taoism is expounded, and not till the invader arrives is it stopped, to be resumed, however, again on his departure. History sternly censures such conduct, which resembles the establishment by the Tang of a million pulpits to expound the classic of the benevolent Prince. In the 4th moon the office of Taoist divine scrolls presented a patent 冊, conferring on the Emperor the title of Prince Bishop of Taoism, 教主道君. The Emperor toadied the Taoists by declaring himself to be 'the eldest son of the supreme and prince of the great void;' he regretted the people should have followed after Buddhism (金狄 metal barbarians) and had implored the Supreme to make him lord of mankind to bring men to the truth. The title was only used in Taoist's memorials. To comprehend after being sunk in superstition shows a second rate man; but never to comprehend and remain unaltered is proof of utter stupidity. Hui Tsung's profound faith in empty nothingness shows a deplorable lack of righteousness (principle). A patent (冊) is given by a superior to an inferior and how can a Minister grant one to his Prince? Is it, too, correct for the Son of Heaven to be made a Taoist prince? Hui Tsung's depreciation of Buddhism was a mere piece of prejudice. His allusion to metal barbarians is supposed to refer to the assertions of Buddhists that their founder's body shone like gold, but it was probably in fact an omen of the coming troubles from the Kin barbarians and resembles the name Kuong Ming, 廣明, given by the Emperor Tang Hsi-tsung to the year soon after the Yellow Nest rebels arose, and men said the Tang have replaced Chun (Prince) by Yellow (唐黃). So in this case Hui Tsung unwillingly announces the beginning of his own troubles. Hui Tsung's indifference to all shame is very prominent here, but though he might deceive men by his haughty, presumptuous language could he hope to deceive Heaven? He real-

ly designed to terrify neighbouring barbarians with the name of the Supreme; when, however, in the future Hui Tsung and his son have to receive the Kin doctrines in the barbarian land, where they ultimately perish, of what value will be their new learning. It is the duty of scholars to cut off heterodoxy and honour China's doctrine. Ruin can only come from vagaries like these.

In the 6th moon the Bright Hall is completed (明堂). In the 7th moon, an Imperial bureau for taking men and boats with tribute presents is established. It was customary for the superintendent and prefects of the S. E., when vessels arrived at the Min Kuang provinces with tribute presents, to forward the cargoes to the capital without awaiting an Imperial decree. The eunuchs then met and presented such articles as rocks from T'ai Hu (太湖), Tzu-yuan (慈溪), &c., wondrous bamboos from the two 浙, rare flowers, sea—(海錯), lychees, olives, and lung-yens from Fuh-keen, cocoa nuts (有耶) from the S. seas, marble from Teng and Taichow, the marked bamboo from the Hu-kuang. Rare woods and fruit from Szechuan were brought across the seas, traversed the river, destroying bridges and upsetting walls in their way; trees on their arrival upright were replanted and lived. Rare fruits and flowers were carried by couriers often long distances, retaining on arrival their freshness of taste and colour. Ts'ai Ching then said: 'Your Majesty has abundance of woods and rocks, things no one values; and musicians, beauty, and dogs and horses you do not require. The excessive quantities sent are due to the mistakes of the bureau and are also the causes of trouble. Let then this surplus be struck off and a new bureau for Hui and Che boats be appointed, with Teng Wen-kao as chief.' An edict then ordered that the exact amount of presents required as stated in the decree was only to be sent. This though meant to benefit the people really continued the old abuses. Mencius declares that the prosperity of a state depends on the benevolence dis-

played by the government. Hui Tsung, by his extravagance, evinced his lack of compassion, and his useless outlay entailed on him the hatred of the Empire. Ts'ai Ching, however, granted no real assistance but humoured and flattered his master by only requesting surplus gifts might be struck off, leaving the real abuse still flourishing. A severe earthquake, lasting several (10) days, extending over one thousand *li*, 熙河, 環慶, 涇原 in modern Kansu and Shensi, destroyed numerous walls, cities, houses and cottages, and numbers of people were crushed to death. This phenomenon arises from a lack of harmony in the influence of nature. Portents are due to the absence of this harmony and good omens to its presence; they correspond like a drum to a drumstick. Harmony results in good government, decrease of litigation, and employment of worth and ability. This earthquake occurs in the vicinity of the Hsia where Hui Tsung is employing his troops, of which action it surely is an augury. But in superstition he still remains unabashed. When facts tally with omens history must notice it as a warning to future generations. In the 8th moon, Chen Chu-chung leaves office. He was not on friendly terms with Ts'ai Ching, and, when his mother died, he retired. Ts'ai Ching then sent his elder brother, Ts'ai Chueh's son, Ts'ai Mao, to reopen the question of Hui Tsung's accession to the throne, which had been opposed by Wang Kwei, the father-in-law of Chen Chu-chung. Ts'ai Chueh is granted the posthumous title of Prince of Ch'ing Yuan and a stone inscribed by the Imperial hand is placed on his tomb. Chen's influence was much shaken but his ruin was not effected. The Liao organize 'an army of revenge,' consisting of 8 *ying* of Liao Tung men, under the leadership of Kuo Yao-shih, 郭藥師. In the 10th month Hou Meng vacates office, as he is an object of hatred to Ts'ai Ching. In the 11 moon, Ts'ai Ching is ordered to proceed once in every five days to the Prime Minister's office to transact public affairs. Wang Yen 王衍 was not

employed, because it was known he would ruin the people, and when he was employed the Ch'en dynasty fell; so also with Lu Chi in the T'ang dynasty. Too many precautions cannot be taken against mean men. When the hoar frost is trodden under foot strong ice is near, the bump on the head of the calf develops into the horn, and under such circumstances Shun, in his destruction of the four criminals, or Prince Cheng, in his execution of Kuan Tsai, should be followed. Ts'ai Ching was ruining the state and disturbing the mind of his Prince, but, instead of incurring punishment, has honour upon honour piled on him by a doting monarch who cared much for Ts'ai Ching but little for the Empire. Chen Chu-chung is now recalled and made great 太宰, and Hsu Shen junior sacrificer. Pai Shih-chung is made Chung Shu Vice-President. In the 12th moon, Hsueh Ang is made Vice-President beneath the gate. Taoist Wang Tzu-hsi is thrown into prison and dies. The Emperor treated him as a guest, and, in his pride he behaved to the Court eunuchs as his slaves and required the other Taoists to show him especial honour. Lin Ling-so, however, hated him and concocted a slander against him with a eunuch of speaking resentfully of His Imperial Majesty. A star like the moon is seen travelling to the south. At the close of the Ch'in 晉 the five planets were seen for a whole day; at that of the T'ang a cloud of meteors appeared; and this phenomenon in the Sung is such another portent. No fear is displayed by Prince or Minister, or any attempt made at self restraint or economy, with the inevitable result of twenty years of war and the annihilation of whole districts and people. The Emperor announces the descent of an angel at the Kun-hing pavilion. This is announced to the 100 officers, the Emperor being led on by Lin Ling. Taoist temples now overspread the Empire, and the August Prince of the East is said to have stood by his altar in the day time with his divine sword and to have descended into the temple at night, when he made the book of

heavenly notices, written in the cloud seal character. Such are the wild statements, impossible to prove, used to deceive and disturb the minds of the people. Anything Taoists and eunuchs now ask is granted, fresh titles of honour are granted to Lin Ling, and he and Chang Hsu-pai, on entering the Court, are announced with loud ories, dispute with the Imperial Princes about Tao, till the people of the capital call them the two Royal Taoists. Their disciples number some 20,000 and are granted fine clothes, jewels, and food. In peace think of trouble, in life think of death. But Hui Tsung like a fool failed to do either. Spirits are formed by the movements of the Yen and Yang but their form cannot be seen. How then could Hui Tsung make such statements? As water follows the shape of the cup containing it, so did the Ministers follow Hui Tsung, and, when he deceived himself, others deceived him. Worthy of deep censure is his conduct. A Prince's words resemble silk and may extend to an immense length, and except they are on public affairs and veracious should never be published. But here Hui Tsung issues these wild proclamations to the Empire, making the dweller in the yellow chamber a mere story-teller, unworthy of the dignity of a Prince. Tung Kuan is appointed president of the military council. From of old seats were never granted to eunuchs, but this Tung Kuan is first given high brevet rank, now a real post, is feasted twice a year, and is entitled to a seat above those of Ministers of State. After handing in his papers and retiring behind the screen into the inner palace he is mingled with a herd of eunuchs, has to wear tight clothes, and becomes a servant. Never had such an appointment been made. The Emperor at one time had no son, and Liu Kun-kang, a Taoist, who had the entry of the palace, recommended in the interests of geomancy the heightening of the ground to the North-west. Some banks were raised and the Emperor soon after had several sons. This so pleased him that he became a firm be-

liever in Taoism. Tsai You then related to him many marvellous stories about pearl stars, jade moon, phoenixes bestriding dragons, and scrolls written in the divine cloud seal character. The Empire was then denuded to obtain workmen, earth, and wood; and the Emperor ordered the Board of Revenue to erect a hill similar to the Phoenix hill at Hangchow, calling it the 'Hill of 10,000 years.' To accomplish this useless work Hui Tsung regarded the people's wealth like tiles, and their lives like weeds. The people of the Shang dynasty suffered from royal greed, but, on the Chou distributing the accumulated wealth and grain, there was obedience within the four seas. The people of Chen suffered from cruel law, but, when the Han abolished all but the three clauses, the myriad people rejoiced. The Han and the Chou gained the hearts of the people and flourished, the Shang and the Chin 秦 lost the hearts of the people and perished. Hui Tsung, by exhausting the wealth and resources of his Empire, at the bidding of a braggadocio like Tsai-you, merits severe censure as a feeble Prince. The censor Huang Pao-kuang is scuttled off to 昭 Chou. On taking over office as a junior censor he had memorialized requesting the clerks in the three chief offices should be diminished to the number existing during the Yuan Teng period. The Emperor took the matter into consideration but when it was discussed Ts'ai Ching, annoyed at any one differing from himself, secretly explained to the Emperor. A decree then came out stating this plan is one applicable only to times of disorder not to years of peace and plenty like the present, and Pao was degraded to the privy seal office. Next year he was reinstated, a severe drought came on, and the Emperor bethought him of his memo. Pao-kuang then addressed a memorial accusing Ts'ai Ching of being violent, headstrong, and cruel; of holding too much power in his hands; and making no distinction between himself and his prince. Chen Chu-chung and Hsu Shen, servilely following him, feared and avoided him and

were unable to transact public affairs; these are the causes of the present calamity. No answer was given. The mouths of all at Court were closed, fearing Ts'ai Ching's power, but Pao-kuang dared to speak out. Ts'ai Ching, in alarm, on another pretext procured his banishment. A Prince should fortify his own wisdom by that of others and then he may attain great knowledge. The sage Emperors delighted in enquiring, and bowed to a bold reprove, but Hui Tsung since his accession has steadily degraded honest advisers till none dare to speak out, and good government has become impossible when the avenues of reproof are closed; Hui Tsung, though near his end and in danger, refused assistance, and history, to mark its approval of Pao's conduct, retains his titles.

Yeh Li-chun, of the Liao, encounters Wu Leng-ku, the Kin general at 疾藜 hill and is defeated. The Kin then take eight cities of the Liao. The Lord of the Liao orders Chun 淳 to assemble the troops of the whole Kingdom as a precaution against a winter attack. Chun then sent a letter to the Kin general, Wu Leng Ku, 烏楞古, asking to negotiate a peace. Wu informed the Kin Lord, who reiterated his demand for the extradition of Asuo. On the arrival of Chun at Chi-Li Hill, Wu attacked Hsien Chow, 顯州. The General of the Liao army of revenge, Kuo, then fled in the night. The Kin engaged Chun, who was defeated, pursued by the Liao to the Po-lo-chin bank. Hsien-chow is then taken and the seven Chow of Liao, Chien, 乾, 懿, Hao, 豪, Hui, 徽, Cheng, 成, Chuan, 川, and Hui, 惠, all yield to the Kin. The Kin now send an envoy to require investiture from the Liao. A native of Tieh-chou said to the Kin Lord that from of old the hero founder of a nation had always first requested investiture from some great nation. The Kin Lord assented. When his envoy reached Liao bands of robbers were pillaging and eating the people, and the Liao War Minister persuaded the Liao Lord to give his consent. Both parties acted rightly in this

case and the conduct of the Kin Lord resembled that of the founder of the Han dynasty under similar circumstances. The Liao Lord had perforce to consent, however, much as he must have grudged it.

Cheng Ho, 1st year, 1118.—In the 1st moon a piece of jade five inches square is presented to the Emperor, who orders a seal to be made resembling that of the First Huang Te. It is named the 'Fate-Compelling' 定命寶, seal, and is inscribed with fishworm characters to the effect 'Modelling and environing Heaven and Earth, assisting mysteriously to make clear the decrees of Heaven, protect and bring together a general harmony that may endure for innumerable ages.' Added to the existing eight seals of the Empire it constituted the ninth and chief, or great seal. His Imperial Majesty said 'Divine things indeed are the national seals, but this Fate-compeller has been made by Ourselves.' On completion of the work the Emperor received congratulations in the Imperial Hall and issued an indiscriminate amnesty. The princes of old were anxious not in times of trouble but of prosperity. With peace grows pride, with danger economy. It is said how can the throne be preserved in times of danger? In times of approaching confusion, if care be taken, government is not hard to maintain, but in times of long continued peace the possibility of trouble should also be remembered and the nation will be then long preserved. But Hui Tsung added one useless thing to another, his pride and extravagance increased, and he took Ch'in-chi and Hon Wu-ti as his examples, the two very worst he could have chosen; and, when he subsequently perished at five nation city and the Empire was in confusion, of what value was his seal and what fate could it compel. The scripture says it is hard to rely on Heaven when its appointments are not constant; if they are, virtue will be constant and the throne can be preserved. If the decree of Heaven be certain men rely on that Prince whose virtue is independent of any seal.

Tang, the successful, had a plain decree, for the Shang dynasty endured 600 years; Wen Wang, knowing the decree, arduous though his work was, established the Chou for 800 years; but no records hand down that any seal assisted in the completion of their work. See (the first Huang Te) thought to hand down his jade seal for a myriad generations; but in two his dynasty perished. Is this then a thing to be admired, or is this conduct to be followed? The First Huang Te and his son at least died in China, but Hui Tsung and his heir perished among barbarians. Fate depends not on jade but on virtue. Wang Foo (王輔) is now made left Shang-shoo. Foo was a handsome man and excellent disputer, but of slight learning and sagacious and skilful in flattery. He had been originally recommended by Ho shih-chung and was rapidly promoted to post of left censor. When Mang Shang-ying was Prime Minister and lost the favour of the Emperor rings of jade were sent by His Majesty to Ts'ai Ching at Hangchow. Foo, on ascertaining this, memorialized the Throne, pointing out the merits of Ts'ai Ching's policy, overthrew Shang-ying, hoping, on Ts'ai Ching's return to power, to assist himself. In course of a year he was thrice promoted and reached the grade of senior censor. Desiring all power to be concentrated in Ts'ai Ching he accused Ho Shih-chung of twenty faults and was then made Han Lin scholar. On Ts'ai Ching's quarrel with Chen Chu-chung, Foo allied himself with the latter, thereby earning Ts'ai Ching's hatred. Foo was then moved to be President of Board of Revenue, Ts'ai Ching hoping to be able to catch him tripping and to destroy him. Foo, however, contrived to avoid faults, was reinstated a scholar and allowed to re-enter the cabinet. In the 2nd moon the great officer Ma Cheng 馬政 is despatched to cross the seas as envoy to the Kin, to request their alliance in a joint attack on the Liao. In 960 the Ku Chen crossed the modern Chin Chin sea from Soo-chow, 蘇 to Teng-chow 登

to sell horses, a route still in use. A Chinese, Kao Yao-shih, 高藥師, now reports the establishment of the Kin nation and its successes against the Liao. The Governor of Teng, Wang Shih-chung, 王師中 reported this to the Emperor, who directed Ts'ai Ching and Tung Kuan to adjudicate. Wang Shih-chung is then ordered to enroll men and accompany Yao-shih with an order for horses; they were, however, unable to reach their destination and returned. The Emperor then directed Tung Kuan to select an envoy, and Ma Cheng was directed to accompany Yao-shih on a mission to the Kin. Cheng said to the Kin Lord: 'My master has heard you have defeated the Khitan and taken fifty of their cities. He desires an alliance to punish them; if you agree send an envoy to arrange affairs.' The Kin alliance dates from now. The Liao were not in the wrong. A Prince may be said to have a righteous policy when he uses military force to repress tyranny, cut off rebellion, or to assist a neighbouring nation in distress. In the present case the Hu-chen had revolted against the Liao and the son of Heaven should by royal law have harassed the former and not have raised a punishing army; but the supporting of a neighbour was more than he could grasp, and, instead, he thinks to benefit himself by others' lands, and, like an unrighteous Kieh, makes a joint attack on the Liao. In 960 the Huchen, an enemy, came with tribute to ask the alliance of China. Now China asks an alliance of its foe the Kin; close, in truth, is the overthrow of the Liao, but neither can the existence of the Sung be assured. In the 5th moon there is an eclipse. In the 7th moon, Chen Chu-chung is made a junior assistant, and Yu Shen, 余深, a junior guardian. In the 8th moon, Tung Kuan is made senior guardian and in the 9th moon there is a fire in the inner palace. From sixth till tenth day it rained in torrents, yet the fire increased in magnitude. 5,000 rooms were burnt, and the palace in the park behind, where the female domestics lived, was consumed and numbers

were burnt to death. The fulfilments of portents are rapid or slow as the case may be. Here rapid; as in the 8th moon Tung Kuan is made T'ai Pao, and in the 9th moon the fire occurs in the palace; or when Po Yen was created Prince of Ch'in by the Yuan dynasty and an earthquake subsequently happened in Ch'in Chow. Slow, when Wang An-shih innovations were followed by the fire in the Treasury; or when the war with the Hsia was followed by the earthquake in Shen-shi. It has been said, eunuchs have from of old caused calamities, and the more they are trusted the greater the disasters, but with them always perish their employers. This great fire is sufficient evidence of Heaven's wrath at the appointment of Tung Kuan. Hsueh Ang 薛昂 is now dismissed and Pai Shih-chung, 任時中, and Wang Foo made Shih Lang of the Chung Shu beneath the Gate, and Feng Hsi-chai, 馮熙載, and Fan Chih-hsu, 范致虛 are made left and right Shang-shu. Chen Chu-chung resigns, requesting leave to complete the mourning for his parents. History omits his titles to show its dislike of his subservience to Ts'ai Ching. In the intercalary month the Chai 柴 family, descendants of the after Chow dynasty, are granted the title of Duke of Tsung-I 崇義公, and given the title of Hsuan-I-Lang, 官義郎 to superintend the tombs of the dynasty, three in number, of that name. In the winter a Charity Office 裕民局 is set up but speedily abolished. A great famine rages in Liao and men eat each other. The Liao, hard pressed by war and famine, are attacked not aided by the Sung, though from of old it has always been the duty of the Son of Heaven to pity the calamities of, and grant aid to, a neighbour in distress.

Hsuan Ho, 1st year, 1119.—An Imperial order changes the titles of Buddhist temples. Lin Ling, desiring to slake his thirst for vengeance against the Buddhists and to annihilate them, requests the Emperor to style Buddha not Foh but the great intelligent

golden immortal; the other saints (or recluses), great scholars; the priests, virtuous scholars; the vestments were to be changed; and priests 僧 were to be called by their surnames. Temples 寺 were to be called 宮 and Yuans 院, Kuan 觀, Nu-kuans (abbesses) 女冠 to be called 女道, female Tao, and nuns, 女德, female virtue. Buddhists were to enter Taoist schools and follow Taoist rules. This and the former vagaries of Lin Ling-so, and the ease with which he made the Emperor a mere tool in his hand, proves the undue exaltation of heterodoxy common to the period, and the existence of a spirit of sectarian partiality. Buddhism at all times has been most calamitous for the Empire and its inhabitants, and now the school of Lao-tzu flourishes more exceedingly even than Buddhism. The Kin arrive with presents, and Macheng is sent to reciprocate, but fails to arrive and returns. The Kin Lord, after consultation with Ni Ma-a, sends Li Shan-ching, 李善慶 of Po Hai, and the Nu Chen, Soo To, 索多 with a letter of credence, pearls, and unmanufactured gold, to pave the way for favorable relations, Macheng, 馬政 assisting. Ts'ai Ching and others are ordered to discuss the project of a joint attack on the Liao. Shan-ching gives a nominal assent and stops some ten days. Cheng is then sent with Chao You-k'ai 趙有開, and presents to accompany Shan Ching over the sea to report the tribute. You K'ai dies at Teng-chow, and a rumour is then heard that the Liao have invested the Kin Lord with the title of Te, Ruler. Cheng is then ordered back and a military officer is sent to escort Shan Ching back to the Kin. Shan is sent back by his Lord to say, on seeing the Emperor, that if friendly relations are desired, a national letter, not an order, is to be sent, or difficulties will arise. The King of Corea had requested physicians of Hui Tsung and two had been sent; on returning they said they had been excellently treated by Corean doctors. Preparations for warlike proceedings were shown

them and they were begged by the King to represent to the Son of Heaven that if he was about to plot the destruction of the Khitan by aid of the Kin, he was destroying a shield of defence for China on the west frontier, as the Kin were a fierce and terrible foe and they were not suitable as allies; measures of precaution against them should be taken. On hearing this the Emperor was displeased. The Kin are indeed styled 'men,' and bring 'presents' as would a feudal inferior, regardless of the fact they were rebels against the authority of the Liao; notwithstanding the presents, however, it is China who first makes overtures of alliance. A myriad states presented themselves at the Court of the Great Yu; and Chung-I yielded to the Government of the Duke of Chow; but neither of those Great Sages took the initiative. Here Hui Tsung allies himself with a fierce foe, thereby quickening the uprising that was certain to follow. History writes 'presents' but such a word ought to be avoided for China; and here is the turning point whence ruin or salvation is to come to China. Yu Shen is made Senior, and Wang Foo, Junior sacrificer. Foo was granted a residence near the west wall, was accompanied home by music, his utensils and furniture were supplied by the state, and he was regarded with the greatest favour. The Court now desired to use Chao Lang-su's plan of combining with the Kin to plot the recovery of Yen (Chihli, 16 chows ceded to the Liao in 936 by Chin Kao-tzu). Informers reported the King of Liao had the face of an unlucky man, whereupon Foo recommended an artist, Ch'en Yoo-ch'en, 陳堯臣 as Minister to the Liao. He took a portrait of the Liao King, and on returning reported the King was not prince-like in appearance and his physiognomy told plainly his ruin was near. Now was the time for a rapid advance of troops and for alliance with the weak to attack the stupid; a plan of the Liao hills, rivers, and passes, was presented to the Emperor. His Majesty was gratified and determined to

recover Yen and Yun. Alas Wu Wang was already nine tenths prince before his success, and Kieh of Chow was seven eighths ruined before his defeat at Mu Yeh. Wu Wang said: 'United strength is virtue; and united virtue righteousness; in becoming a prince these qualities come first.' The Sung and the Liao were distinct nations and no insatiable hate existed between them, except the irritation at the affair at Tan Yuan (about 990). Where however is the virtue of plotting against the Liao to recover Yen and Yun, at the bidding of a nobody. The ruin of the Liao King was due to his licentiousness and extravagance, not to his physiognomy. Yang Sui-te boasted of his fine neck but it was cut through by the axe of his Minister, Yu Wen. Hui Tsung gave reins to his love of pleasure and extravagant tastes, but in appearance he was strikingly handsome, much excelling the Liao King (who was coarse and ugly). Yet in relating the ruin of these princes the end of Hui Tsung turns out to be the most disastrous on record.

占城 gives tribute. This nation is to the South-west of China. On the East it touches the sea; on the West Yunnan; on the South to 眞臘, a month's journey. On the North-west it touches Cochin-China, after forty days journey. It includes 150 large and small cities, and had had no intercourse with China till in 956 it gave tribute and continued to do so. Its proximity to Cochin China, 交州 was the cause of repeated mutual encroachments, till the Emperor graciously bestowed the title of Prince on the chief ruler, equally as on Cochin-China. In the 2nd moon Teng Hsun-wu, 鄧洵武 is made Junior Guardian. In the 3rd moon Feng Hsi-tsai is made Chung Shu President; and Fan Chih-hsu and Chang Pang-chang, left and right Shang Shu. All these men are bad and not a good project is put forward but history records their names in succession to illustrate the sources of the ruin of the Sung. The Liao despatch a mission with a patent conferring on A-Ku-Ta the

title of Huang Te of Tung Huai. The Liao send Yeh-Li-Nu-ho to negotiate a peace with the Kin. The Kin Lord replies consenting, provided that he is served as by a younger brother; that yearly tribute is given; that the three provinces of Chung Ching, 中京, Shang Ching, 上京, and Hsing Chung, 興中府, with all their towns and cities, are yielded; that Princes, Princesses of the blood, with their husbands, men of the rank of Ministers and their sons be sent as hostages; that his envoys be returned; and that all the despatches, letters, notes, and correspondence with Corea, the Hsia, and China be given up on Nu Ho reaching Kin, the Kin despatch Hu T'u-Nu Hun to accompany him back to Liao. These concessions are then obtained. No hostages need be sent; the towns of Shang Ching and Hsing Chung are not demanded; and the amount of the yearly tribute is reduced. Obedience as to a brother is however insisted on, and in the patent the Chinese ceremonial forms; without these no treaty can be concluded nor envoys be again received. The Liao King assented and despatched seven envoys to Kin to negotiate the ceremonial for the patent, and the Kin then sent Ministers to meet the patent in Liao. On its arrival the Kin Lord said, this contains no statement about fraternal obedience; the nation is not called great Kin; and East Huai is but the name of a small state, while the word Huai means the recipient of superior's favour and is designed to throw contempt on the Kin. Tsan Mo is then sent to Liao to censure this patent and will only consent to a treaty on the former conditions. The Liao, destitute of principle, are being eaten up by Kin, but here both the request and the reception of the patent are fictitious. But the Liao failed to see this, and made A-Ku-Ta, Huang-Te of East Huai. Had the Kin assented they would have been considered Huai tributary recipients of the bounty of the Liao. The Liao King kept the title Huang Te for himself and gave it on compulsion only to the Kin Lord, knowing very

well two Huang Te's were as impossible as two suns in the Heaven. History, by inserting A-Ku-Ta's name, shows he is regarded as the inferior Minister of Liao, his liege prince. Liu Fa 劉法 engages the Hsia in battle at Tung-An, 統安, and is defeated, pursued and slain. Tung Kuan forced Liu on against So Fang, 朔大 when he reached Tung-An with 20,000 men. Here he encountered the younger brother of the Hsia Lord, Tsa-ho, 察克 at the head of three divisions of horse and foot. Tsa sent some picked men to attack Fa's rear, and a battle of fourteen hours' duration ensued with hungry soldiers and parched horses. Fa, under cover of night, stole away and by morning had gone 70 li, but at Kai-chui-wei peak was pursued and beheaded by one of the garrison. Tung Kuan concealed this defeat and reported it as a success. On beholding Liu-Ta's head Tsa-ho exclaimed pityingly 'twice has he defeated me, and I have avoided his point, considering him a heaven-born general; who would have thought he was to perish at the hands of a common soldier and to be poled? Relying on his successes he must have been rash.' Chen Wu 震武 (modern Hsinning) is then besieged, but being situated among the hills no assistance could arrive. It had been walled three years, two generals had been slain, and when it was about to fall Tsa-ko said: 'Destroy it not but leave it to be a sore in the side of the Sung,' and he retired. Liu, being to blame equally with China, defeat and rout, not complete defeat, is written; after bringing disaster on the army, to fly and be taken was disgraceful; 'slain' not 'dead' is therefore written. He should have died in the front of battle and not have schemed to avoid death by flight and thus perish ignominiously at the hands of the Hsia. History honours not glory but right. None dared mention this defeat out of fear of Tung Kuan. Alas! Hui Tsung, by placing all power in the hands of a eunuch, was cutting his own fingers with his own blade. In the 4th

moon was an eclipse. In the 5th moon are great floods at the capital. A tea boy saw a big dog, crouching on the side of a couch, which turned out on a nearer view to be a dragon. The soldiers of the neighbouring arsenal eat it. Five days after it then rained in torrents for over 7 days, and water was over 100 feet deep outside the walls. The Emperor, in great alarm, ordered the Shih-tang of board of revenue to cut open the sluices of the Wu-chang river. Li Kang exclaimed, 'Pien-leang has been the capital of China 150 years without any similar portent; it must mean an answering calamity; request free speech and true counsels and follow them as your response to the warnings of Heaven.' Li is degraded to the rank of Magistrate. How can a flying creature like a dragon crouch on a bench? this flood is a warning against tyrannical ministers and national troubles. In the 6th moon the Hsia arrive, and an order is issued to Tung Kuan to cease fighting. In the 7th moon Tung Kuan is made Senior assistant. The Western frontier being in great straits Tung Kuan induced the Hsia by his blandishments, on account of the Liao, to put forward a sworn treaty of several articles and followed this up by stopping operations in 6 lous. The Hsia then sent an envoy with birthday congratulations to the Emperor, to whom the agreement was given. He refused it and Tung Kuan, unable to bend him to his will, forced it on his subordinates, when the envoy returned home with it. On reaching the frontier he threw it on the ground, when the local Governor sent it back to Court. Kuan was overwhelmed with consternation, nevertheless he was granted this high office and made Duke of Ching. Ts'ai Ching was popularly known as the male, and Tung Kuan as the female prime minister. That the Hsia envoy arrived with no idea of submission is plain from the above; whilst the sufferance at the hand of the enemy of such an insult by the Sung exhibits it in its decadence. Why, too, was this miserable eunuch granted the

highest official and hereditary rank in the state, when through him the army had been involved in calamities and had gained not glory but shame? Execution, not reward, was his proper destiny. The subsequent story of the flight of Tung Kuan at the Kin invasion may be foretold from this incident. Hui Tsung cared but to gratify his private likings, not to elevate a man of worth; by his stupidity he merits the fate, that he shall not die in his ancestral inheritance, when he voluntarily endures insults like these. In the 8th moon Fan Chih-Hsu resigns. The prime minister declared Fan differed with his colleagues as he said the opening up of frontier troubles might entail unexpected calamities. He retired therefore to mourn his mother. The Kin form a character of their own. The Kuchen had originally no written character, but after taking a Liao-Chinese, first came to understand the Liao-Chinese character. The Kin Lord now orders one Ku Shen-shen 古紳 𠂇𠂇 to make characters resembling the fair written character of Chinese, according to rules of the Khi-tan grammar, following the sounds of Ku-chen speech. Small Ku-chen characters were made subsequently in 1161, when Ku-shen's characters were known as the great character. In the 9th moon the Emperor makes a progress to the residence of Ts'ai Ching, after having visited the divine grass at the Pao-te temple. Ts'ai Ching's sons and grandsons all held the rank of great scholars and one was married to an Imperial Princess, Mao Te. The chief servants of his household were high officials and his female attendants were styled Ta-Fu. When in attendance on His Majesty he constantly spoke of the pleasure prince and minister took in each other. The Emperor repeatedly visited Ts'ai Ching in a small cart or chair, ordered his host to be seated, and took wine with him, using the ceremony of domestic life. In a paper of thanks Ts'ai Ching wrote: 'The master's wife offers wine and requests a health in return and a gracious assent is

given: the children detain the royal robes in their grasp and are not prevented: a true account of facts. The entrance of a prince into his minister's house is always of doubtful value for the dweller in the nine enclosures, but especially is it blameable in the case of a dangerous, intriguing, supple flatterer like Ts'ai Ching. Imperial abuses now continue in the common roads in the most shameless manner and are not stopped till submission has become general disorder. Hui Tsung's dissipation originated with Ts'ai Ching, but the lessons of the latter in profligacy are completed by Hui Tsung himself. That this should come to be generally known was serious indeed.

Ts'ai You is granted the further rank of K'ai-fu 開府儀同三司 with ceremonial due to a cabinet minister. You was in high favour and had free entrance into the palace, for which he prepared such illicit amusements as singing women and banquets. Painted and bedezined singers and players, in tights and close sleeves, were introduced to recite all the loose talk, songs, and gossip of the streets and lanes for the Emperor's delectation. You's wife, Madam Sung, went in and out of the forbidden palace as she pleased, and You's son was even more in favour than the father. You often said to the Emperor: 'All within the four seas is the family of the Lord of mankind, and in time of peace enjoyment should reign: years and months soon pass away, why make them grievous and burdensome?' The Emperor thoroughly grasped this. In his parks his buildings were uncoloured and white, like those in Chekiang, resembling as much as possible rough country villages. These he filled with precious articles and strange wild beasts to the number of some thousands. Their roars were heard all over the capital in still Autumn nights and were considered generally a bad omen. In the 10th moon books relative to the policy of the Shao Shu and Hsi Feng periods were spread through the empire. In the 11th moon Chang-Pang-

Chang and Wang-An-Chung are made left and right Shang-shu respectively. The latter assisted Tung Kuan and Wang-Foo and was made censor; he then discussed Ts'ai Ching's crimes, and on this coming to the Emperor's knowledge, he was appointed to the cabinet. In the 12th moon the Emperor went out several times in disguise, whereupon the librarian corrector of texts, Tsao Fu, 曹輔 is scuttled off to Shen Chow 郴州 (Hunan). From 1112 Hui Tsung had often gone out in disguise, unknown to the people, but after Ts'ai Ching's memorial of thanks these movements were recorded in the *Gazette* of the capital for general information. The Ministers dared not remonstrate, till Ts'ao Fu sent in his memo of expostulation. It stated: 'Sire, weary of the restraints of your palace, you go out in small chairs to the streets and suburbs and only return after taking your fill of pleasure. But as this is done without your Minister's knowledge your ancestral inheritance becomes gravely jeopardized. A Prince and his people should be harmonious and then there will be submission; otherwise they are like two hostile states, and then a time arrives when the feud may be avenged. This is most dangerous; some time when unprepared some nobody will be encountered nursing up his wrongs, and though the spirits themselves protect Your Majesty your dignity will have been so seriously injured that your Ministers do not dare speak.' The Emperor summoned his Minister to enquire into the substance of the memo. Yu Shen said: 'How dare an inferior officer discuss so great a question.' Tsao replied: 'Great officials will not speak, so small ones must.' Wang Foo then enquired of Chang and Wang if these things were true, and they replied they did not know. Ts'ao said: 'What the people in every lane and alley know, the high Ministers of the nation remain ignorant of; if this is not known to them why are they employed as Ministers?' Wang Foo angrily instructed his writers to take Ts'ao's evidence. Ts'ao seizing the

pencil said: 'I have no other meaning, but love of my Prince;' and he retired to await punishment at his home. Wang Foo insisted if Ts'ao was not severely punished rumours of the affair could not be put down. He is degraded to Shen Chow. Ts'ao expected this and had handed over his family affairs to his son and then shut himself up and drafted his memo. When degraded he went off rejoicing. Going out in disguise is a poor business at the best. Han Wu-ti did so, and his example was followed by Sung Tai-tsu, who again is copied by Hui Tsung; only after many times improper stories got about. Most honoured is the Son of Heaven; the wealth of the four seas is his; his exit should be proclaimed and on his return a clear road be kept; then all causes of trouble are removed. But these expeditions of Hui Tsung involve unforeseeable dangers, and the remonstrance of the corrector of texts puts to shame the crowd of high Ministers who deceived their Prince in obtaining the banishment of Ts'ao. He nearly approaches the ideal of Ko-ching: 'Trustworthy and faithful without flattery; remonstrating without guile; speaking out stoutly and steadfastly.' Yang Shih, 楊時, is ordered to become Imperial Librarian. Yang came from Chiang Lo 將樂 in south Chien 劍 (Ping Lo Fu in Kuangsi). He was originally a Chin-shih, but hearing of the renown of Ch'eng Hsien and Cheng Hsi's lectures on Confucius and Mencius at Ho Lo, he declined official preferment offered him, and became the disciple of the illustrious pair in a manner, by treating them at each visit as his teachers. In Sunging Yang on his return Hsien saw 'my doctrine is southern.' When Hsien died Yang took Hsi as his teacher at Lo Yang; he was then 40. Once Hsien, with Yang on his right and Yu Tso on his left, were sitting with eyes closed in deep meditation when the snow fell a foot deep before Hsien came to his senses. Yang was afterward ma-

gistrate at 3 separate districts: his brilliant government was long remembered by the people, his virtue greatly increased. When Shih rested at a city scholars thought 1,000 *li* too few to come to follow him. His designation was Kuei Shan. Chang Hsiao said to Ts'ai Ching 張翥: 'The causes of trouble in the Empire are so many, ruin is certain unless a man of long established virtue can be in attendance on the Emperor.' Ching asked for such a man and Hsiao introduced Yang to Ts'ai Ching, who recommended him to court. A person returned from Corea said: 'the Coreans all enquired after Yang Kuei Shan;' the Emperor then appointed him. Cabals and their restrictions have enabled mean men to overspread the Court. Ts'ai Ching's recommendation of Yang was due to another yet the old ways were continued. Heaven by principles can never be eternally annihilated, they here come to light again and had the search for worthy men been continued the Empire might have been saved and disorder have never arisen. Yang was renowned for his virtue, for his brilliant talents, and for his orthodox learning; though from a barbarous land he did honour to it and still more to China. How is it Hui Tsung shuts his eyes to such men, leaves them in their wilds, and lets petty creatures swarm in his Court. This summons to Yang might well have had results similar to the advice of Yin to Tai-hia. But Ts'ai Ching obtained the man only for his private advantage; for years he must have known of Yang's reputation; he might as well pretend to ignore the rattle of the thunder. But the mean man's accordance with heaven is never long. Yang is made Librarian without harm, but his appointment as Minister would have been equally useless; and yet the fortunes of the Sung depended on the employment of superior men.

(To be Continued.)

E. L. OXENHAM.

THE SIX GREAT CHANCELLORS OF TS'IN, OR THE CONQUEST OF CHINA BY THE HOUSE OF TS'IN.

Introduction.

The once illustrious House of Chow 周 had for some centuries been slowly but steadily declining. It had become evident, even to the most superficial observer, that its fate was sealed, that the sceptre of the crowned weaklings, who were then succeeding one another on the imperial throne, would soon fall from hands too feeble to hold it longer. But who would, in such an emergency, be called to pick it up? Who would be considered worthy in their stead 'to reign over the world' 王於天下?

We know from the works of Mencius, how freely these questions were at that time discussed at the courts of the different sovereignties, which constituted then the Chinese Empire, how many were the candidates for the much coveted dignity, and the manner in which the Sage answered their inquiries, about the best means to attain the object of their desires. 'Get the people and the Empire is yours, get the people's heart and the people are yours; act benevolently towards the people, and though you wished not to become Emperor, you could not avoid becoming so.'* This was the pith of Mencius' instructions about this matter, which he imparted to his crowned interlocutors, the sovereigns of Liang 梁† and Ts'i 齊, who both considered themselves equally worthy of the imperial crown.

* Cf. Dr. Legge. Classics. II, p. 176.

† Alias Wei 魏.

Still they were not without competitors in these ambitious aspirations. Each of the sovereigns of the then existing seven leading principalities were inflamed with the same ambitious longings. These seven States, usually included in the common appellation of the 'seven martial States' 七雄, bore the following names:—

1. Ts'u 楚. 2. Ts'i 齊. 3. Yen 燕.
4. Han 韓. 5. Chao 趙. 6. Wei 魏.
7. Ts'in 秦.

Apart from these seven States, there existed at the time with which this narrative begins, viz. B.C. 361, some other principalities, which had however no longer any political importance whatever and were mere spectators in the deadly struggle which was then carried on for the supreme dignity. Some of them will be incidentally mentioned hereafter, but most of them were before long extinguished.

To understand the following narrative, it will not be superfluous to describe here at least the relative position of those seven leading States.

The State of Ts'u 楚, in the South, had aggrandized itself by the conquest of the States of Ch'in 陳 B.C. 478, Ts'ai 蔡 B.C. 446, K'i 杞 B.C. 444 and Kiu 莒 B.C. 431. In the West its rule extended into modern Sze-ch'wan and included the valley of the Han River in the South of the present Shensi. In the South its boundaries cannot be defined, they were in fact boundless, but seem not to have extended

far South of the Yang-tsze. In the North it was limited, within the confines of the present Honan, by the Imperial domain and the States of Hân and Wei. In the East the State of Yüeh 越, in the present Cheh-kiang, constituted its boundaries, while the above mentioned conquests had made its North-eastern limits stretch forth, between Sung 宋 and Lu 魯 on one side and Yüeh on the other, as far as the Eastern sea and the borders of Ts'i.

The latter State had strengthened itself by the absorption of Ki 紀 B.C. 692 and some other still less important principalities, but seems not to have extended its rule much beyond the limits delineated on Dr. Chalmer's map of the Ch'un-ts'in period. Mencius ascribes to it an extent of thousand *li*. (Dr. Legge. Classics. II, pp. 22, 59).

North of Ts'i, was the State of Yen 燕. Owing to the remoteness of its situation, little is known about it, but according to all accounts it had ample room to aggrandize itself by the subjection of the surrounding barbarian tribes.

Between the Yellow River in the West, Ts'i and Yen in the East and Ts'u in the South, there were the three States into which the old State of Tsin 晉 had become split up, namely Wei, Hân and Chao.

Of these, Chao 趙 constituted a compact whole, of 3000 *li* in extent,* situated around its capital of Han-tan 邯鄲 (still a district-city of same name in Kwang-ping fu, Chihli). Hân 韓 was its South-western neighbour, its capital being first at P'ing-yang 平陽 (still existing as a prefectural city in Shansi), whence it was transferred, after the annexation of Chêng 鄭 B.C. 375, to Yang-t'ih 陽翟 (within the present Yü-chow, Honan, but no longer existing). Besides it included a considerable part of what had formerly constituted the imperial dominion, with the important place of I-yang 宜陽 (still a district city in Ho-nan fu). Wei 魏 was the next neigh-

bour of Ts'in. It included the often fought-for Ho-si region 河西地, between the Hwang Ho and the Loh Ho 洛河 (in Shensi), the South-west corner of the present Shansi, with the important city of Ngan-yih 安邑 as its capital, and the stronghold of Hwa-yin 華陰, South of the Wei River near its junction with the Yellow River. Besides it had somehow come into possession of a part of the former State of Chêng, for on losing the Ho-si region to Ts'in, it removed its capital to T'ai-liang 大梁 (now K'ai-fung fu, Honan) B.C. 340. Hân and Wei must therefore have been somewhat interwoven into each other. Hân's possessions, which were situated partly North and partly South of the Ho, must have cut the territory of Wei into two halves. Both States are ascribed an extent of 1,000 *li* each.*

As for the State of Ts'in 秦, though it was the most ambitious of all, its rule was still reduced to the valley of the Wei River. Lately, however, its prospects had somewhat brightened, through the partitioning up of the State of Tsin, into the three above mentioned States. For as long as the Eastern rival had formed one powerful whole, it had proved an insuperable barrier against the aggressive propensities of Ts'in and frustrated any attempt at extending its sway towards the East. But that obstacle had now been removed. The eastern neighbour had become split up into three States, which were moreover living in a state of uninterrupted warfare, and, if union means strength, division means weakness. If Ts'in had proved too weak to compete with the one strong Ts'in, it could now hope to be quite a match for any one of the three States, which had emerged from it, according to the rule: *divide et impera*!

After an intermission of about 200 years in the strife between Tsin and Ts'in, we find therefore the latter, only two years after the promulgation of the decree of B.C. 403,

* V. 歷代疆域表卷上十六.

* *Ibidem*.

which had sanctioned the above-mentioned partition, resuming its aggressive policy towards the Eastern States by an attack on Wei B.C. 401. But, though returning repeatedly to the charge, either on Wei or on Hân, and gaining now and then some slight success, still there had heretofore not been made any marked progress towards the longed-for goal. The reason lay partly in the unsettled state of affairs, which had for some time prevailed in Ts'in, but especially also in a sad want of capable statesmen.

This the sovereign of Ts'in, known as Hao Kung 孝公, had long ago been aware of, and after his accession to power, B.C. 362, his first measure was therefore to issue invitations over the whole Empire to any unemployed civil or military officer, to enter his service, promising in return investment with high dignities and liberal endowment with extensive domains.*

Now this deficiency of capable men is a most remarkable feature in the history of Ts'in. For all the statesmen, who successively held the helm during the long and dangerous navigation, which the vessel of that State had to pursue, before it reached the longed for haven, were all aliens, natives of those very States which they helped their self-chosen master gradually to swallow up.

The first of these men, and the one who may be said to have put the vessel in proper trim and to have provided it with the armament necessary for its grand design, and who then resolutely launched her forth towards the distant goal, is the man whose career will be described in the following chapter.†

I. WEI YANG,

or, Ingratitude is the reward of the world.

Wei Yang was an illegitimate scion of the ruling House of Wei 衛 and owned the sur-

name Kung-sun 公孫. His cognomen was Yang 鞅, but he is best known under the appellation of Wei Yang, 衛鞅, i.e. Yang of [the State of] Wei. From his youth he applied himself to the study of the jurisprudence, as a preparation for a political career. His first appointment was that of assistant of the chancellor 相 of Wei 魏, named Kung-shuh Ts'ò 公叔座, who became so deeply impressed by the remarkable aptitude of the young man, that he intended to recommend him to his sovereign, King Hwei* 惠王 (B.C. 370-335 or 319), for some more important situation, when, before he could do so, he was laid low by some mortal disease. The King called on his dying chancellor and asked him, whether, in the case of his removal, he could recommend somebody to him as his successor. Kung-shuh Ts'ò at once named Wei Yang as the proper man to fill his place. As the King evinced no liking for the man, Kung-sun Ts'ò added: 'If your Majesty is not pleased with my advice, then you must not fail to put him to death, lest he go over to some other States.' This the King promised to do and went away.

After his departure, the dying chancellor at once summoned the young Wei Yang to his bedside, and related to him the conversation he had just had with the Prince. 'Now, he concluded, I have let the ruler come first and the minister follow next. After having advised the ruler, I now inform you of the state of affairs, that you be able to hasten away.† But Yang was not so easily frightened. 'If the prince,' he replied, 'does not follow your advice to employ me, how should he do so to kill me?' He resolutely continued to stay in Wei 魏.

It was about this time, that Ts'in Hao Kung 孝公 issued orders to search for capable men, with whose help he could

* Vide Sze-ki 秦紀.

† According to the Sze-ki 商君傳.

* Better known from the the works of Mencius as King Hwei of Liang. As to the substitution of the name Liang for that of Wei, see a note farther on.

† Vide Annals, B.C. 361.

bring his State more to the front again. Wei Yang having heard of it, proceeded at once to the Western State to offer his services. Through the mediation of a favourite courtier, named Kung Kien 景監, he obtained three successive audiences from Hao Kung. In the two first he exhibited to the prince the virtuous ways of the old sovereigns of China, by whose imitation he would not fail to attain to the supreme authority. But this seemed too loong a way for the Earl of Ts'in and Wei Yang had therefore to change his subject and began, at the third audience, to unfold schemes how to conquer the States by force of arms and so to attain to the imperial dignity. Now only the Earl pricked up his ears, and during a number of days, listened attentively to Wei Yang's expositions, being even so eager to catch his words, as to gradually approach him so near that his knees protruded over the mat on which he was sitting cross legged. The result of these interviews was that the prince appointed Wei Yang as his private counsellor,* B.C. 361.

From that time, Wei Yang placed his eminent administrative talent and refined statesmanship at the service of Ts'in. Still he was too far sighted to think about undertaking at once the conquest of the other States. He perceived easily that before he could do so with any chance of success, there was much preparatory work to be done. He began therefore by undertaking a thorough reform of the civil and military administration of Ts'in and by initiating the most extensive schemes for the development of the natural resources of the country. For money was then the sinew of warfare as it is now-a-days. Of course he could not undertake these reforms without encountering strong opposition on the part of the nobles and the people of Ts'in. But the Earl's confidence in the feasibility and excellency of Wei Yang's far-reaching plans

was not to be shaken by the clamour raised against him, even by the most powerful voices. As a token of his firm confidence, he created him Tso-shu-chang 左庶長, and intrusted him, by an edict, with a wholesale reform of the laws of Ts'in, B.C. 359.

The measures which Wei Yang took first in hand are described in the Sze-ki in the following terms. The people were formed into corporations of five or ten families each. These families had to watch over each other, being held responsible for each other as to good behaviour. He who neglected to denounce a traitor*, was to be punished by decapitation, while he who denounced one received the same reward as for cutting off an enemy's head. He who gave shelter to a traitor, was to be punished like one who surrendered to the enemy. Families which included more than two males and had not yet divided the estate, had to pay double taxes. He who in the field accomplished a meritorious action was to be rewarded with a corresponding degree of nobility, while he who indulged in a private fight was to be punished according to his greater or lesser guilt. He who by his assiduity to cultivate his fields and to weave his silk, succeeded in storing up a provision of cereals, was exempt from statute-labour, while he who indulged in loafing and idleness, so as to become destitute, was reduced to slavery, together with his family. Relatives of the ruling house who had gained no military merit, were to be treated as common people. The different degrees of nobility were to be rigorously adhered to, and the number of fields, houses, servants, concubines and vestments allotted to each family were to be strictly limited. He who had gained some merit, was to enjoy honours, he who had not could not enjoy them, though he be rich.'

* The Annals say 與議國事.

* That is any native of another State who surreptitiously entered Ts'in either as a spy or for some unlawful purpose.

Before publishing these laws, Yang wished to gain the people's confidence by giving them a proof of his faithfulness. He therefore ordered a pole, thirty feet long, to be erected on the market place, near the southern gate, and promised to anybody who should be able to carry it to the northern gate the sum of ten pieces of gold. But the people distrusted him at first and nobody dared to undertake the feat. In a second proclamation, he then promised fifty pieces of gold, when a man came forward and accomplished the task, whereupon the promised sum was at once paid to him. Now only Wéi Yang considered it safe to promulgate the new laws.

The people began nevertheless by opposing a stubborn resistance to their execution, but Wéi Yang proved quite equal to his task. He visited every transgression with the utmost rigour, and did so without acceptance of persons, at least as far as practicable. For on the Earl's own son, the heir apparent of the throne, himself disregarding the new laws, he visited his transgression on the person of his tutor, named Prince K'ien 公孫虔, and of his teacher, named Kung-sun Kia 公孫賈. They were both branded, which constituted the lowest of the five degrees of punishment which were then in general use.*

This impartiality in administering laws of such great severity produced the desired result. The people ended by giving in, when, after a short time, they were unanimous in acknowledging the excellency of the new laws. In fact these laws

* Those 5 degrees of punishment were the following: 1. Branding 黥 or 墨. 2. Nose-cutting 劓. 3. Feet-cutting 剕 or 刖. 4. Castration 宮 or 椓. 5. Death 大辟 (v. Dr. Legge's Classics III., pp. 38, 591, 605). According to the Li Ki, Chap. 8, the latter punishment was inflicted for 死罪, while the four first degrees, comprehended under the denomination of 小辟 were inflicted for 刑罪.

worked so wonderfully, that after ten years nobody picked up what others had lost on the road, in the mountains there were no robbers, the people were provided with their necessities, in war they behaved as gallantly as they were reluctant to engage in private feuds, while the administration of the cities and villages left nothing to be wished for! A number of the people were now just as loud in extolling the legislator as they had formerly been noisy in their censure of his acts. But Wéi Yang no more wanted to be lauded, than to be criticized: he required a silent submission to whatever he ordered, and he visited his extollers with quite as severe punishments as he had formerly done towards his detractors. They were all equally exiled to the frontier. As for Hao Kung, he was so much delighted with Wéi Yang's success, that he created him Tai-liang-ts'ao 太良造, B.C. 352.

Two years later, B.C. 350, the capital of Ts'in was transferred from Yung 雍,* to the more western city of Hien-yang 咸陽.† Wéi Yang's object was of course to bring the court into greater proximity with the States, whose conquest he was so patiently preparing for.

At the same time he gave to his former ordinances some further developements. He forbade altogether the custom hitherto practised in Ts'in of keeping numerous families together so as to form a single household through a number of generations. Parents and sons and brothers had thenceforth to separate into as many households as there were married couples. Further he divided the territory into 31 districts,‡ at the head of each of which he put a magistrate. All arable lands were submitted to a careful survey and the boundaries were clearly defined. A system of land taxes was initiated

* A place within the present dep. of Fêng-tsiang fu, Shensi.

† Still a district city of that name, N.W. of Si-ngan fu, on the northern bank of the Wei R.

‡ So the 商君傳, while the 史記 says there were 41 of them.

and the weights and measures were regulated, throughout the whole country, according to a uniform standard.*

On the other hand, the former severity in the enforcement of the laws, was likewise persevered in. For on Prince K'ien making himself guilty of a second transgression, the second degree of punishment, that of nose-cutting, was, without regard to his high rank, applied on him.

The fruits of Wei Yang's energetic and wise administration became now still more apparent: the material and military resources of Ts'in were developed to such an extent that, within a few years, that State was surpassed by no other in riches and strength, and the Emperor bestowed on its ruler, together with a present of sacrificial flesh, the dignity of 'Leader of the Princes,' when the other Princes hastened to offer him their congratulations. B.C. 341.

Wei Yang considered that the time had now come to take more decisive measures towards the realization of his master's ambitious designs, while the States whose conquest was then being contemplated seemed to be doing their best to facilitate their overthrow, by the internecine warfare which they continually waged against each other. Just at that time, B.C. 341, there was a fierce struggle going on between Hân and Ts'i on one side and Wei on the other. The latter State had suffered a severe defeat at the hands of Ts'i,† and the moment seemed to Wei Yang a most opportune one to fall upon the vanquished. He therefore addressed the following harangue to his Sovereign:—

'Wei is for Ts'in,' he said, 'what a heart disease is for a man. If Wei is not to swallow up Ts'in, then the latter must cer-

tainly swallow up Wei.* Why so? Because Wei has settled down west of the mountain fastnesses. Ngan-yih is its capital, the river only separates it from Ts'in, so as to monopolize all the advantages to be gained from the east of the mountains. If it is successful, then it invades the West; should it suffer reverses, then it falls back on its eastern possessions. Now that through your most serene Highness' virtue, your State has reached such a flourishing condition, it just happens that Wei has last year suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of Ts'i, in consequence of which the Princes have all turned away from it. If these circumstances are taken advantage of to attack Wei, then Wei will prove no match for Ts'in and not fail to retreat to its eastern possessions; then Ts'in can seize on the fastnesses formed by the river and the mountains, thence to dictate laws to the eastern Princes. This will prove the way by which to attain to the imperial authority.'

Hao Kung was much pleased with the prospect opened to him by his crafty counsellor and at once ordered him to march an army and make an attack on Wei. All

* The city of Ngan-yih, the then capital of Wei, is situated on the banks of the 'Salt Lake,' in the centre of the valley of the Suh water 涑水, which flows in a S.W. direction, through Kiai chow and P'u chow fu, into the Yellow river. It joins the latter just inside its great bent, *vis-à-vis* the T'ung-kwan Pass, and is therefore flowing exactly the way which the Fên river would have taken, had its course not been intercepted by a mountain range, which caused it to make a sudden bend towards the west. While that mountain range forms therefore a very effectual barrier between the Fên valley and the Suh valley, the latter is separated from the Wei valley but by the Ho, which moreover possesses at that place a much used ford. As besides both valleys of the Wei and Suh partake of the same Loess-formation, they must necessarily much look as each other's continuation.

These circumstances explain how the holder of the Suh valley could so often extend his rule over a part of the Wei valley or the holder of the latter over the Suh valley. They explain also the anxiety expressed by Wei Yang to get possession of Ngan-yih.

* The Annals add that at the same time the 'well-field system' 井田法 was abolished. About that matter see the Appendix to this Chapter.

† Referred to by Liang Hwei Wang in Dr. Legge's Mencius, p. 10.

odds were in favour of Ts'in, still Wei Yang did not shrink from having recourse to a mean act of treason in order to secure a cheap victory. He invited the commander of Wei, Prince Ang 公子印, to an interview with him, with the object of peaceably settling their quarrel. Prince Ang entered readily the snare laid for him and repaired to the camp of Ts'in, when, during a feast to which Wei Yang had invited him, he was suddenly pounced upon and taken prisoner, while the Wei army was attacked unawares and easily routed, B.C. 340. As Wei had formerly been repeatedly defeated by Ts'i, it felt now not strong enough to continue the contest with Ts'in and bought peace at the price of the southern portion of its possessions between the Loh river and the Yellow River.* Its ruler had good reason to deplore now his not having followed his late chancellor, Kung-shuh Ts'o's advice to engage Wei Yang in the latter's stead nor had the Ruler of Ts'in any less reason to congratulate himself on the possession of the clever man. He gave him now a token of the high value he attached to his services, by creating him Prince of Shang 商君, whence he is often called Shang Yang. The title was derived from the name of the territory† which was given him as an appanage; it in-

* As by this cession of territory, Ngan-yih the capital of Wei came into too great proximity to Ts'in, it was now removed further E. to the new-built city of T'ai-liang 大梁 (now K'ai-fung-fu.) It was called so in contrast with the important and old city of Shao-liang 少梁, situated W. of the Ho within the territory now surrendered to Ts'in. From that transference of its capital, the State of Wei was henceforth called Liang, under which name it is mentioned in the works of Mencius. In putting back that transference to B.C. 340, I follow the Annals. Dr. Legge puts it to B.C. 364 (v. L. C. II., Prol. p. 82). That territory seems however to have partly come into the possession of Wei again, as we read A.D. 332 again of a cession of Shao-liang to Ts'in (v. below, Su Ts'in and Chang I §9.)

† Its name of Shang is often interchanged with that of Shang-yü 商於.

cluded 15 cities and was situated in the S.W. part of the present Shensi, where we find still a departmental city of the same name.

Wei Yang had directed the affairs of Ts'in for ten years and was at the height of his glory, when a scholar, renowned for his sagacity and diplomatic skill, named Chao Liang 趙良, came to that State. Wei Yang had an interview with him, when a conversation took place, which is most important, as showing the characteristics of the work and mind of that statesman.

'Would you be pleased,' began Wei Yang, 'to enter into an alliance with me?'

'I dare not to wish for it,' answered Chao Liang; 'for Confucius said: "when the worthy are in leading positions, then one should come forward, but if the worthless are governing, then one should retire;" I dare not therefore follow your wish. I have heard it said that to fill a position, which is not one's proper one, is called: to be covetous of rank; and to bear a title which belongs not to one, is called: to be covetous of a name. When I heard therefore of your intention to employ me, I at once feared to become covetous of rank and of a name. It is for that reason that I dare not follow your invitation.'

'Then you are not satisfied with my ways of governing Ts'in?' asked Wei Yang.

'To listen to one's own heart,' replied Chao Liang, 'constitutes intelligence, to observe one's own mind constitutes perspicacity, to triumph over one's own self constitutes strength. Yü Shun 虞舜 said: "To humble oneself is praiseworthy." But as you do not care for walking in the ways of Yü Shun, you need not ask me!'

'Formerly,' retorted Wei Yang, 'the people of Ts'in were following the doctrines of the barbarians; there was no distinction made between father and son, they were living together in the same house. Now I have reformed their manners, that the proper distinction is observed between men and women. I have constructed extensive

public buildings, like those of the States of Lu 魯 and Wei 衛. If you consider my mode of ruling Ts'in, which is wiser, mine or that of the 'Great Officer of the five rams skins' 五穀大夫? (v. Mayers, Manual 547).

'A thousand sheeps' skins are not worth one bit of fur from under the foxes' legs,' replied Chao Liang. 'The approval of a thousand common people is not equal to the sincere remarks of one single educated man. Wu Wang owed his prosperity to the sincere remarks of his counsellors and Chow of Yin 殷紂 was ruined through the silence kept by his courtiers. If you wish not to find fault with Wu Wang, then I must be allowed to use straight words the whole day long, without running the risk of punishment; is that possible?'

'It is said,' answered Wei Yang, 'that pleasing words are like flowers, good words are like fruits, bitter words are like medicine, sweet words are like an affliction. If indeed you consent to address me straight words the whole day long, they will be for me like a medicine. If I wish to obey you, how can you refuse me to do so?'

'The great officer of the five rams' skins,' replied Chao Liang, 'was a common man from the State of King 荆;* having heard of the virtues of Muh Kung of Ts'in 秦繆公,† he wished to see him. As he possessed not the means to go there, he sold himself to a cattle dealer from Ts'in, when, clad in coarse cloth, he had to tend cattle. The next year Muh Kung heard of him and raised him from beneath the cattle's mouths so high above the heads of the 'hundred families,' that nobody dared to look at him.‡ Within the 6 or 7 years that he was chancellor of Ts'in, he invaded Chêng

鄭 in the East, established three rulers in the principality of Ts'in and saved Ts'u from anarchy. Instruction was expanded and appointments were made, when the people of Pa 巴 (in the present Sze Chuan) brought tribute. Virtuous dealings were initiated with the [neighbouring] people so that the eight tribes of the Yung-barbarians made their submission and Yew-yü 由余 (a Minister of the latter) knocked at the barrier-gate to ask for an audience. While "the great officer of the 5-rams' skins" was chancellor of Ts'in, he laboured without using a cart exposed to the heat, he did not spread a cover, he travelled through the State without being followed by carts or an armed escort. His deeds are chronicled in the archives, his virtues are known among the succeeding generations. When he died, men and women shed tears, the children ceased to sing when playing and the rice-pounders did not accompany their work with their songs. Such was the virtue of "the great officer of the five rams-skins."

'As for you, when you went to see the Sovereign of Ts'in, it was through the mediation of that favourite King Kien: this does not turn to your honour. Once chancellor of Ts'in, you did not care for the people, but only for the erection of extensive public buildings: this will not prove a merit for you. You inflicted the punishment of branding on the teacher and the tutor of the heir-apparent, and injured the people by your excessive severity. This is the way to hoard up discontent and to breed calamity. Instruction is better adapted to transform a nation than ordinances, and the people are quicker in imitating their superiors than in obeying their orders. Now you establish your authority by wrong means and in remote parts you alter your Sovereign's decrees, that is not the way to impart instruction. In giving audience you are facing the South and assuming the royal We, while you are daily restraining the princes of Ts'in [from arrogating themselves

* Old name for Ts'u 楚.

† Written usually 穆.

‡ This account of Peh-li Hi 百里奚 is different from the more common one related in M. M., No. 54 of.

undue prerogatives]. The Shi says: (v. L. C. IV., p. 85):—

“Look at a rat,—it has its limbs,
But a man shall be without rules of propriety.

If a man observes no rules of propriety,
Why does he not quickly die?”

‘According to this passage, you cannot expect to live long. The Prince K’ien keeps his door closed and has not left his house for 8 years. You have killed Kwan 權, the master of ceremonies and branded Kung-sun Kia. The Shi says:—

“He who wins the people’s heart must prosper,

He who loses the people’s heart, will be ruined.”

‘All these things are not of a nature to win the people’s heart.

‘When you go abroad, you let yourself be followed by half a score of cars containing soldiers; men of great strength sitting side by side are filling them, by three in each, while others holding spears and brandishing scythes and halberds are running on their sides.

‘If only one of these things were wanting, you would not go out; but the Shoo says:—

He who relies on virtue will prosper,
He who trusts to strength must be ruined.”

‘Now danger is coming upon you as thick as the dew in the morning; if you wish to enjoy a long life, why do you not give back your 15 cities together with the luxuriant parks about the country and advise the King of Ts’in to draw forth the scholars from the caves [where they are living in retirement], to nourish the old, take care of the orphans, honour the elder, reward the merit, raise the virtuous? By these means you may yet enjoy some ease. But if you continue coveting the riches of Shang-yü, delighting in governing the State of Ts’in and storing up the hatred of the people, then the King of Ts’in may one fine morning dismiss his guest and receive him no longer at the court. How could the reason of your removal from

Ts’in, then remain hidden? Standing on the toes one may wait for your fall.’

Now this was certainly plain speaking, even so much so, that one is almost tempted to doubt the authenticity of the speech, especially because the ruler of Ts’in is repeatedly given therein the title of ‘King.’ This looks much like an anachronism, as it was only 14 years later, B.C. 325, that the successor of Hao Kung, known as King Hwei 惠王, assumed the royal title. But, however that may be, the speech affords certainly some additional data to form an opinion about the person and the work of Wei Yang. Chao Liang’s straightforward impeachment, may be summed up into two specific charges: first that of presumptuous behaviour and secondly that of excessive severity. In regard to the first point, Wei Yang was certainly wrong in assuming manners which behoved only the sovereign, but to ask him voluntarily to renounce the appanage which his master had bestowed on him, when he was ennobled as Shang Kiün, that is what men of the stamp of a Confucius, Mencius or even a Peh-li Hi may be expected to do, but cannot be required from a common mortal.

As to the second charge preferred against him, that of excessive severity, instances are elsewhere related in which he appears indeed to have made himself guilty of such, but all that the See Ki mentions, and all that Chao Liang reproaches him with is only his impartiality in applying the penalties fixed by the law, even to those in the highest station of life. Now the said punishments were certainly cruel enough, still they had not been devised by Wei Yang, but had been in general use in China from the remotest antiquity. That he applied them with no respect to person, this he should not be reproached with.

There is a third point, which, curiously enough Chao Liang omits to mention in his impeaching harangue, namely the faithlessness shown by Wei Yang in his campaign against the State of Wei. His conduct on this occasion tends more to alienate from him our

sympathies than all his other shortcomings, and we feel almost a sort of satisfaction that his treason eventually met its just retribution.

For the prophecies uttered by Chao Liang were soon to be fulfilled. Only a few months after Wei Yang's interview with the former, Hao Kung died (B.C. 338) and was succeeded by that same son whose transgressions Wei Yang had so regardlessly visited on the persons of his tutor and his teacher. He is known as King Hwei,* and of course lent a willing ear to the detractor of his late father's counsellor. Wei Yang took to flight; on passing a barrier-gate he was refused a shelter in the caravansery, as one of his own ordinances forbade harbouring anybody who possessed not a certificate proving his identity. He proceeded to the State of Wei or Liang, but its people, mindful of the treasonable conduct he had formerly been guilty of towards their State, refused him the asked for asylum and drove him back to Ts'in.

Driven to such straits, Wei Yang made a desperate attempt to escape his impending fate. He fled to the territory of Shang which had been given him as his appanage, put himself at the head of his partisans and retainers and faced boldly the army sent against him. He had of course not the least chance of succeeding. His troops were beaten, he himself was killed and his body rent into pieces, as a warning for anybody who should harbour similar designs of revolt. Finally his whole family was exterminated.



'Ingratitude is the reward of the world,' would have been a fitting epigraph on his tombstone, for, whatever may have been his faults, his administration had on all accounts laid the foundation to the greatness of Ts'in. Besides the acquisition of that valuable tract of Wei's possessions west of the Ho he had raised its people from the state of barbarism, it had hitherto been living in, developed its natural resources, in short made it that prosperous and mighty

nation, which a hundred years later reigned over nearly the whole of the present China.

APPENDIX.

Wei Yang and the Well-field Law.

By the term of 'Well-field Law' 井田法, we mean the agrarian regulations, represented in the Chow Li as having obtained, during the reign of that dynasty, and which for a time may also partly have been in force in the Chinese Empire. According to these regulations, each square li of arable land was divided into 9 equal portions, 8 of them to be allotted to as many families for cultivation, and the 9th portion to be cultivated by the 8 families in common, for the benefit of the public treasury, the labour bestowed on the same representing the taxes they owed for their own lot.

These dispositions were delineated by the following figure , which was supposed to consist of the character 井 'Well,' enclosed in a square , whence the name 'Well-field Law' was applied to that system.

Of course the peculiarities of the *terrain* allowed not often a division of the territory into such exactly defined square lots, as this system supposed. Where it was feasible, it may have been done, in which case each of the eight associated families cultivated one of the peripheric lots, the central one being that whose produce went into the public granary. But in most cases the lots may not have been disposed so symmetrically, which of course did not prevent the principle of taxation to be adhered to.

That which must have constituted a much greater difficulty than the peculiarities of the *terrain* in the carrying through of these laws, was the inequality in the productiveness of the soil and in the number of members composing a family. It is true that the legislator had done his best to equalize these dissimilarities. According to the Chow Li, book 10 of 8, families of 7 members were settled on land of first quality, those of 6 members were allotted land of middle worth and those of 5 members were given land of in-

* Or Hwei Wen, 惠文.

ferior sort, while according to Mencius (v. L. C. II. p. 252) and the Li Ki (book 3), the two superior categories of soil were again subdivided into two, so as to constitute a total of five classes of lots of 100 *mu*, the first being able to nourish 9 mouths, the second 8, the third 7, the fourth 6 and the fifth 5. Another principle of disposition is indicated in the Chow Li, book 9 p. 27. The soil is there divided into three categories, the first one allowing a yearly cultivation, the second allowing cultivation only every second year, and the third allowing such only every third year. Each family received therefore either the standard quantity of 100 *mu* of the first quality, or the double of the second or the treble of the third, so that each had every year 100 *mu* at their disposition.

Difficult as it may be to harmonize these different statements, it is evident that these regulations must still have been very insufficient to meet justly and equitably all possible requirements.

For there were still the continual modifications, to which not only the members composing a family were exposed by death and birth, but also the amelioration and deterioration to which the soil is necessarily subjected.

To remedy these accidents, functionaries were appointed, who, at stated periods,—some say every year, others say every three years,—repartitioned the soil according to its modified productivity and the altered number of family-members who lived on it, when a more or less wholesale removal of families, from one place to the other, must have taken place, for even the farm-houses were not private property, but attached to the lots cultivated by its inmates.

The impracticability of such a system for any length of time or on a large extent of territory is so apparent, that, even admitting its having once been in general use, it must necessarily soon have come into disuse again. In Mencius' works, the subject of taxation is repeatedly treated, but

only once we find the 'Well-field system' distinctly mentioned, when the philosopher, in recommending its introduction to a petty prince, feels it necessary to explain its dispositions to his interlocutor. This shows plainly how much the law must, by that time, have come into oblivion (v. Dr. Legge's Classics, II, p. 121).

Nevertheless we find in the Annals, about B.C. 350, the following entry: '[Ts'in] abolished for the first time the "Well-field [law]"' 始廢井田. Now I have not met with this notice in the Sze-ki, nor in the 秦紀, nor in the 商君傳, where one would most expect to find it recorded, and this leads me to think that it is of Sze-ma Kwang's own make. For the most superficial comparison of the Annals with the Sze-ki, shows how cavalierly the historiographer of the Sung dynasty dealt with the historiographer of the Han dynasty. It is quite consistent with the high-handed way in which the former is wont to overcome the real or supposed difficulties found in the latter's work, by expunging or interpolating and otherwise falsifying its text, to admit that Sze-ma Kwang on finding Wei Yang working out agrarian laws for Ts'in, which were at variance with the 'Well-field system,' at once jumped to the conclusion that Wei Yang must have abolished the latter and forthwith entered a notice to that effect in his Annals.

But even admitting that this system has ever been in vogue for some time in the imperial dominion of the House of Chow and perhaps in some of its vassal States, is it at all probable that it has also been in use in the State of Ts'in? All probabilities are against such an admission. For even an attempt to enforce there the law, presupposes a state of civilization and especially a clear discrimination of the family relations, which were just so sadly wanting in the western State, as we know from Wei Yang's own mouth: 'Formerly,' he said, 'the people of Ts'in were following the doctrines of the barbarians; there was no dis-

inction made between father and son ; they were living together in the same house. Now I have reformed their manners, that the proper distinction be observed between men and women.'

Instead, therefore, of taking the administrative measures of Wei Yang as a liberal modification of the narrow-minded agrarian laws of Chow, I consider them to be but a successful endeavour to raise the Ts'in nation from a state of barbarism to one of relative civilization, and the said entry in the Annals I opine to be a decidedly spurious one.

For curiosity's sake I give here the reflections which that entry has called forth from the pen of a modern writer, Joseph Ferrari, member of the Italian parliament, who describes the effect of Wei Yang's measures as follows:—'Why was the arable land every year to be portioned out anew? The mathematical equality of that agrarian law has nothing in common with the inequality of men ; it attributed an equal part of land to the best and to the worst of the colonists ; its strange and vitiated dispositions left nothing to be hoped for by the husbandman : how could he be expected to take any interest in the improvement of land which he knew could be taken again from him, when the next partition was to take place? Wei Yang considered that agrarian law to constitute an evil and therefore he put an end to the cultivation in common of strictly limited tracts of land, allowing to each one to possess his own field, to surround it with landmarks, to keep possession of it for ever or to dispose of it by sale or in any other way. After the peasants of Ts'in had become proprietors, an unbounded avidity

took possession of them, and they put it readily in the service of their sovereign. For what did they perceive beyond their own frontiers? They saw there the 'Well-field law,' a pedagogism blended with revolution, an easy conquest of fertile but empty countries. The Ts'in needed only to kill people in order to get into possession and the inhabitants of the eastern states had only to desert their Princes to get rid of their yoke. China was offered by the principle of personal property to the most selfish and seducing of its States.'

Now while the Italian author may have correctly described the anomalies and evils of the said law, we cannot accept, as founded on facts, the connection which he establishes between its alleged abolition by Wei Yang and the success of the arms of Ts'in. That law had not been practicable from its very birth and had become obsolete long before Wei Yang was chancellor in Ts'in. It had died a natural death and the principle of personal property was its likewise natural offspring. The latter had during the reign of the Chow dynasty already begun to grow into existence and if the House of Ts'in acknowledged this as a *fait accompli*, it did only what any other ruling house would have done under similar circumstances, and what it could not have helped without causing the world to retrace its steps.

If Signor Ferrari's view were correct, then Wei Yang would not have failed to be a great favourite with the people and the rule of Ts'in would necessarily have been much welcomed over the whole Empire, while we know that Wei Yang was on the contrary the best hated man in the State and the rule of Ts'in that which the Chinese hastened most to get rid of again.

CH. PITON.

(To be continued).

* *Vide* : La Chine et l'Europe, 2nd edit., p. 846.

MORE ABOUT THE OLD LANGUAGE OF CHINA.

Though I have read with some disappointment Dr. Edkins' paper upon the *Chinese Old Language* in the last number of the *China Review*, and feel compelled to say so, I hope I shall not be betrayed into a display of that *odium sinologicum* which once disclosed the human frailties and detracted so much from the just fame of such distinguished orientalist as M. M. Julien and Panthier.

In anything and everything I have written upon the above subject, I do not claim to have made any brilliant discoveries, or to have advanced any theories which I am not prepared to immediately abandon on the appearance of relevant evidence subversive of them. I only claim to have followed (if I have not introduced) methods of inquiry and a style of reasoning with respect to Chinese philology, which, if persevered in, must lead to sound results, inasmuch as fancy is rigidly kept apart from fact, and truth from fiction. Moreover, I think it will be found that, wherever I venture to advance an improved theory, I state the arguments against it as freely as those in favour of it. Even in my 'attack' (if so hostile a word may be used) upon the positions Dr. Edkins now comes forward to defend, I state my opinion that 'it is not by any means more likely that he is wrong than that he is right,' but I demand a 'process of close reasoning;' and I now propose, with rigid adherence to the laws of generous warfare, to shew that Dr. Edkins, in his defence is

(inadvertently I feel sure) hitting me below the belt, and is not arguing fairly.

Dr. Edkins leads off with the manifestly ironical remark that my 'article on *Chinese and Sanscrit* contains a good deal on the Russian, Tartar, and primitive African languages.' To dispose of Africa first. I absolutely only mention African languages in one sentence, the purport of which is that in Africa, as in Europe and Asia, the same phenomenon is found, namely, small areas occupied by dialects of one extensive language, or, say, many species of one genus. So with the Tartar language. I mention it but once; first to shew that the dynasty in China which earliest gave active encouragement to Hindoo translation was a Tartar dynasty; and, secondly, to shew that the large admixture of Tartar blood in North China, and the forcible expulsion of the Chinese, must have affected the spoken language of the North of China. In the case of Russia, Dr. Edkins fetches me the unkindest cut of all. 'Russian too, as Mr. Parker says, is uniform over an immense area. Why he has preferred to judge of China from the state of things at barbarous Timbuctoo and on the Congo it is most difficult to divine.' In the first place, I state at the outset that I 'do not know enough of Russia or Russian to be able to state' what Dr. Edkins says I state: then I show conclusively that even if I did state it, the statement can only hold good as an argument against me for one quarter of the total

Russian area of to-day: next, I show that the existence of Polish, Czechist, and other Slav languages would weaken the statement even if I made it; and, finally, I add that I want competent authority before I put in the form of a statement what I merely suggest as a probability based on my own imperfect observation alone, and what Dr. Edkins at once snaps at as positive proof in his favour. As to Timbuctoo and the Congo, I never mention them at all.

Dr. Edkins goes beyond this, for he flatly contradicts himself in his eagerness for the fray. I will place his two conflicting statements together:—

<p>The mandarin sounds of to-day are admissible as evidence, for they did not exist before mandarin itself.</p>	<p>The mandarin, being modern, is not admissible as a witness.</p>
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Page 2.

Page 4.

In other words (unless there is a misprint) mandarin is both admissible and inadmissible, on account of its modern vice, to prove what the ancient Chinese sounds were.

Dr. Edkins states (what I suggest in effect in my article, and in words in another earlier article), that 'Devanagari is a system of writing borrowed by the Buddhists from Western Asia. . . . The Hindoos took the Devanagari as their guide, . . . and were so exact in writing sounds.' Now, as I understand Professor Müller, there is no trace of Devanagari to be found, at least in India, anterior to the first century, that is, to the time when the Chinese written language was subjected to its influence, and this fact alone warrants us in withholding from it (in the absence of evidence either way) claims to absolute perfection. Dr. Edkins says: 'there is no room for doubt as to the value of the Sanscrit alphabetic signs;' but I have shown that there is, and I have put in Wilson and Müller as evidence. Moreover, Müller states that there was once a labial sibilant (ϕ or f), with the guttural sibilant (χ or ch), has become obsolete. Dr. Edkins then proceeds to define what Müller means when he says

plainly: 'both before and after Panini the language of India has changed': but a reference to page 163 of his second edition will show that he means exactly what he says, and is talking of Sanskrit alone and not of Prakrit or Pali. I never said I would 'withdraw from the Hindoos the confidence hitherto reposed in them by all authors who have written on the subject,' as Dr. Edkins states I said. What I said amounted to this: authors place a blind confidence in them (the Hindoos), which the Hindoos, as evidenced by their irregular spelling of Chinese, never could have pretended to claim. I do not question the virtues of the Hindoos, but I deprecate the vices of the authors; and Dr. Edkins is, I think, one of the greatest offenders.

Dr. Edkins now says in half a dozen places that p was the old Chinese sound, and that f was derived from it: in fact, he says in effect that f had, and is proved to have had, absolutely no existence in China when the Hindoos came. But in the same breath he states that 'the Hindoos took the Devanagari as their guide and' added the missing ' f and other letters required for Chinese.' This is flowing hot and cold with a vengeance.

Dr. Edkins says the *but* rendering of 𠵹 is supported by the Fu Kien sound of the word. Foochow and the half north of it is as much Fu Kien as Foochow and the half south of it. I know the dialect of Foochow, and I have travelled through the northern half: the pronunciation of the word is *huk*, almost exactly the English *hook*. In Wênchow it is *vai* and *vai* (and Dr. Edkins, Page 3, accepts on my sole authority Wênchow localisms as archaisms, though I do not myself claim them so positively). In Ningpo it is *vé* or *vuh*. In Canton and Hakka it is *fét* and *fut*. In Sz Ch'uan, Hu Peh and Yangchow it is *fu* and *fê* (*fuh*). In Peking it is *fo* and *fu*. South Fu Kien is the one corner of China whose dialect I have not personally investigated on the spot. If Dr. Edkins prefers this corner and Japan

to the whole of the rest of China, I think he is trying to make for himself *bonne chère avec très peu d'argent*. Moreover, South Fu Kien is the only spot in China absolutely unmentioned from the beginning of time down to A.D. 800 in the History Book through which I have, for the last two years, been plodding. Notwithstanding all this, I am by no means ready to claim antiquity for *f* and *z* against *p* and *b*. All I say is that Dr. Edkins' reasoning is unsound, and the evidence produced is one-sided and bad.

Dr. Edkins notices, as if it were new, that I 'admit the distinction between the upper and lower series.' Eight dialects have been thoroughly dissected by me in the *China Review*, and the whole lower series question has been considered with special reference to each. A ninth dialect will be ready in a very few days.

Dr. Edkins states that I may rely on the correctness of his information about the appearance of *r* in Sz Ch'wan. As a matter of fact I was on my way to Ch'âng-tu to enquire about this *r* when I was stopped by an accident, and I am disposed to believe in its existence: but Dr. Edkins still fails to give his authority, or to define the circumstances under which *r* occurs there, and a bare assertion from him himself (without personal experience or authority quoted) would be valueless to science. It will be seen that I am very sceptical about my own *r*, and I by no means confine it to aspirates. As far as Dr. Edkins says anything relevant on this point, it goes to support my humble hypothesis. Dr. Edkins modifies his previous hypothesis upon Page 2. I am glad to learn what Mencius said, and what Yang Ming said. Though I ought, perhaps, to have known what they said before, as a matter of fact I did not, but none the less my own hypothesis is immensely strengthened thereby. In fact, the ablest pleader for my hypothesis is Dr. Edkins himself, for his modified hypothesis is precisely mine in its original and unmodified form. My

hypothesis is this: that, in the whole wide world, no large tract (say over 100 miles square) has ever existed where the people spoke uniformly, barring, perhaps, Russia. I say let A be a tribe speaking uniformly: it gradually throws off B, and B throws off C, whilst A meanwhile throws off D. Each of these four may perish, flourish, commingle, throw off, and do all manner of things, and according to the things they do the result is a jumble of dialects or the purification of dialects. I say, also, that, if Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian are 'languages,' then Cantonese, Fukienese, and Pekingese are much more so. On the other hand if Wénchowese and Foochowese (though so near in place, yet, perhaps, the widest apart in form) are dialects, then even French and Portuguese are 'dialects' *vis-à-vis* of each other. I also say in a skeleton form (what, if filled in, would stand as a proof rather than a mere assertion) that the written characters of China have no more (though they may have something) to do with the development of dialects than the alphabetical letters of Europe have to do with the development there, or hardly more than the classification of botanists has to do with the development of plants.

I utterly reject the opinion of Dr. Edkins, (shared by von Gabelenz), that the old spoken language of China was the stiff and stilted language of their old literature. Before the discovery of pens and paper writing or scratching must have been laborious in the extreme, and the art of scribes would naturally consist in reducing the jabber of conversation to the pith of learning. Just now, where the expense of telegraphy forces us to reduce and minimise our words, we have an excellent instance for comparison. An ordinary telegram is usually pure ancient Chinese in form. Modern mandarin literature most probably began to flourish for the same reasons that modern colloquial languages were (in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in Italy, and later in the north of Europe), gradually

honoured with literary notice. The whole of this subject has been thoroughly worked out by Isaac Disraeli.

Dr. Edkins is wrong in saying that *I* say the Buddhists first used 競 and then 恒 for the sound *gēng*. What I say is that *he*, Dr. Edkins, says so. I have, however, mistated what he says, and Dr. Edkins takes full advantage of the misquotation to try and make me bite off my own nose. The point of my argument, however, is not which was first and which was second, but the fact that Dr. Edkins assumes that, because 恒 was once used for *gēng*, its ancient initial was *g* and not *h*.

The words 江臣 for Consul are almost absolutely invariably used by all Cantonese all over China who put pencil directions on letters for chit-coolies. What is the use of

Dr. Edkins saying that 'probably this' or 'probably that' is the explanation of this fact, because, as he admits, it is not well known to him?

Nothing is more removed from my inclination than controversial argument partaking of personal recrimination. No one values Dr. Edkins' labours, up to the point where they are sound, more than I do; but I think a much sounder era is dawning upon sinology, and I wish to give Dr. Edkins his proper place, it being open to all the world to approve or to censure my presumption.

'Dr. Edkins' last four paragraphs about Balylonian origin, Buddhist cosmos, Vedix, and metempsychosis appear to me to be quite foreign to the subject under discussion, and, anyhow, most obscure in meaning.'

E. H. PARKER.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

NOTES.

A CHINESE FATHOM.—Mr. J. M., in the last No. of the *Review* proposes 一度 *yi-tu* as a fair translation into Chinese for a *fathom*. I would regret the adoption of this term in the proposed sense, because it has already been claimed as the equivalent of our word *degree* as a division of the circle. Chinese mariners are quite familiar with the meaning of 度 *tu* as a *degree* of latitude or of longitude, and to use the same term in another sense in documents where both depths of water and bearings of certain points, for instance, are given, confusion could hardly be avoided. Apart from this, I am not aware of a definite length being ascribed to 度 *tu*. K'ang-hsi's authority (the Ch'ien-han-lü-li-chih 前漢律歷志) describing its meaning as relative, i.e. as the general designation of the five current measures of length, viz. *fēn*, *ts'un*, *chang*, *ch'ih* and *yin* 引; its equivalent is,

therefore, given as 長短 *chang-tuan*, i.e. length of any kind. According to the same authority, a *yin* 引 = 10 *chang*, and I do not feel quite confident whether Williams' translation by 'fathom' (p. 917, s.v. 度 *tu*) is correct. It seems to me that if *yin* means a fathom it is a fathom of ten *chang*, and not one in our sense, which measures merely 6 feet English or about half a *chang*.

The proper word for fathom is 拓 or 托 *t'o*. In the chapter regarding navigation, contained in the *Tung-hsi-yang-kao* 東西洋考, Ch. 9, it is stated that, when throwing out the lead to ascertain the depth of the sea on a certain spot, the depth is expressed in so many *t'o* (沉繩水底打量某處水深淺幾托), and an explanatory note is added saying that, according to the Fang-yen 方言, 'the length of the two arms extended makes one *t'o* 托.' This quite corresponds with the original meaning of our word 'fathom.' In

Old Norse *fadmr* means 'to embrace,' or 'the length one can reach with the two arms expanded.' (See Wedgwood, Dict. of Engl. Etym., Vol. II., p. 34). I may add that the term is quite well understood by the Chinese of the present day as corresponding to about half a *chang*. In the Chinese versions of 'Notices to Mariners' and 'Lists of Lights, Buoys, and Beacons,' issued by the Customs, the English word 'fathom' will be found to be either expressed in *chang* at the rate of $5\frac{1}{10}$ *ch'ih* (=6 feet English, in cases where special care in the description of exact length is required), or, otherwise, by 耗 *t'o*.

F. H.

AN EXTENSIVE SQUEEZING GROUND.—There is a very extensive squeezing ground in Manchuria known as the 草豆地. There are 378,267 'days' [日 is not according to J.M., the same as 响] of this, of which 1,940 pay grass and beans in kind to the 正白 Banner, and 13,999, known as 撥, or 'appropriated,' pay 560 東 cash for each 'day' or Manchurian acre. The remaining 362,328 pay 1,120 cash the 'day,' of which 270 go to 'expenses of collection' and 850 to the 內倉. The above are known as the 內八界, which appears to mean 'neighbourhood of Moukden.' In addition, there are 681,991 'days' of 米地 in the Ning-yüan prefecture, on 680,000 of which 680 cash per 'day' is levied. The whole of the grass, bean, and rice land brings in 783,000 strings of 'eastern' cash a year. The squeeze [擠] made on this by the Superintendent at Moukden was so enormous that every high official in the place got a 5,000 string finger in the pie, but their shares were reduced and fixed by the late able Viceroy Ch'ung Shih. As the Superintendent is shown to still make a profit of about 20,000 taels a year, it was proposed to devote this to schools, but the Imperial Commissioners recommend his Majesty 'to leave a little fat' for the officials, for have it they will some-

how, and if they cannot get it in a tolerably straight way, they will make the people suffer.

THE FIRST BUDDHIST TEMPLE IN CHINA.—In the year A.D. 381 a Buddhist temple [佛精舍] was first built in China proper, and that by the After Tsin Emperor 孝武 in his own palace.

In the year 318 A.D. *siutsais* and *küjins* [秀孝] were ordered to undergo examinations in the classics [復試經策], &c.

A FEW CANTONESE SAYINGS.—The Cantonese have a saying 我唔睇見過鷄局尿 which means 'it is not likely the miser will make presents;' or simply: 'a very likely thing, indeed!' They also have a saying 懶人多尿. In connection with this word, the Pekingese have two expressions 尿不少, which means 'not to be sat upon,' and 有尿, which means 'easily gets his back up,' or 'won't be contradicted.' A Cantonese expression for 'smooth-tongued villian' is 滑口蛇心.

The 大運, or great annual purchase of the Silk Commissioners, is known as 賀特哈; a Manchu term, which we submit to J.M. The Commissioner at Nanking has been instructed to purchase about Tls. 20,000 worth of dragon robes, &c., as well as the annual supplies.

THE CULTIVABLE LAND IN AN HWEI.—The Governor of An Hwei reports 382,339 *k'ing*, or, say eight million acres of cultivable land of all tenures. In January 1883 307,689 *k'ing* were under cultivation: during the succeeding 12 months 1,417.46 *k'ing*, or 30,000 acres, were added; and there are still 73,035 *k'ing*, or 1,500,000 acres, lying waste.

LEVIES AT KIRIN.—Kirin levies a tax of 10 per cent. on 秧參 ginseng, and 2 per cent. on 黨參 ginseng and on 黃芪 *Sophora flavascentus*. Owing to a decline in prices, this tax has fallen from Tls. 20,000 odd for

1881 to Tls. 10,000 odd for 1883. The first named is the chief staple.

THE YANGCHOW COLLECTORATE.—There are four stations forming the Customs Collectorate at Yangchow, under the Chin-kiang *taotai*, and the collection for 1883 amounted to about Tls. 44,000, of which all but a few thousand taels (collected on salt and going to the River Director's troops) were collected from ordinary trade. The balance from last year was about Tls. 25,000. The Peking Contingent takes Tls. 30,000, and the Household takes Tls. 4,000 for ginseng purchases. Balance about Tls. 32,000.

Among the characters frequently met with in the *Gazette* but not in the dictionaries is 幘, often used for 員 in the combination 幘員, 'extent, area,' and in Pekingese often pronounced 'yün.

EDUCATION IN THE TSIN DYNASTY.—Education seems to have been kept up during the strifes of the Tsin Dynasty. But in the year 352 A.D. the students at the metropolis [太學生徒] were all dismissed by the Minister 殷浩.

Official rank has been refined down as low as 未入流銜 or 'brevet no rank at all.' An unfortunate officer in this plight has been promoted for good service to 'second class ninth nominal rank, without rank, on the very first expectant list' [未入流從九品儘先補用].

'Neither fish, flesh, fowl, nor good red herring:' 僧不僧俗不俗女不女男不男. 'Seeing's believing:' 聞名不入見面.

Amongst the characters in common use which do not appear in K'ang Hi or Chalmers's Dictionary is 粧 in the sense of 妝 or 粧, and pronounced *chwang*.

SUCCESSION IN ANCIENT TIMES.—In the year A.D. 282 there was a dispute as to the succession to the well-known statesman 賈充: it was objected that his sister's grandson [外孫] was an improper heir [禮無異姓爲後之文]. It was argued that in ancient times, when the ruler of a state having the surname 妣 took as successor a sister's grandson born in a state having the surname 嬴, a great scandal and disaster was the result.

Birds of a feather flock together 方以類聚物以羣分.

In the *Peking Gazette* the Mongols are stated to 各立惱包爲界. The *nau pau* are evidently the same as the 鄂博 or *aobo* of Sir Thomas Wade (Lesson 36), or of Mayers' Government (No. 517). In Tientsin a 'gown' (*p'i-ao* or *ngao*) is often called *p'i nao*. In Foochow potential *au* is in certain tones what potential *ou* is in others; thus 博 and 薄 are *pauk* and *pouk*. In a previous note a theory was mooted to account for the transmutation of *o* and *au* in Peking, where 薄 is usually pronounced *pao*. The amiable correspondent J.M., who was kind enough to explain certain Manchu words in a recent number of the *China Review*, may be able to explain the term 達呼爾巴爾虎. The 'Targupargu' must be Tunguses akin to the Solons and Oronchons. There are also certain 黑徒 lamas at Urga: query, why the name? The Resident at Urga protests against Chang Chih-tung's scheme of regularly colonising the T'umed pasture-lands with Chinese.

ADOPTED SONS IN CHINA.—One of the earliest mentions of adopted sons [繼] is in the case of Sz-ma Yu [攸], brother of the first Tsin Emperor [Mayers No. 661]. He was also a son of Sz-ma Chao, but was given in adoption to Sz-ma Shih [師], successor of Sz-ma I [Mayers 655] and predecessor of his brother as dictator of Wei. Yang Hu [Mayers No. 885]

was the adopted son [從子] (in the less legal and English sense) of 羊取, who married that distinguished woman 辛憲英 in Ts'ao Ts'ao's time.

Regarding 大秦, which Mr. Hirth identifies with Syria, the P'ei-wên Yün-fu gives very meagre details. 'Its other name is Li-kien, and it is also called West of the Sea: its area is several thousand li, and there are over 400 cities with stone walls. The suburbs are planted with firs, cypresses, and all sorts of vegetation. The pillars of its palaces are all made of crystal, as also its eating vessels. Its inhabitants are fine-made, proper-minded people like the Chinese: hence the name Ta Ts'in.' Of 拂林 it says that 'the p'onaso or bonoso tree comes from 波斯 country, and also from Fulin, where it is evergreen, has no flowers, and produces fruit.' This is probably the fig, still known as the 'flowerless fruit.'

Another form of 'Man proposes and Heaven disposes' is 不如意事十常居八九.

According to the *Shên Pao*, the Koreans have a sort of base metal called 林邑波斯錫, which sounds like a combination having an historical significance.

The Hakkas have a saying: 'a man can only eat as much as his belly will hold:' 牠肚嚕有幾大裝得幾多飯. The two characters given, *kia*, 'he' and *p'at*, 'a belly' are only makeshifts. They also have a saying 'he who is born with a caul will be rich or great' 黃暎 (long) 遮頭非富即貴.

The Governor of Shen Si states that there are no salt merchants in that Province, and that the prefectures of Si-an, T'ung-chou, with the Departments of Shang and Kan, are served by Shan Si men, who pay the *likin*. He states incidentally that the general *likin* of Shen Si amounts to Tls. 260,000 a year.

Towards the new Tls. 200,000 annual contribution for poor Peking officials Shen Si pays Tls. 3,000.

A CHINESE UNICORN.—In the *North-China Herald* of the 8th August, the writer of 'Notes of a journey from Shansi to Yün-nan,' alludes to a brass unicorn, *tu koh shou*, which he saw at the Tsing Yang Kung, a Taoist temple outside the city of Chêng-tu.

As the *k'i-lin* has been described by many writers as the beast supposed to correspond to our unicorn, it would be interesting if the author of the above notes would supply a detailed description of this *tu koh shou* and inform us whether the latter name is the only one by which it is known.

H. K.

REPLIES TO SOME QUERIES, &c. IN *China Review*, Vol. XII., No. 6.—P. 513, Ch'ing-yüan 慶元 is the modern Ningpo. I would point out that 廣東 cannot be properly translated 'Canton.' If not a misprint, it can only mean the whole coastline of the Kwangtung province. It is a curious collocation this, of two cities and an entire province, and it is difficult to resist the conjecture that there is either a mistake or an omission. Either 東 is substituted for 州, or else the characters 省城 are omitted after it.

P. 513. The Cantonese saying 花多眼亂 etc. does not mean 'Heaven helps those who help themselves,' but refers rather to the difficulty of selecting one out of many where all are good. *Embarras de richesse* in fact.

P. 514. The name 托克托布 is that of a man, not of a tribe. He is a Manchu of the red banner, and in 1878 was Commandant at Zingeshar in Turkestan. The characters 總管 seem to imply either that he is Superintendent of the Pearl Fisheries in Kirin, or that he is a Comptroller of the Imperial Household 總管內務府.

P. 515. It is difficult to understand how

來之不善去之不易 can possibly mean 'easy gotten, easy gone.' 不易 is exactly the reverse of 'easy.' Perhaps the proverb 來者不善答者有餘 (meaning 'If you come with rude words, you will get as good as you bring and more') is intended.

G. M. H. PLAYFAIR.

In addition to the Captains-general given by Mr. Mayers [Nos. 535-536] the Khalka Mongols seem to have two high officers called 副將軍 and 何貝. Perhaps some one can explain this last term. Also the exact meaning of 牛喙 (*niuru*),—a 佐領.

Does anyone know what the 東錢 of Manchuria are worth?

THE COREAN FRONTIER CUSTOMS.—The Korean frontier Customs [中江] alluded to in *Chinese Notes* is now under 陳 the *fu yin* at Moukden, who, according to the censors, has, by his rapacity well-nigh ruined the Manchurian province, recently restored to order by the late energetic 崇實.

THE NOMAD PASTURES OF SHAN SI.—Eighty thousand 頃, or 1,600,000 acres of the 馬廠, or nomad pastures of Shan Si, have been formally transferred to the cultivable land registers.

The Cantonese have a saying 恩愛夫妻嫌夜短 逆夫妻夜咁長 which means 'the affectionate pair regret the shortness of the night, which is, O! how long! to the nagging spouses.' A good expression for 'killing the goose with the golden eggs' is 竭澤而漁, or 'fish till the water's dry.'

ENDOGAMY.—In volume X of the *China Review* Mr. Jamieson reviews the knotty question of endogamy. It has just struck us that the fact that each ruler ruled under the aegis of one of the five elements [e.g. 以木德 or 以土德王]; and, as each surname was originally the property of a family or

tribal ruler, the Chinese mind must have considered that, for the proper assimilation [攻] of the male and female principles, one element should be antagonistic to the other [尅]. As Mr. Jamieson points out, the members of each family were supposed to eat the same. To this day the inner parts [e.g. 肝木] are medically described by an elementary adjunct. A man who is of an inflammatory habit of body will say his 性 is 木 i.e. his constitution is 'woody.' The 性 being the total or natural inborn constitution; the 姓 may be the uterine part of it. Two people with 'livers' or consumption could, then, never intermarry.

During the Han and Tsin dynasties the Chinese and Tartar courts had a class called 特進 or 'right honourables,' without any post necessarily attached, but entitling them to Court rank above the 車騎 or *equites*, and below the 三公 or three chief secretaries of state, the *magister equitum*, [太尉] *atque militum*, the *praefectus annonarum*, [司空], and the *praefectus urbi*, [司徒], of the Roman Empire at the same date. Compare Ortolan's *History of the Roman Law*.

FORCED LABOUR ON THE YELLOW RIVER.—The Governor of Shan Tung explains that the repairs to the Yellow River are being done by forced labour, but at fair rates of payment. The 長堤 banks now being constructed are less far apart than the so-called 遙堤, but farther apart than the 民捻, which will be repaired at leisure after the present work is done.

The 江北 tribute rice from the five prefectures North of the Yang-tze still goes by canal. The millet which 徐州 Fu used to send is now changed to 大米 or rice. The amount for 1883 was 92,898 for all five prefectures, *plus* 7 per cent. 餘 and 4 per cent. for the boatmen,—113,377 in all.

Regarding Mr. Kingsmill's identification of 大夏 with the *Tékamu*, it is to be noticed that Dr. Eitel under the word Tuk-

hâra explains that the Tochari Tartars of Tokharestan destroyed the kingdom of **大夏**: if this is so then the Tochari destroyers are clearly not the same as the Tochari destroyed. Dr. Eitel identifies the first with **月支**.

The character **戲** is in common use in the newspapers, in for instance the combination **影 |**. But it does not appear in any dictionary to our knowledge. It is a 'commercial' character, pronounced *kæ* in Ningpo, meaning 'to lean against.'

There are at present 1,632 troops in the **涼州** garrison, and 274 at **莊浪**, a subordinate post 100 miles distant, under a **守尉**.

The Chou Emperor **景** is said to have first *cast* [**鑄**] copper cash.

Tso Tsung-t'ang reports that the 460,000 warrants of **淮北** salt were all consumed last year, and does not think that the traders can bear a tax of more than Tls. 2 the warrant, as the profits made on 10 northern warrants only equal those on one southern warrants, and therefore Tls 2 is the proper proportion to Tls. 20. The southern Hwai warrants are 600 catties in weight, against 400 catties northern, and Tso's opponents argued that the taxation on the latter should be $\frac{2}{3}$ that on the former, which is Tls. 20 the warrant. Two thirds of the collection on the 460,000 warrants go to pay the troops of An Hwei and the Transport Viceroy; one third (the recent increase) to pay for diverting the Hwai River into its old channel.

The morality of priests and nuns is thus briefly epitomised in a Cantonese proverb **尼姑搶住和尚辯和尚搶住尼姑姦**. 'The more haste the less speed' is expressed by the Hakkas **欲速倒不達**, or more generally all over China by **畫虎不成反類犬**.

The Cantonese for 'early to bed and early to rise' &c, is **上床蔗落床粥吃上三朝辮毛沃**. 'Sugar-cane last thing at night and gruel early in the morning, will in a very short time produce collops of fat.'

An interesting expression **調乃公** occurs in history A.D. 310. This is explained to mean **戲弄汝翁** and the first character is said to be in the **去聲**. There can be no doubt that this word *tiu* is preserved in the familiar Canton oath, given on page 733 of Eitel's dictionary, which by a **變音** has been changed to the **上聲**. But not only is this the case: in Hu Nan the braves say *tiu ni mai*, and in Foochow the vulgar say 'leu 'nü 'nae. The fact that **條** is vulgarly pronounced *leu* in Foochow supports the view that 'leu is **調**, for the two **上** tones are confused there, and all over China the lower **去** and lower **上** are confused. The Hakkas say *tiu* (which is equivalent to the **上聲**), and also *tiu'*. In Wenchow again the equivalent oath is 'döe or 'töe *ngi na*. Finally the Pekingese *ts'ao' 'ni ts mei tsz* is probably a corruption of *t'iao'*. The ancients reserved their anathema for fathers-in-law, but the moderns have extended it to mothers and sisters.

In the year A.D. 237 the State of Wei made the 3rd month count as the fourth 'summer month.' The commentators explain that this means **建丑**, and that from ancient times, though the first month had been shifted about [**改正**] still no one had ever altered the consecutive order of the months [**改月數**]. The Han dynasty at first accepted the **亥** month of the Ts'in dynasty and called it the **冬十月**, thus preserving its place in winter, and not (as now) absurdly turning spring into summer. In the year A.D. 240, however, the State of Wei had to go back to the old calendar [**復以建寅之月爲正**].

TYPHOON.—It is stated in K'ang-hi under the character 颶 'a typhoon' that the 'people of Wénchow call it a mad wind' [永嘉人謂之風癡]. It is a fact that the word *fung-ts'z* is still used at Wénchow, and that the sound corresponds with the characters given: but the Hakkas use the word *ts'ai*, and the Foochow people *t'ai*, all in the upper even tone. It may be mentioned that at Foochow one may either say *fung t'ai* or *t'ai fung* (? typhoon). The character used is 颶.

'Every cat has nine lives:' 百足之虫至死不彊: 'the centipede does not fall even in death:' meaning that a dangerous enemy must be extirpated root and branch, as he has many supporters. Another very ancient proverb is 明鑑所以照形古事所以知今. 'Experience is as a mirror.'

In addition to genuine characters, living or obsolete, there are quite a number of what are called 帖字, or 'fanciful' characters, i.e. forms used by celebrated preface-writers, poets, and album makers. For instance, instead of 紕[繆] the form 𦉳 or 𦉴 is often used.

The Lieut. Governor at Canton has charge of a Customs Station at 太平橋.

The chief coal mines in Honan Province are in the 河內 District.

Mention is made of Sz Ch'uan salt in A.D. 265. After the conquest of Shuh by Wei, General Têng [鄧艾] wished to employ a portion of the army in boiling salt.

EUNUCHS REARING SONS.—In the reign of the after Han Emperor 順 the custom began of allowing eunuchs to 'rear' sons to inherit rank. The eunuch 鄭衆 who aided the Emperor to kill Tow Hien (Mayers No. 672) was the first eunuch ever made an earl;—the Chinese Narses.

NINGPO.—One of your correspondents asks where 慶元 is situated. Mr. Playfair's useful Geographical Dictionary gives these characters as the name of Ningpo in the time of the Sung Dynasty.

T. L. B.

THE SALT LAKE OF SHAN SI.—The 'Salt Lake' of Shan Si marked in Williams' Map of China is called 鹽池 by the Governor Chang Chih-tung, and seems to supply salt industry, to the two districts of 平陸 and 芮城.

'Cut off your nose to spite your face,' 怒其室而作色於父; i.e. 'when in a rage with your wife "go for" your father.' 'A pack of foxes are a match for a tiger.' 猛獸不如羣狐. 'Either trust a man entirely or not at all' 疑則勿任任則勿疑.

A GREAT COMET.—Another great comet appeared in China during seven months of the year A.D. 373: its course is described, and should be of interest to astronomers. During the months of December 418 and January 419 another (probably the same) left [γ in Cygnus; Williams.] 天津 in the 箕斗, passed through 太微 and Ursa Major, and joined the Dipper, lasting 80 days.

The Governor of Shan Tung now explain that the 重堤, or 'double banks,' are those built outside the 民埝, or 'popular dyke,' without which the former is incapable of existing even by name. There is still a third sort of bank called the 格堤.

RECEPTIONS AT COURT.—In addition to Dr. Martin's instances of Chinese international law, we may mention the obligation of states to receive envoys with courtly form. Makeshift receptions, [遇禮] were only tolerated when the Prince met the envoy away from Court. The 燕 envoy who visited the Emperor Fu Kien declined to be received unless the Em-

peror wore his state clothes and had his place swept. To the excuse that the Emperor's presence 'constituted a Court' [止日行在] he replied that such might be the case were the Empire not divided, and quoted a case of makeshift reception from the Tso Annals. It ended by Fu Kien extemporising a Court [設行宮], and having all his officials standing around. The same envoy impliedly, also, asserts the principle of sovereignty in the ambassador's person when he says 客使單行誠勢屈於主人然苟不以禮亦不敢從也. He also declined to do obeisance to the heir-apparent on the ground that 'the son of the Emperor dare not treat as subjects his father's subjects [臣其父之臣]; how much more so the subjects of another state?'

OYSTER SHELL DUST.—Perhaps the 打銀鏈 oyster-shell dust, mentioned in the 10th volume of the *China Review* as a remedy for mumps, is the same as the *p'ong hok* [蚌壳] dust used as a remedy for 勝瘡. Chinese females, even children, are much troubled with these, and the remedy affords instant relief. The same dust is a good remedy for itchy irritations of the skin.

The best native account of surnames is that until nearly the close of the Chow dynasty there were none. What were called 姓 really meant the name of one's birth-place. Personal appellations were 氏, and these were subsequently called 姓, which word then got the new signification of *nom de famille*.

'Where there is smoke there is fire' 倉蠅不抱沒縫兒雞蛋 or 'flies don't go to eggs unless there are cracks in them.' Again 不經一事不長一智 is equivalent to *experientia docet*.

SANTONINE.—Santonine, which is a 'proximate vegetable principle obtained from the

Artemisia contra,' and is given by European physicians against worms, is evidently the same as the Chinese 艾, out of which strings are made for burning off mosquitoes.

The Governor-General Li strongly disapproves of Yu Po-ch'uan's project of letting the Yellow River into the 馬頰 River, and shews that all such attempts in this direction made in the Han, Sung, and Ming dynasties have ended in disaster. Mr. Playfair's book does not give this river (which is one of the ancient 九河), but it appears to form part of the boundary between Chih-Li and Shan Tung.

Perhaps J. M. will kindly inform the public what the Manchu word *ula* means in the combination 烏拉駝馬, and also in that 烏拉草 (mentioned in *Chinese Notes*), 烏拉鞋, and 打牲烏拉. Also in the expression 'Saghalien *ula*.'

In the year A.D. 400, what with Tartar dynasties and Chinese *pronunciamentos*, the power of 安帝 was confined to a tract enclosed between Chinkiang, Soochow, and Shao-hing.

The Silk Commissioner at Nanking has the Charge of the 龍江兩新關, which, like the Customs Houses of the other Commissioners, is not yet re-opened.

'Too many cooks spoil the broth,' or, 'in the multitude of advisers does not lie safety' 築室道旁無時可成. 'A man convinced against his will, &c.,' 有挾則不答. 'Out of the frying pan into the fire' 避湯入火.

EDUCATION FOSTERED BY THE FIRST TOBA EMPEROR.—The first Toba emperor [道武] was one who did much to advance education and improve the civil service. He 分尚書三十六曹 and 外署凡置三百六十曹 whom he placed under the authority of the Boards 令八部大人主之. He also established academicians 五經博士 and brought

up the number of the 國子太學 students 生員 to 3,000. He authorised 季先 to hunt up books from all parts of his dominions. In the year 505 both the Liang and Toba dynasties established a 國學 and improved the educational system.

With reference to a former *Chinese Note* on dinner etiquette, if the invitations are by informal 'chit' [單] an acceptance is by the word 到 under one's name. If acceptance is not certain the word 知 answers to our 'Received.'

The 柘樹 has been identified by Dr. Hance as the *Cudrania triloba*; the 橡樹 as the *Quercus Moulei*; the 櫟樹 as *Quercus dentata*, Thunb. But it must be borne in mind that the samples he identified all came from Ningpo. Names differ in different places.

The saying 螳螂當車, or the 'dung-beetle stops the way,' is equivalent to the moral in Æsop's fable about the bull and the frog.

A very remarkable omission from Dr. Williams' Dictionary is the character 磔, very frequent in Chinese history, and quite classical. It is given in Morrison's small dictionary.

The 大運 of the Nanking Silk Commissioner appears to absorb Tls. 40,000 a year: he wishes to amalgamate the transferred Sz Ch'uan share with this in some way.

The Wei dynasty caused large numbers of people to emigrate from 淮北 and the Wu dynasty did the same from 淮南. These migrations are of historical importance.

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(All addresses to care of Editor, *China Review*.)

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C. P.

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Contributions to the *China Review* are invited upon the following subjects, in special relation to China and her dependencies :—

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THE CHINA REVIEW.

THE SIX GREAT CHANCELLORS OF TS'IN, OR THE CONQUEST OF CHINA BY THE HOUSE OF TS'IN.

II. SU TS'IN AND CHANG I,
*or, Federalism and Imperialism during the
Period of the 'Warring States.'*

1. TWO SCHOOLS OF POLITICS.

We have seen above how in Mencius' time the feeling of loyalty regarding the ruling House of Chow had, through the manifest incapacity of its representatives on the throne, vanished to such an extent, as to cause the question concerning their eventual replacement to be discussed in the most unconcealed fashion.

But in many political circles the debate was not, as between Mencius and his interlocutors, confined only to the question, which of the then leading Powers would most likely be called to assume the succession of the House of Chow. For there were then many politicians who were too sharp-sighted to expect any lasting good from a simple shifting of the imperial dignity from one House to another, but hoped for a real improvement only from a radical change in the form of government. The evils of the feudal system, in the form in which it had prevailed since the days of Wu Wang, had in fact become so apparent, that no good could be expected from its continuance or rather from its revival under a new imperial House. But what was then to be put in its stead?

Such was the question in the treatment of which the views of the statesmen of the day diverged so widely, as to become divided into two antagonistic schools, one of which propounded the *Hoh-tsung* 合縱 policy as the best remedy for the evils of the time, whilst the other saw in that of *Lien-whéng* 連橫* the only salvation for the world.

The import of these designations is explained as follows: 縱 means 'to confederate for the sake of mutual advantage' 以利合, and 橫 'to overawe by one's power' 以威勢相脅, so that, adopting the phraseology of modern journalism, *Hoh-tsung* would mean 'Federalism,' with an elective chief 約長, and *Lien-héng* would mean 'Imperialism,' that is amalgamation of the various feudal states into one homogeneous whole governed by an autocratic and hereditary head.

As matters stood at that time, it is easy to surmise by which of the contending parties each of these schools would be most favoured. For the aspirations of Ts'in towards imperialism had long ago been no secret for anybody. It is true that it had not yet made any marked progress towards the realization of these longings; its only

* Usually written 衡.

conquest heretofore had been that tract, west of the Ho, which Wei Yang had of late and by such discreditable means wrested from Wei, while each of the eastern states had aggrandized themselves by the annexion of numbers of weaker principalities and were partly still continuing to do so, with the greatest *sans-gêne*. Neither would any of the latter have objected to engage itself on an imperial venture, as understood by the Lien-hêng school, but for the moment the western power had so decidedly taken up that cause, that the eastern states felt that in federalism was for the moment their only safety. And thus it happened that the contest between imperialism and federalism was fought out between Ts'in on one side as the champion of the former, and the eastern states on the other side as the champion of the latter.

2. THE PHILOSOPHER'S SCHOOL IN THE DEMON'S GORGE.

The debates connected with the political events of the day, concerning the course they were likely to take, the form of government which would finally emerge from the chaotic disorder then prevailing in the Empire, were in no wise confined to political circles. On the contrary they found their way also into places where one was wont to hear dissertations on quietism and non-action as the means of attaining to immortality, rather than the echoes of the turmoil of human passion. There was, for instance, that lonely retreat situated in the 'Demon's Gorge' 鬼谷, where a recluse renowned for his ascetism—his name of Wang Hü 王詡 (v. Mayers' Manual No. 798) had fallen into oblivion, he being only known under the name of 'the Philosopher of the Demon's Gorge' 鬼谷子 (v. M. M. No. 301)—was instructing a number of disciples. He had put aside the metaphysical studies of Taoism and directed the attention of his pupils to matters of more practical use, namely to the 縱橫之術, that is 'the art of up-and-across'

(v. Dr. Legge, Classics II. p. 140) or of 'combination and opposition' (v. M. M. No. 626).

Under this term was understood that peculiar science, so extensively practised in those degenerate days, the study of which was supposed to qualify its adepts to defend, with equal skill, the interests of both the Hoh-tsung policy and those of the Lien-hêng school, and to be one day an enthusiastic federalist, and the next day a hot headed imperialist, just as it best suited their interests.

It is characteristic of the moral decay of these days, that even the disciples then seated at the feet of the Taoist recluse, seem to have been unable to treat the momentous questions of the day from an elevated point of view. For them also, the question which was then so eagerly argued, was not which form of government was the most correct, or best adapted to their country, or which was most likely to promote the material and moral welfare of the people. What they seem to have had much more at heart, was how to turn to their individual advantage the then prevailing disorders, how to fish best for themselves in the troubled waters and so to attain to riches and honours. They did therefore not leave their master, to enter the public arena, either as convinced Hoh-tsungites or enthusiastic Lien-hêngites, but were prepared to join either the one or the other side just as their interests might happen to require. They were provided with a dialectic armoury, calculated, as occasion might serve, either to rouse enthusiasm for a confederacy, which would leave to each state its separate autonomy, or to inspire a passion for a homogeneous Empire, which would unite the whole Chinese world under its mighty sceptre.

The two most renowned scholars, who came forth from that school of Machiavellism, are Chang I (張儀 v. M. M. No. 17), a native of Wei 魏, and Su Ts'in (蘇秦 v. M. M. No. 626), a native of Loh-yang (洛陽, the imperial metropolis). To describe their career will be the

best means to enable the reader to form for himself an idea of what is meant by the two political parties, which they respectively came to represent, viz. Su Ts'in that of federalism and Chang I that of imperialism and of the ways and means by which they endeavoured to attain their ends.

3.—SU TS'IN AND CHANG I IN SEARCH OF EMPLOYMENT.

After having left their *alma-mater* in the 'Demon's Gorge,'—it may have been between the years B.C. 340-335,—both Su Ts'in and Chang I took to the life of the 游說之士. This is the designation given to that numerous class of diplomatic knight-errants, who were then roaming about among the different states and offering themselves as counsellors to their respective rulers.

High principled men did not hold that class of people in great esteem. Mencius refused them the appellation of 大丈夫, great men (v. L. C. II, p. 140), because, when advising the princes, their motive was profit, instead of benevolence and righteousness (v. L. C. II, p. 304). From what we gather in the Sze-ki, they were mostly not even seeking their employers' profit, but only their own, to the detriment of the states which they pretended to serve.

At first the two would-be diplomatists encountered much difficulty in having their worth acknowledged. Failing to find better employment, Chang I had attached himself to the Chancellor of the State of Ts'u 楚, but having been unjustly accused of theft, he was flogged, receiving several hundred slashes, and dismissed in disgrace. On reaching his home, in the most pitiful plight, his wife heaped upon him bitter reproaches: 'If you had not taken to the life of a student,' she said, 'and gone about alluring people,

* The character 說 is to be read here *shui* and means: 'to win one for' or 'to allure one to something.'

how could you have met with such an insult?' But Chang I was not dispirited at all. He simply asked whether his tongue was still in its place, and on hearing it was, said quietly: 'That is all I require!'

Su Ts'in did not meet at first with any more encouragement. After having wandered about for several years, without finding employment, he likewise returned to his home in a state of utter destitution, to become the laughing stock of his nearest relatives. They reproached him with having forsaken the honest ways of the people of Chow 周, in order to depend on nothing better but his tongue. Su Ts'in felt greatly ashamed, and, shutting himself up in his room, he at once resumed the study of the instructions received from 'the Philosopher of the Demon's Gorge.' So earnest was he in this pursuit, that whenever he felt overwhelmed with sleep, he used to stick an awl into his legs, so as to make the blood run down to his heels.

After a year's hard study, he thought himself able to 'allure' any ruler of the time being, and at once set to work again. As a native of the imperial domain, he naturally began by trying his luck with the reigning sovereign. But the attendants of the Emperor had so little confidence in the young man that they refused him the wished for audience. Su Ts'in then went to Ts'in. Its ruler, Hao Kung 孝公, had just died and been succeeded by Hwei-wên Kung 惠文公 (B.C. 337).

Having been admitted into his presence, Su Ts'in 'allured' him in the following way: 'Ts'in, he said, is the State of the four obstructions: * it is clothed in mountains and girded by the river Wei 渭; on the East are the mountain-passes † and the [Yellow] river; on the West are [the mountains of] Han-chung 漢中;

* Allusion to the natural defences which surround Ts'in on all sides (v. P. Smith, Vocabulary, p. 25 'Kwan-chung.')

† The defiles which lead from the valley of the Wei river into the present Honan.

on the South are [the hilly states of] Pa 巴 and Shuh 蜀 (the present Sze-ch'wan); on the North is Ma of T'ai 馬代;* in fact it constitutes a heavenly residence! Possessing, besides, the scholars and people of Ts'in and its military institutions, it should be easy to conquer the world and to govern it as its Emperor!

We see here Su Ts'in urging on the ruler of Ts'in that same policy, which Wei Yang had initiated in that State with so much success. Under ordinary circumstances, he would therefore certainly have been most welcome at the court of Hwei-wên Kung, had not the grave disagreement, which this ruler had with Wei Yang and which had ended so tragically, remained too fresh in his memory. He would not therefore make up his mind so soon to engage again another alien as his confidential counsellor and declined therefore the proffered services. Su Ts'in, consequently, had no other choice left than to try his luck with one or other of the eastern states.

This step involved, of course, a complete change of tactics on his part. At the imperial court, if he had obtained admittance to the Emperor, an imperial policy could alone have had any chance of proving acceptable. Some scheme showing how to re-establish the lost prestige of the House of Chow, how to awe the great feudatories into a renewed acknowledgment of the imperial prerogatives, was what Su Ts'in would certainly have laid before His Imperial Majesty, had he had an opportunity to do so. As we have seen above, he had also been urging an imperial policy on the ruler of Ts'in, when he tried to arouse his ambition, by holding out the possession of the world as its result.

In opposition to the ambitious aspirations of the western power, there was only one

* T'ai was then the name of the present T'ai-t'ung fu in the N. of the modern Shansi, where there exists still a district city called Ma-yih 馬邑.

line of policy left to the eastern states, namely stoutly to oppose the aggressive dispositions of the western neighbour, and as each single-handed would, most likely, have proved too weak to do it successfully, they would have to forget their private quarrels in order to unite into one powerful phalanx and thus to resist the mighty foe.

The man thus wanted by the eastern states was, therefore, one who should be able to bring about such a federation, who should prevail upon the several princes to lay aside their old grudges, to renounce also any hankering after imperialism, which some of them, as for instance those of Ts'u and Ts'i, had themselves been harbouring for some time, and to enter into a close federation, under the device of 'one for all and all for one,' with the object not only to oppose the aggressive neighbour, but to reduce him by force of arms, to complete innocuousness.

If there was any chance to achieve such a result, Su Ts'in, owing to his power of speech and his diplomatic skill, was certainly the man who could bring it about. He knew it himself and so he now resolutely wiped out from his banner the word 'Imperialism,' and put 'Federalism' in its stead, going over, with flying colours, into the camp of the eastern powers.

4. SU TS'IN, AN APOSTLE OF FEDERALISM.

In the East, Su Ts'in met, at first, likewise much difficulty in having his worth acknowledged. After his departure from Ts'in, he had first proceeded to Chao, but only to find the way to the ruling prince barred by a minister, who was ill affected towards him. He directed therefore his steps to the most northern of the states, to that of Yen. Here again his patience was severely tried, as he had to wait for over a whole year, before he could gain admittance to the prince.

At last the eagerly sought for audience was granted, when Su Ts'in addressed the following speech to his most serene Highness

Wên How 文侯*: 'The reason why your State has not yet been drawn into war is because Chao covers your southern frontier. Moreover, if the sovereign of Ts'in were to attack you, he would have to cross a distance of some thousand *li*, while, if that of Chao wanted to fight you, the distance to be crossed would be less than a hundred *li*. Now if you wish to feel no anxiety about a danger which is within a distance of a hundred *li*, and at the same time beware of one that is more than a thousand *li* away, the best plan will be to conclude an alliance with Chao for, as long as the empire keeps united, your state has nothing to fear.'

Wên How readily perceived the advantage which would accrue to his state from the proposed alliance and not only declared himself ready to enter into it but provided Su Ts'in also with cars, horses, money and silk to proceed to Chao. As the Minister, who on his previous visit there had prevented his getting an audience, was by this time dead, he was at once admitted into the presence of the marquis Suh How 肅侯, whom he harangued as follows: 'At the present time Chao is the most powerful state among those situated on the East of the mountains, while at the same time it is that which Ts'in is most in fear of. If, nevertheless, the sovereign of Ts'in has not yet dared to levy an army and to attack you, it is from fear lest Wei and Han may plan something in his rear. It is evident, therefore, that these two states cover your southern frontier. Should, however, the sovereign of Ts'in attack them, as there is neither a large stream nor a high mountain ridge covering their frontiers, he could slowly eat them up so as to reach their capital. They could then no longer offer resistance to Ts'in, and would necessarily submit to its rule. But as soon as

they would have thus been removed out of the way, the calamity would forthwith reach Chao too.

'A glance at the map of the Empire shows that the totality of the vassal states include five times as much territory as that of Ts'in, while their armies are ten times more numerous. If therefore the six states were to unite their strength and march towards the West, Ts'in would be no match for them. In spite of this fact, there are counsellors of the Lien-hêng school (Imperialism)* who urge their princes to give up territory to Ts'in and to submit to its rule, should Ts'in get its design; these counsellors would themselves not fail to enjoy much honour, but would not care a bit for the distress brought upon their state.

'For that reason I venture to suggest that the States of Han, Wei, Ts'i, Ts'u, Yen and Chao conclude an alliance with the object of repelling Ts'in. Let their generals and chancellors conclude the following treaty: "Should Ts'in attack one of the six states, the other five will despatch their best soldiers to repel Ts'in. Should any one of the states fail to do so, then the other five will unite to punish it." In this way the soldiers of Ts'in will not dare to come out from the Han-kuh Pass 函谷關† to ravage the country East of the mountains.'

* The Sze-ki calls them here 衡人.

† This is the pass which at that time formed the barrier between the State of Ts'in and its eastern neighbours. It is placed by the Chinese geographers in the districts of Lingpoo, Shen Chow, Honan, and must therefore be sought for about two or three days' journey to the E. of the modern Tung-kwan Pass. Dr. Williamson must have passed through it when in 1866 he travelled from Si-ngan Fu to Shen Chow. He describes in his 'Journeys in North-China' I, p. 389, that part of the route on which that pass must be situated as follows: 'Leaving Tung-kwan, we now made for Kai-fung fu; we diverged to the S. E. keeping the southern side of the Yellow River . . . We now entered one of the great passes, which lead into Honan. This was just a continuous defile, cut out by traffic, in the midst of immense sand-hills [Loess?], where

* These speeches are given according to the shorter account as found in the 'Annals,' with only an occasional addition from the Sze-ki.

The Marquis Suh was much pleased with the plan of Su Ts'in and readily acquiesced in the proposed measure. He gave princely presents to the diplomatist, consisting of one hundred cars, 20,000 taels of gold, one hundred pairs of white gems, and a thousand pieces of embroidered silk, that he might go and present himself with the necessary splendour at the court of the other princes and gain them for the intended confederation.

5. HOW CHANG I BECAME CHANCELLOR OF TS'IN.

Before Su Ts'in could proceed further on his errand, the State of Ts'in made a fierce attack on Wei 魏, which resulted in the capture of the latter's general, Lung Kia 龍賈, and the loss of its city of Tsze-yin 離陰 (in present Yuen-ngan-fu, Shen-si), B.C. 333. This unexpected move on the part of the western power perplexed Su Ts'in not a little. If Ts'in were to pursue its success and forthwith march on the other eastern states, it was quite possible that there would not be left time enough for him to conclude his negotiations. Su Ts'in saw therefore the advisability of gaining at the western court a secret agent, who, while seemingly serving Ts'in, would in reality further the interests of the federation. The scheme was not an honest

the road would not permit two carts to pass . . . About the middle of the afternoon, we reached the great gate which divides Shensi and Honan. We . . . hoped that the country would improve, but in vain, still the defile was before us and sandbanks excluding any view, oftentimes 200 feet high on either hand. Towards evening we emerged on a level plain, by the banks of the Yellow River . . . Next day our road lay along the banks of the Yellow River . . . About 11 o'clock we made Wen-hiang. Leaving this city we came upon immense fields of cotton . . . Next day the road was still bad. In the forenoon we passed a well-known range of hills and through another famous pass, which a few resolute men could easily defend against all comers' . . . As the traveller reached Ling-pao the same evening, that 'famous pass' must have been the Han-kuh Pass which is so often mentioned in the early history of China.

one, it is true, but at that time diplomatists were even less particular about such matters, than they usually are.

The only difficulty was to find the proper man to be entrusted with such a delicate mission. Su Ts'in thought immediately of his old friend, Chang I, who had been initiated together with him in the art of 'up and across' by the recluse of the 'Demons' Gorge.' But it was not easy to make him acceptable to the Ruler of Ts'in. Chang I was a native of Wei, and his friendship with Su Ts'in was notorious, how could it be hoped that the western power would, under such circumstances, entrust him with an influential position? In order to overcome this difficulty, Su Ts'in resolved on the following artifice. He sent a trusted friend to induce Chang I to call on him, without however letting him know that it was Su Ts'in who wished to see him. The messenger succeeded in bringing Chang I to Chao in order to see his former fellow disciple. But Su Ts'in on hearing of his arrival, gave orders neither to let him come into his presence nor to allow him to depart again, until he had kept him waiting a number of days, whereupon he at last invited him to his table, previous to granting him the asked-for interview. But he did so only to have an opportunity to treat him with the most refined contempt. He assigned him a seat at the lowest end of the table where he was served with the food of slaves and concubines, and, after the meal, he addressed him in the following brutal fashion: 'With capacities such as you are possessed of to present yourself in such destitute condition—indeed I would rather prefer to lose my power of speech! Though I had the wish to help you to some position, how would you be able to hold it!' With these scathing remarks he sent him away. Chang I left, of course highly incensed by the gratuitous insult he had met on the part of his former fellow disciple, and thought about the means to revenge himself on him. As Su Ts'in was then patronized by the Ruler of

Chao, Chang I resolved on taking service in the only state that was a match for Chao, namely Ts'in. Now this was just what Su Ts'in had wanted to bring about. Chang I had scarcely crossed the frontier of the western State, when Su Ts'in sent a trusted messenger with valuable presents in his wake. The latter took his lodgings in the same inn which Chang I was living in, seeking an opportunity to present to the latter the carts, horses, money and silks which he had brought for him. Chang I being then quite a destitute, was in sad want of all that was necessary to smooth his way at the court of the reigning Prince of Ts'in. We may therefore easily surmise the gratitude which he felt for the noble stranger, who so magnanimously put him suddenly in possession of all that was required to present himself before Hwei-wên Kung. The latter, who meanwhile had overcome his former aversion for foreigners, was moreover so much pleased with Chang I, that he immediately appointed him 'Guest Minister' 客卿, with whom to consult about the means of attacking the states and to establish his sway over the whole empire.

It was not until Chang I was well seated in that position of trust, that the retainer of Su Ts'in proceeded to disclose to the former the artifice which his master had recourse to, to make the world believe in an irremediable rupture between the two friends, and so to make it possible for Chang I to prove agreeable to the court of the western power. He called on Chang I, apparently to take leave from him, when the latter expressed anew his sense of gratitude for the timely help he had given him. The messenger then said: 'It was not I who helped you, Sir, it was Mr. Su; he was in fear lest Ts'in might attack Chao before the conclusion of the federation and thereby cause the explosion of his scheme. He knew also, that nobody besides you, Sir, would be able to get control of the power of Ts'in, so he aroused your anger and sent

me in your wake to offer you secretly these presents. I was therefore only executing the plan of Mr. Su and now that you, Sir, have got employment, may you be pleased to let me return, to inform my master.'

Most unexpectedly Chang I now declined the overtures made to him by the messenger of Su Ts'in. 'I am sorry,' he exclaimed, 'that it should have been possible for me to be a party to such a trick, without myself becoming aware of it! It is clear that I am not the equal of Su Ts'in! Moreover I have scarcely stepped into office, how could Chao have any help from me? Please excuse me with Mr. Su. He being in office, how could I dare to open my mouth and as long as he is living, how could I be of any use to him?'

Still it must not be supposed that Chang I, in refusing to play the part of traitor in Ts'in, for the benefit of the other states, among which was his own, was moved by any higher motive. He disliked only his being condemned to play an accessory part in an enterprise, in which Su Ts'in would necessarily be the prime mover, and to be preferred to his antagonist.

As for Su Ts'in, he had of course never thought that matters would take such a turn. Whilst intending to gain, in the person of his friend, a valuable assistant for the overthrow of the common foe, he had only been instrumental in sending into the latter's camp, to promote there the interests of 'imperialism,' a diplomatist, more clever and more astute than almost any then living.

6. SU TS'IN CONTINUES CANVASSING THE EASTERN STATES.

After the miscarriage of his bold project, Su Ts'in had nothing left but to pursue single-handed his arduous undertaking. He continued his tour by proceeding first to Hân, whose ruler King Siuen-hwei 宣惠王,* he 'allured' in the following manner. 'The territory of your State,' he said, 'com-

* The Princes were then beginning to assume the title of King.

prises over 900 square *li*, while its soldiers number a hundred thousand. It produces the best weapons which its soldiers know so ably to use, that every single man is certainly worth a hundred. Great King! if, nevertheless, you should submit to Ts'in, its ruler would at once ask for I-yang 宜陽 (still a district city in Honan-fu) and Ch'êng-hao 成皇 (a city no longer existing, E. of Kung in Honan-fu). Should you comply with his wish, he would the next year ask for more. Should you yield again, you would finish by having nothing left to give him; should you refuse to give more, then that which you formerly have given him, would be lost, besides drawing on you some more calamity. Moreover the territory of Han is limited, while Ts'in's greediness is unbounded. If now, with a limited territory, one were to satisfy unbounded greed, there would necessarily result animosity and dangers. The territory would get lost without even freighting a single battle. A common proverb says: "It is better to be a fowl's beak, than the hinder parts of an ox." Now if with your Majesty's virtues, combined with the bravery of the soldiers of Han, you were not more than "the hinder parts of an ox," I would not help feeling ashamed for your Majesty.'

That harangue had quite the wished for result, for the ruler of Han, on hearing it, suddenly bridled up; he shook his arm and opened his eyes wide, seizing his sword, and, looking up to heaven, he said with a deep sigh: 'Whatever my own worth may be, I will certainly never submit to Ts'in. Having heard your excellency communicate the instructions of the King of Chao, I will in reverin obedience to the gaardian spirits of my State, join the proposed federation.'

Su Ts'in then went to Wei 魏 to 'allure' King Hwei 惠王,* and addressed him in the following manner: 'Your Ma-

jesty's territory extents over one thousand square *li*; but though the state may be considered to be of a limited extent, still it is very well populated, so that you can dispose of over 600,000 well trained and veteran soldiers, 100,000 camp-followers, 600 war-chariots and 5,000 cavalry-horses. If, nevertheless, there are a multitude of officials urging you to submit to Ts'in, I would ask you to reflect, before doing so, on what I have said.'

The King of Wei then declared himself likewise ready to enter the federation. Accordingly Su Ts'in proceeded thence to the East to win King Sün 宣王 of Ts'i 齊, to whom he addressed the following harangue: 'Ts'i is naturally fortified on its four sides, its territory comprises 2,000 square *li* and its warriors number several hundreds of thousands. Its provisions of grain form quite a mountain; should a war break out, there would be no need to make levies in remote parts, as the capital itself is able to furnish 210,000 men. Now the reason why Han and Wei are in dread of Ts'in, is that they are its next neighbours. If a war were to break out, it would be divided before ten days should have elapsed; even should Han and Wei come out victorious, they would have to sacrifice half their soldiers, and there would not be enough left to guard the frontiers. But should they lose a battle, then their states would be endangered. It is for that reason that Han and Wei stand so much in awe of Ts'in and are not disinclined to submit to it.

'As for Ts'in attacking Ts'i, it would be quite a different thing. It would leave Han and Wei in its rear, to go through Yang-tsin 陽晉 (a city in the present Ts'ao-chao fu, Shantung), and to cross the pass of Hang-p'u 亢父 (60 *li* South of Tsi-nan-fu, Shan-tung), where the cars cannot move, where horsemen cannot advance in order and a hundred men are sufficient to defend a defile against a thousand. If, nevertheless, Ts'in should persist in invading your state, it could not do so

* See the Annals. The Sze-ki calls him King Liang 襄王; about that discrepancy, see L. C. II., Prol. p. 83, foot-note.

without using the utmost circumspection, lest Han and Wei should plan something in its rear. It is for that reason that it uses so much circumspection and that though comporting itself in such a haughty manner, still it dares not advance.

'All these considerations go far to show that Ts'in can do no harm to Ts'i. It is therefore a great mistake of your ministers, not to take these things into consideration and to think of submitting to the Western State. I hope Your Majesty will bestow your attention to this matter.'

The King of Ts'i, having listened to Su Ts'in's speech, declared himself also ready to enter into the proposed federation. He did so even in such humble terms as one would not have expected from a sovereign of so large and powerful a state. He said: 'I have no capacities, am only guarding the sea in this lonely remote country and my state forms the eastern-most frontier [of the Empire]. Heretofore I had no opportunity to receive instructions from anybody, but now that you, Sir, have communicated to me the announcement of the King of Chao, I will reverently enter the proposed alliance.'

On this Su Ts'in proceeded in a south-westerly direction finally to 'win' King Wei 威王 of Ts'u 楚; he addressed him in the following manner: 'The state of Your Majesty is the largest in the Empire; it extends over 6,000 square li and its warriors number a million; it possesses 1,000 war-chariots and 10,000 cavalry-horses and its granaries contain provisions for ten years. With such resources you may yet hope to attain to the leadership of the princes. It is for that reason also that Ts'in fears no state more than yours. In fact the relative position of both states is such that they cannot exist together. If therefore you join the alliance of the other states, they will all cede you some territory as a token of submission to you, while, if you should join Ts'in, you will be obliged to give up territory to Ts'in and to submit

to its rule. Now these two schemes differing so widely, which does Your Majesty choose to follow?'

The King of Ts'u answered: 'My state borders in the West on that of Ts'in, which aims at Pa 巴 and Shuh 蜀* and at Han-chung 漢中†. With such a voracious state it is not possible to conclude an alliance. On the other hand, as Han and Wei are in constant distress from Ts'in, it is likewise impossible to enter into intimate planning with them, lest, after having done so, they may nevertheless finish by joining Ts'in. It is for this reason that no plan has as yet been made and that my state is becoming endangered. I estimate my state alone to be no match for Ts'in, neither can my ministers be relied on. I do not therefore enjoy either my sleep or my meals, being as unsteady as a flag in the wind, and knowing of no means to come to rest. But now that your Excellency intends to unite the whole empire by inducing the princes to conclude an alliance and thus to rescue the endangered states, I will not fail to enter into the proposed federation.'

In this way the six states concluded an offensive and defensive alliance on the terms proposed by Su Ts'in. The latter was of course nominated head of the federation and common chancellor of the six states.

7.—SU TS'IN AT THE HEIGHT OF HIS GLORY.

Su Ts'in retraced now his steps towards the North to report to the King of Chao the result of his mission. Every one of the princes had given him a guard of honour to accompany him thither. These with necessary cars, horsemen and store waggons constituted quite a formidable procession. On arriving at the imperial residence of Loh-yang 雒陽, which was Su Ts'in's native place, the Emperor there took fright

* Two regions in present Sze-chuen.

† South of present Shen-si, at that time part of Ts'u.

and sent him valuable presents as required by the etiquette when receiving some honoured visitor.

As for his relatives, who formerly had made a mock of him, they dared not look at him now, and prostrated themselves before him on presenting him with food. Su Ts'in asked laughingly his sister-in-law: 'How is it that you were formerly so haughty and have now become so reverent?' The woman fell on her face and excused herself, saying: 'It is because I see you now in such a high position and possessed of such great riches!' Su Ts'in then heaved a deep sigh, saying: 'Such is the lot of men; if rich and honoured, their relatives stand in awe of them,* if poor and in a low position, they despise them; how much more will other people do so! Still if I possessed near the city of Loh-yang two hundred *mu* of fields, could I have become invested with the seals of the chancellorship for six states?' So he gave orders to distribute a thousand pieces of gold among his friends and relatives.

* This utterance has been construed into a proverb, quoted by Mr. Scarborough, in his 'Collection of Proverbs,' under No. 2,630.

貧窮則父母不予
富貴則親戚畏懼

'When one is poor, parents disown him,
But when rich, relations revere him.'

As in spite of the dignities he had been invested with, he behaved kindly towards his former friends and acquaintances, the following saying has arisen:—

蘇秦還是蘇秦
換了衣裳未換人

'Su Ts'in is Su Ts'in still,
The clothes are changed, but not the man!
(Vide Mr. Smith in 'Chinese Recorder,' 1883, p. 1.)

As to his sister-in-law, she has been immortalized by being made a type of those who like 'to cringe and bow to one in prosperity, whom in adversity they have slighted;' people of that stamp are said to be

像一個蘇秦的嫂子

'Like a sister-in-law of Su Ts'in.'
(Vide Scarborough, collection No. 1,062)

At the time when Su Ts'in had first gone to Yen, he had been obliged to borrow one hundred copper-cash for his expenses on the way, now that he had turned rich, he returned one hundred pieces of gold. In the same way he recompensed all those who had formerly shown him any favour.

The object which Su Ts'in had so anxiously laboured for, was now attained. The rulers of the six states, convinced by the powerful and able argumentation of the clever diplomatist, had one and all been won over, and readily entered into the proposed federation, while on his return to Chao, its marquis, Suh How, wishing to give him a token of his appreciation of his merit, created him 'Prince of Wu-ngan' 武安君.*

8. SIC TRANSIT GLORIA MUNDI.

If Su Ts'in had now been allowed time to summon together the hosts of the allied states,—we know from his harangue to the

* The Sze Ki (蘇秦紀) adds here that the Ruler of Chao communicated the terms of the treaty to the State of Ts'in and then continues: 'The armies of Ts'in dared not look at the Han-kuh Pass for fifteen years. After that time (其後) Ts'in sent Si-shiu (犀首, same as Kung-sun Yen, see L. C. II. p. 140) to deceive Ts'i and Wei into a joint attack on Chao and so to break up the federation.' According to this passage the conclusion of the federation, it would have frightened Ts'in so much as not to dare attack the allies again for the next fifteen years. But this view is not borne out by facts. The federation was broken up, before it could effect anything, according to the 'Annals,' as early as the year after its conclusion, B.C. 332, while we find Ts'in, from B.C. 339 downward, boldly facing again the Han-kuh Pass to attack the eastern states. The reference to the 'fifteen years,' presents therefore a serious difficulty, which it will be best to surmount in the way in which the 'Annals' have done it, viz. by simply ignoring it.

As for the two characters 其後, their nearest meaning would be, that after the fifteen years, Ts'in sent Si-shiu on his mission to Ts'i and Wei. But this is still less admissible; it must be taken as meaning that he did so 'after having got knowledge of the federation.'

There are many more discrepancies between the Sze Ki and the 'Annals' which it is impossible to harmonize. I generally follow the latter work.

marquis of Chao, that they would have amounted to ten times as many as Ts'in could put into the field,—the latter would certainly have had a hard time of it, and the establishment of imperialism in China, would probably have been retarded for some centuries longer.

But Ts'in was not to be taken aback. While Su Ts'in had been openly preparing the mine which was intended to blow up the western foe, the latter had not been inactive but secretly dugged a countermine. Ts'in had sent a clever diplomatist, Kung-sun Yen 公孫衍 (v. L. C. II. p. 140), also known under the name of Si-shin 犀首, to Ts'i and Wei 'to deceive' 欺 its rulers into making a joint attack on the state of Chao. The Sze-ki says distinctly that this was to be done with the purpose to break up again the federation that had just been brought about by Su Ts'in.

It is not said by what means Kung-sun Yen effected this most unexpected result; we know only that his intrigue met with complete success, for as soon as the year following that of the conclusion of the alliance, we indeed find Ts'i and Wei making, for some reason unknown, an attack on Chao. This, of course, caused the federation to break up again, after hardly one year's duration, and before it had effected the least result (B.C. 332).

We may easily surmise what feelings must have moved Su Ts'in, when he so unexpectedly witnessed the collapse of the scheme, for which he had so laboriously striven during a number of years. He was just staying in Chao when that State was so unexpectedly attacked by two of its yesterday's allies. The King at once summoned Su Ts'in into his presence and called him to account for the treasonable behaviour of Wei and Ts'i. But Su Ts'in himself was not less taken aback and unable as he felt to offer any explanation, he thought more of putting his person in safety, than of anything else. Under the pretext of inviting the sovereign of Yen to join that of Chao in

chastising Ts'i, he departed therefore for the northern state. Once there, he eagerly accepted the post of chancellor offered to him by the sovereign of Yen, happy to hide there the disgrace he brought upon himself by his discomfiture, though he actually disgraced himself still further by having illicit intercourse with his master's mother. Fearing the merited punishment, he departed for Ts'i. Its ruler at once bestowed on him his full confidence, by appointing him likewise his chancellor, when Su Ts'in knew of no better means to show his gratitude, than by secretly exciting the people to dissatisfaction, in order to further the interests of Yen. He acted in this treasonable fashion until he was assassinated by some jealous official. When the King called on his dying chancellor, the latter had still left strength enough to advise him to use the following stratagem for the detection of his murderer: 'After my death let my corpse be quartered as a punishment for my having fostered disorder in Ts'i for the benefit of Yen, when my murderer will certainly not remain hidden!'

To his very last breath, therefore, he verified the adage thenceforth connected with his name:—

蘇秦還是蘇秦，
換了衣裳未換人。

But the cause of Federalism did not die with Su Ts'in. His two brothers Su T'ai, 蘇代 and Su Li 蘇厲 and others continued to urge this policy upon the different states opposed to that of Ts'in, but their success, if success there was, was always but a partial and an ephemeral one.

A lasting and effectual federation would have presupposed honest, truthful and principled rulers, but such were not easy to find in those degenerate days, and thus imperialism was sure to bear the palm of the day. It had even become a logical necessity.

CH. PITON.

THE NINGPO DIALECT.

The Ningpo dialect, though perhaps that with which Europeans were earliest familiar in considerable numbers, appears to be that for which least has been done in the way of exhibiting local marks with precision. The romanized system initiated by the missionaries seems to have remained almost unchanged, and, though imperfect from a philological point of view, is quite good enough for all practical purposes, and is too deeply rooted to be changed: not to add that large numbers of Chinese have been trained to its use in such wise that a change would be undesirable, even if it were possible. There seems to be no special reason why the Ningpo dialect should have been singled out for romanization. Though perhaps half the words in common use have two sounds,—the theoretically proper and the actually existing,—yet the number of positively characterless words is not so great as in any one of the Hakka, Canton, or Foochow dialects, and not greater than in the Wénchow dialect. The Ningpo dialect, with its peculiar nasals, its impure initials, and its strange vowels, is less easy to romanize than any of the dialects mentioned. In bringing it under the uniform system under which have been exhibited the dialects of Hankow, Yangchow, and the above-named four, it needs hardly to be stated that the object is only to give it its place in comparative Chinese philology, which can never become a science, in the sense that West-

ern philology is a science, except on this or some other common basis.

The heads under which the dialect must be discussed are:—1. The initials. 2. The finals. 3. The tones. 4. The characterless sounds. 5. The duality of sounds.

The initials may be summarily stated to be precisely the same as those of Wénchow; that is, every English consonant is represented, though it occasionally happens that in these two dialects different initials are used for the same theoretical sound; thus, *k* for *c* or *ch*; *ts* for *ch*; *v* for *w*; *dj* for *j*; *ng* for *y*; and so on. Notwithstanding this, as a rule, each word may be said to begin with the same initial (though varied by hard and soft forms) in both dialects. This being so, it only remains to refer those interested in the subject to the *China Review* in order to ascertain what those initials are. With even fewer colloquial and characterless exceptions than in the Wénchow dialect, therefore, it must be stated that all words beginning with B, D, G, J, Dj, Dz, L, M, N, R, V, Ng, and Z are in the lower series, that is, the 下平, 下上. 下去 or 下入; and all words beginning with P, T, K, SH, CH, TS, H, HW, F, S, HS, HI, are in the upper series. There is no such peculiarity as exists in the extra-mural Wénchow dialect, under which the unaspirated upper P and T are pronounced clear B and D as distinct from the quasi-aspirated BH and DH of the lower

series. It is therefore possible to make a neater job of the whole affair, and say that (with the very few unimportant vulgar exceptions to appear in the tables) all sonant initials are lower series and are neither aspirated nor unaspirated, whilst all surd and sibilant initials are upper series whether aspirated or not. In order to have everything clear, a list of words in the sonant or lower series is given (irrespective of tone)

拔特共船乾纏勒馬納二

肥逆隨: *bud, dah, gung, jün, djien, dzien, lah, mo, nah, r (or êrh), vi, ngih, zei;*

and also a list of words in the upper series:

巴打家說出精漢灰法心

曉兄; *po, tang, ko (or chüo), shêh, ch'êh, tsing, heih, hwei, fuh, sing, hsioa, hiung.*

No further comment is required upon the majority of the above initials, but a very serious comment is required upon the shibboleth question. Though the distinction between *S* and *Sh* (which includes *Ts* and *Ch* and the lower forms *Z* and *J*, *Dz* and *Dj*) has not entirely disappeared, and, indeed, is quite preserved before many of the finals, yet before others it is either very faint, very irregular, or quite non-existent. In the Peking, Canton, and Foochow dialects (which, as we shall perhaps gradually show, are the least pure or most foreign-affected Chinese dialects) the distinction may be marked with absolute precision, or at least the rare exceptions may be classified and accounted for, but with the dialects of 吳 and 楚, (the true historical Chinese centre to which the pure Chinese had been driven by the Tartars and Tibetans, and including the dialects of Sz-ch'uan,* Hankow, Yangchow, Wenchow, and the Hakkas), the distinction between *s* and *sh* (with *ts* and *ch*, *z* and *j*, *dz* and *dj* where respectively existing) is, as it pro-

* The population of Sz Ch'uan is almost entirely immigrant from 楚. The former population was annihilated about 250 years ago.

bably always was, in a complete jumble. In short the pure Chinese are Ephraimites, and the others are Gileadites. We have not yet had an opportunity of including Amoy and Swatow in our scheme, and there is absolutely no mention whatever of this region up to the 8th century A.D. of Chinese history at least, but if the inhabitants of those environs have a proper respect for our speculations, they will turn out to be Gileadites too. The character of the pure Chinese partakes of the language,—slipperiness and want of precision; whilst the bold Tartar, the fiery Mantsz, and the indefinite personages who at some period have affected Foochow (and it is hoped Swatow and Amoy) have given a clear cut to the dialects developed by them. Possibly the Japanese will turn out to be the personages in question.

The distinction between *hi* 喜 and *si* 洗 (English *he* and *see*) has quite disappeared in Ningpo, but, strange to say, the distinction between *hih* 圓 and *sih* 屑 (English *hit* and *sit* minus the *t*) is occasionally clear, i.e. the *hih* are pronounced like *hsih*, and the *sih* with a purer *s*: but this is complicated by a number of words of the *hieh* 歇 and *sheh* 攝 classes, whose finals are also both *ih* in Ningpo. The first seem to be usually *hsih*, and the second *sih*. Thus the theoretical *h* before *i* becomes *hs*, and the theoretical *s* and *sh* are not distinguished: yet, in ordinary conversation, the whole may be lumped under the comprehensive *hs* (as in Peking) without risk of misapprehension. With regard to *hing*, *sing*, 興心; *hiao*, *siao*, 梟消; *hien*, *sien*, 軒先; *hie*, *sie*, 駭卸, and such; the distinction is uncertain and irregular, but either pure form may be used, or *hs* may be used: yet *h* pure may not be used for *s* pure, nor *vice versa*. In our tables, therefore, we have resolved to follow the example of the missionaries, and adhere to the theoretical (if not true ancient) initial *h* or *s* in all cases without exception: but with regard to *sh*, this initial must be

eliminated, except in so far as appears in the next paragraph.

Sh only appears before a very strange vowel which must be described as *ï*, being intermediate between *i* and *ü*, but yet not the same as the vowel in *tsz*. This vowel will be treated of under the finals: for the present it is enough to say that only pure *sh*, pure *ch*, and pure *j* precede this vowel. Thus 書世主知如緒 are pronounced (in pairs) *shï*, *chï* and *jï*. The initial may not be quite pure and may run into *hs* (with correlatively impure forms of *ch* and *j*), but at any rate it never becomes *s*, *ts*, or *z* pure. This initial with its vowel is not confined to words ending with vowels. Thus 神順鎮准人巡詢筭 are pronounced (in pairs) *jïny*, *chïny*, *jïny*, and *shïny*. Morrison's Ningpo Vocabulary uses *sh*, *c*, and *j* to represent the above three shibboleth initials, but fails to distinguish the vowel. Of course the *ch* includes the aspirated forms *ch'ï*, &c., e.g. 趣鼠. There is another final which only these three initials may precede,—the vowel contained in the English word *shut*. Thus 說刷 設 *shêh*; 拙出 *chêh* and *ch'êh*; 日 術集 *jêh*.

Doubtless many speakers of pure Ningpo, or at least many living very near to Ningpo, make the distinction between *h*, *s*, and *sh* (including *c*, *ts* and *ch*, and the lower forms) in accordance with theoretical rules: but, out of the confusion borne witness to by Morrison's defects, it is possible to lay down the following broad rules:

1. *Ts* and *c* (i.e. theoretical *k* or *ky*) are pure, or at least clearly distinguishable, before all vowels but those vowels named which can only take *j*, *sh*, *ch*, (i.e. *tsh*): with the single exception of pure *i* (e.g. *i*, *ing*), before which *ts* and *ci* are quite indistinguishable.
2. *S* and *h* (i.e. *hy* or *hs*) bear the same relation to *sh*. That is pure *sh* only occurs before the vowels, which we write *ï*, *é* and *ö*, and the other two

initials are clearly distinguishable except before *i* and *ing*.

3. The same may be said of *z* and *j* (corresponding respectively to *s* and *sh* on the one hand, and to *ts* and *ch* on the other) except that we can devise no intermediate lower form corresponding to *h* (*hy* or *hs*) and *c* (*ky* or *k*). *Zj* or *jz* would be unacceptable; yet, as a matter of fact, that is the indistinct Ningpo sound,—a mixture of both.
4. The same of *dz* and *dj*. No intermediate sound is easily expressible in letters.
5. Consequently our tables, owing to the defective resources of alphabets, cannot be brought to exactness. The Sanskrit and Russian alphabets between them might do it, but these are understood by few. To write *dzi* (i.e. *dzü*, *dzien*, &c.), or *dji* (i.e. *djü*, *djiën*, &c.), to express the lower form of *c*, as distinct from *dz* the lower form of *ts* and *dj* the lower form of *ch* (i.e. *tsh*), might answer in a way; but whilst marking a difference, the inexactness would be as great as ever.
5. So might *z*, *zi* (or *jï*), and *j* be used as the lower forms of *s*, *hs*, and *sh*; with the same incomplete results.

The same class of exceptions to theoretical rules exists in the Ningpo as in every other dialect. For instance 去 is vulgarly pronounced *k'ï*, and 拉 is accepted as being in the upper series. In addition to these two cases, there are a number of colloquial words under *l*, *m* and *n*, which initials of strict right belong, like all other sonants, to the lower series. Morrison marks the distinction between the lower upper series by a *◡*. In all other cases our alphabets possess separate letters, e.g. *t*, *d*, *p*, *b*, *v*, *w*, &c., and therefore no such diacritical mark is required.

In Ningpo *v* is, as it should be, the lower form of *f*, e.g. 非, 肥, and is not

promiscuously used, as in Wênchow, with *w* the lower form of *u*.

W, however, is the lower form of both *u* and *hu*, i.e. (as in Wênchow) by a sort of emphasis, like a weak aspirate, the lower series strikes the medium between a strong aspirate and none at all: thus *u* 烏, 呼 *hu*, are both represented in the lower series by *wu* or *whu*, the sound of both 無 and 胡. Thus in our tables a certain amount of repetition is necessary under *w*. So *wei* 會 is the lower form of both *hwei* 諱 and *uei* or *wai* 喂.

Y is the same. It is the lower form of *i* and *hi*. Thus 烟軒 *yeñ* (i.e. *ieñ*) and *hieñ* (or *hsieñ*) are 音賢, i.e. both *yeñ* in the lower series. Morrison for Ningpo, as Williams for Canton, uses *i* for the upper initial. The function of *w* and *y* as aspirated or stress vowels or sonants did not strike the writer when he published his first tables, which have now run through eight or nine dialects, and in order to secure uniformity he makes no change; but when, from these tables as a basis, a reconstruction of the whole of the Chinese dialect sounds shall be undertaken, this matter should be carefully looked to. Similarly *ü* and *hü* are represented by *yü*. Thus 魚 *yüing*, 云 *yüing*; 鴛 *üeñ*, 員 *yüeñ*.

R must be viewed as an initial, because, as it has now first struck us, all *érh* [而兒耳二] must be in the lower series. The vowel here is our old acquaintance found in *sz* and *tsz*. The Ningpo people have also *m*, *ng*, *dz* and *zz*, but no *n* like the Wênchow people. A few words may serve to clarify this intricate *érh* question.

Let us assume that the most ancient sound of 而 uttered by the most ancient tribe was *zz*, as it now is in Wênchow. Now *jj* is the soft form of *zz*, just as *sh* is of *s*: thus the transition to *jj* (precisely the sound of the modern Pekingese *jih* 日) is quite natural. As in Peking the initial *j* is in some mouths hardly distinguishable by Europeans from weak English *r*, hence 而 *rr* is accounted for; and the Pekingese reserve the *j* for the sounds 日 and 肉,

which properly belong to the entering tone. So do the Sz Ch'uan people, in whose mouths the second obscene character or sound is heard all day long. In Ningpo, Sz Ch'uan, and Peking, in order to make the sound *rr* sonorous, extra emphasis has been given to it, and it is now unmistakably *urh* or *érh*, which sound is an exorcism, in the sense that it is a growth unharmonious with that mysterious system of rhymes and rules to which all dialects rigidly conform in theory. The Yangchow people have gone further, and made it *orh*, in such wise that *oa* and *orh* [敖兒], the one starting from *ngao* and the other from *zz*, have become indistinguishable. In Hankow and parts of Hu Nan the people utter their *rr* in the way that an Englishman who says 'wun' or 'wyun' for 'run' would. They utter something like *ng* (as has been previously explained in detail). *J* being in many places interchangeable with *y*, the Cantonese, Foochowites, and Hakkas have drifted from *yy* (the liquid form of *jj*) to *yi* or *i*, or *ngi*. The Wênchow vulgar form of *zz* [耳] is *n*, which is the proper sound of 兒 and 二. In the same way the vulgar Ningpo form of *érh* 兒 is *ng*, and the vulgar form of 二 is *ngi*. But *n* and *l* are often indistinguishable, and *i* and *ü* (being occasionally, as has been shown, both merged in *i*) are closely related: hence 二 is pronounced *li* in the west of Chê Kiang. *Sz* is the upper form of *zz* for such dialects (e.g. Pekingese) as have no lower forms. *Ngi* is the way that those people who can't say *ni* (e.g. Hakkas, Ningpo, Wênchow) try to say it; hence the history of such characters as 弭彌輓, *m* as an initial being often confused with *n*. Thus *i*, *yi*, *jih*, *zz*, *sz*, *n*, *ng*, *ngi*, *ni*, *mi*, *rr*, *érh*, *órh*, *oa*, *ngoa*, *ngau*, are all in an etymological sense strictly accounted for.

As to the finals, the most startling thing in Ningpo is that the simple vowel *a* (as in *father*) has no regular existence.* Except

* In certain combinations 大, usually pronounced *dou* and *do* retains its proper form *da*.

f, *v*, and *sh*, every initial has words ending with *a*, but nearly all these are the double or vulgar forms of what should be *e*. To point to 拉卡哈 *la*, *k'a*, *ha* as exceptions (all of these being modern colloquial characters) goes to prove the rule. The function of *a*, therefore, is simple: it colloquially stands for 'average' *ai*, (where in Cantonese it is *ái* and not *oi*) e.g. 買賴帶, &c.; but the literary sound is *e* (Morrison's *ae*), a simple vowel fully explained in previous tables, and not the same as our *ae* or *ei*.

The short *ah* is like the *a* in *hat*, but the sound has a broad range, and includes almost every variety of short vowel from the *u* in *but*, through the *e* in *bet*, to the *a* in *pat*. The Ningpo dialect is wretchedly poor in 入聲 sounds, as evidences the following list of words, all of which have the same vowel: 拔白字奪賊盍末襪 八百不色率脫乏佛. It suffices to dispose of this vowel by saying that the entering sounds of the Ningpo dialect, unlike Cantonese, have no correspondence whatever in fact with the relative even or oblique tones. Besides words which properly end in *ah*, a good number which properly end in *ih* (石隻尺) also colloquially end in *ah*. Morrison divides this sound into two, *ah* and *eh*. Possibly some Ningpo speakers (or some neighbouring dialects) may exhibit two sounds, but the writer discerns no such distinction. Probably Morrison's idea was to keep theoretically distinct the words which in other dialects end in *ah* from those which end in *oh* and *eh*, but the following instances of his spelling will shew that, if he aimed at this, he has only been partially successful: 嚇 *hah*, 黑 *heh*, 客 *k'ah*, 刻 *k'eh*, 捺 *nah*, 訥 *neh*, 隻 *tsah*.

The nasal *a* (Morrison's *ang*, our *aŋg*, the

A few characters of the 矮挨 class are, again, apparently pronounced with *a*, both properly and colloquially. The character 他 is also pronounced *t'a*.

French final in *banc*), is in the same predicament as simple *a*. With very few exceptions, it is vulgarly used for *éng*, just as at Canton *áng* is vulgarly used for the same sound *éng*. Thus 橙爭棚生, and a host of other words have two readings, and the distinction between the colloquial and the literary sound is more insisted upon than in Canton. The only common word possessing a final *aŋg* of its own right is 打, a remarkable fact alluded to in the paper on the Wên-chow dialect where the corresponding sound is *tue*,—quite a regular transposition.

There is a second nasal *a* (Morrison's *aen*, our *aaŋ*), corresponding to the French *pain*. This sound requires very little remark: it merely represents those 'average' *an* which are in Canton pronounced *án*, and not *un* or *ám*. In other words, it is the Yangchow *aa*, as described in the paper on that dialect, where too the ghost of a nasal but not a true nasal is still heard. Thus 灣辦散, and all that class of words. A number of words which are properly read *hieŋ cieŋ* (奸監咸, &c.) are also vulgarly read with final *aaŋ* and the corresponding hard initial: e.g. *kauŋ* for *cieŋ*, *haaŋ* for *hieŋ*, *aaŋ* for *yeŋ*.

The final *e* (Morrison's *ae*) stands for 'average' *ai*. Those which are in Canton *oi* (代台災) never vulgarly change *e* into *a*, but always remain *e*. Those which are in Canton *ái* are nearly always vulgarly pronounced *a*, as has been explained. Both groups are in Yangchow *ae*, a different sound altogether.

The final *eh* (as in English *pet*), as is the case in Wênchow, only occurs after *ü*, e.g. *cüeh*, *yüeh*. This is the genius of the language. There are, however, four colloquial sounds which, like *k'i* and *ni*, are foreign to the genius of the language. To manufacture characters for the occasion, 弗 *feh* (English *fetch*) 'don't'; 嘩 *keh* (English *ketch*) 'that' or 'this'; 撥 *peh* (English *pet*) 'to give' are the exceptions, not noticed by Morrison.

The final *ei* (English *feint*, Morrison's *e*) appears to stand solely for average *ui*. Thus 推追雷, *t'ei*, *tsai*, *lei*, and others innumerable.

The final *eiñ* (Morrison's *en*, French *peigne*) is a new sound. It represents all the average *an* which are in Canton *am* or *on*. Thus 男漢 and the others. Moreover some *anñ* (e.g. 散簪) are in certain senses colloquially pronounced *eiñ*. Finally 內, as pointed out by Morrison, may be read both *nei* and *neiñ*, which is remarkable. To make understood this nasal, we must call attention to the four Sanskrit forms of *n*. *N* simple is considered the dental nasal belonging to dental *t*, that is, the *t* which, in Russian, carries a *znak trardi*, or 'hard mark.' It is unknown as a separate factor to English, French, German, Italian, &c. *N̄* with a dot above it corresponds to the guttural *k*, and is equivalent to our *ng*. The word *funky* illustrates the defective state of our spelling: we say *fungky* and not *fun-ky*, as anyone will see who compares the word with *pan-cake*. The third *n* has a dot below, and is really the English *n* corresponding to English *t* (*t* with a dot below): the English *n* and *t* are considered lingual by the Indians, and the Russians usually take the same view, by marking them with a *znak myagki* or 'soft mark.'

There is still a fourth *n*, namely, that marked with what is called a *tilde*, thus, *ñ*. This is considered in Sanskrit to correspond with palatals such as *ch* and *j*, as in the English words *punch*, *hinge*, &c. This is softer than the true soft Russian *n*, which, however, is perforce used by Russians to express also the French *gne* as in *Boulogne*. This last nasal is the nasal of the Ningpo *eiñ*. Nature might seem to ordain that the nasal following the sound *ei* shall be palatal or at all events not guttural, for the French themselves have no guttural nasals ending with that sound; their spelling of course has nothing to do with the question. But nature does not so ordain, for the Foochow

nasal in *peing*, *seing*, &c. (Baldwin's *peng*, *seng*) is purely guttural.

The final *éng* is between and includes both the vowels in the English words *sung* and *sang*. As in Wênchow, no line is drawn, but the quasi *a* sound is not so much preferred in Ningpo as in Wênchow. In fact the real nasal *a* in Ningpo is always as above explained what is called in Sanskrit *anusvara*, i.e. entirely in the nose, and not in the throat. In Peking the difference between *sung* (or *séng*) and *sang* (there a longer *a* sound than English *sang*) is distinct: in Canton it has always been debatable whether a short *a* or a short *u* should be employed for what we write *é*. Many excellent foreign speakers say what sounds to Englishmen like *Fatshán*, and others say *Futshán*. The fact is the short Sanskrit *a* in question (as in Panjaub or Punjaub) has no recognized existence in Europe, except perhaps in English, and even there only when followed by a consonant. Perhaps it would be more correct to say that the English have two vowels, as in *hut* and *hat*, neither of which is, or both of which are the vowel in question,—according to how the point is looked at.

The final *éh* is precisely the vowel *u* in the English words *chuckle*, *judge*, *shuttle*; and the characters 拙絕 and 說 are pronounced as those three words, minus all that follows the *u*. The vowel is the same as the Yangchow vowel in such words as 德物 &c., but in Ningpo it stands for a different set of theoretical finals as 咬刷 殷實 will show. It is impossible to bring the group under any theoretical head except that their Cantonese forms would always end in *t* or *p*, and never in *k*. Thus 日術集熟入 are pronounced *jéh*. As already shown elsewhere, Sir Thomas Wade's final *é* is defective, for his *tén* (English *ton* or *tun* minus *n*) is the same as *tuck* minus *ck*, whereas his ㄣ represents a very different sound, coming between *ö* and *o*, not found in any of the other dialects examined by us. No other initials but *sh*, *ch*,

ch', *j* and *dj* can stand before this final. There is one colloquial exception *wēh* for *ō* 'a house' 屋 which does not fall within the true genius of the language. The word 鼻 or *bi* is also colloquially pronounced *bēh döü* 鼻頭, like the English word *bud*, followed by the very un-English diphthong *öü*.

The final *ei*, as stated, is regular, and may be said to stand for *ei* and *wei* (Wade's *ui*) as the following examples, embracing all the initials that can precede *ei*, will show 賠頹灰貴奎雷美內杯丕 綏堆推追龜餽會蕊危 *bei*, *dei*, *hwei*, *kwei*, *k'wei*, *lei*, *mei*, *nei*, *pei*, *p'ei*, *sei*, *tei*, *t'ei*, *tsei*, *ts'ei*, *gwei*, *wei*, *zei*, *ngwei*. There is a colloquial exception *hei*, 'to betroth,' which evidently stands for 許 *hsü*, inasmuch as a large proportion of *ü* become *i* in Ningpo, e.g. 呂慮.

The final *i* include those *i* which are in Canton *ai*, e.g. 齊, as well as those which are universally *i* e.g. 衣. It also includes a number of *ü* e.g. 徐旅 *zi li*, but not all, like the same words in Hakka. The final *anusvara* in such words as 嚴年 *ngieñ* is so faint that it may be said to have (at least with many speakers) entirely vanished, and become quite indistinguishable from *ngi* 宜. The two separate vowels *i* and *e*, however, are quite clear in *ngie* 愈廿, and the word 驗 seems to be pronounced *ngi*, *ngie*, or *ngieñ*. The true solution probably is that in the even tone the *anusvara* has entirely gone, but not in the oblique tone. A similar confusion between *i* and *ie* was shown to exist in Wénchow.

The short *ih* (English *pit*) is a vast sink into which fall most natural *ih*, and besides most *eh* and *ieh*. Thus 吉摺 are both *chih*, or *cih* and (if we recognize, as the writer does, the faint distinction between *tsih* and *chih*) 接積 are both *tsih*. Things are further complicated because, as happens often with Cantonese, an extra *t* is inserted in some words before the sibilant. Thus 沙木 *djih* are the same as

及 and are almost indistinguishable from *dzih* 值疾. There is no distinction between such words as 歷 and 列 or between 惜 and 攝, or between 鐵 and 剔. A similar confusion between *ei*, *e*, *ie*, and *iei*, was shown to exist at Yangchow; but, strange to say, there it is only the entering tone words which keep the *i* separate from the *e*; whilst, in Ningpo, it is only the entering tone words which do not. Moreover, it is impossible to say whether 亦 is *yih* or *yeh*, and whether *chih* is not as much *chieh* or *cheh*; but our decision for *ih* agrees with that of the old Ningpo system still adopted.

The termination *ing* includes average *in*, from which, in Ningpo as at Foochow, Wénchow, and Yangchow *ing* is not distinguished. Thus 名民 are both *ming*. A certain number, if not all of those *in* which are in Canton and Peking *ên* or *ém*, also fall under this final: thus 眞任 *cing* or *ching*, *zing*. The Ningpo missionaries have not distinguished this final from the approximate final *ing* which bears the same relation to *ing* that *chī* does to *chih*, but as they reserve *ch* for one class and *ts* and *c* for the other, almost the same result is attained. The final *ing* can only come after *sh*, *ch*, *j* and *dj*. Thus 詢准神 *shing*, *ching*, *jing*.

The final *ia*, except in the word 爹 *tia*, occurs as a vulgar form of *ie*: thus 且, 卸 *ts'ia*, *sia*.

The final *iah* serves to rescue a number of *ieh* from the *ih* sink; thus 帖碟挾 *t'iah*, *diah*, *yah*. It also includes a number of words ending in theoretical *ioh*: thus 暑 藥削 *liah*, *yah*, *siah*.

Final *ieñ* stands for the mandarin *ien*, and is precisely the French *ieñ* in *bien*, *tiens*, &c. Thus 錢天 *dzieñ*, *t'ieñ*. It also stands for a number of words which are *an* in Peking and *in* or *im* in Canton. Thus 染閃 *zieñ* *sieñ*. The Ningpo missionaries write this final *in*.

Final *ie* only comes after *c* and *ts*, *hs*, *z* and *ng*. Thus 街且駭謝愈 *cie*,

ts'ie, *hsie*, *zie*, *ngie*. In the first two the fourth, and similar cases, the vulgar forms are *ka*, *ts'ia*, *xia*; and in the fifth and similar cases there is as often an *anusvara* as not: thus *ngieñ* or *ngie*. The Ningpo missionaries write this final *iae*, which is very unsatisfactory, as *aen* is also used by them to denote the widely different sound which we write *aañ*.

Our *oa* and *ioa* which the missionaries (perhaps with better judgment) write *ao* and *iao* stand for the ordinary *au* or *ao*: thus 標高. It would be better for comparative purposes to write *oao* and *ioao* to represent what is very like the diphthong in English *paw* with, in addition, an incomplete closing of the mouth or bringing together of the lips as in *cow*. There is a distinctly marked gradation of forms from the pure and unadulterated *oa* in Foochow to the pure German *au* in Peking. The Yangchow and Ningpo sounds are different from each and from each other, but the former comes nearer to Foochow and the latter to Peking.

The final *iu* shares with the final *ü* the representation of those words which are *iu* and *eu* in mandarin and *au* in Canton. Thus 酒修謬受 *tsiu*, *siu*, *miu*, *ziu*; but 牛頭豆 *ngiu* (vulgar *ngöü*) *döü*, *döü*. All words perhaps which are (in Wade's spelling) *ou* in Peking are *öü* in Ningpo. The missionaries write this final *eu*; but, as a matter of fact, their *seu* 叟 is (apart from tone) pronounced precisely as Williams' 須 or *sü* in Canton. It is interesting to note that 丟 is *tia* in all the ten dialects we have examined: also to notice that 彪 preserves in several dialects the tradition that it ought to be *piu* in all. It is remarkable that 褒 is *pou* in Yangchow and *pöü* in Ningpo, though it should be *poa* in both. Also that both in Yangchow and Ningpo there is an alternative pronunciation *m* for a few words, such as 母畝, which are properly *mou* and *möü* in those dialects respectively. Whilst in Yangchow the 某 class is *mou* instead of

being *méo*, in Ningpo for some strange reason 某 *mou* is distinct from 謀 *möü*.

The final *o* has hardly a definite status of its own. As in Wanchow it stands for the mandarin *a*: thus 巴罷查蛙沙 *po*, *bo*, *dzo*, *wo*, *so*. A certain number of 'proper' *o* are also *o* in Ningpo: thus 所朶我 are *so*, *to*, *ngo*. Nearly all the *ö* are vulgarly pronounced *o*. Thus 蛇車遮惹 are vulgarly *dso*, *ts'o*, *tso*, *zo* instead of *jö*, *ch'ö*, *chö*, *jö* thus changing both initial and vowel. Roundly speaking, all *chiö* [家架 &c.] are vulgarly pronounced *ko*. The Ningpo missionaries write this final *ö*.

The Ningpo *oh* (as in English *pot*) include theoretical *uñ* as well as *woh* and *oh*. Thus 卜北 are both *poñ*; 逐着 are both *dzoñ*; and 國谷 are both *koñ*. This final does not embrace so large a variety of theoretical finals as do *ah* and *ih*. Morrison appears to distinguish in some places a final *öh* from *oh*, but there is no such distinction in fact, and as a rule he writes *oh* as we do for both classes.

Oñg (as in French *bon*) represents Pekingese *ang* and Cantonese *ong*. Thus 防方堂傷 *boñg*, *foñg*, *doñg*, *soñg*. But a certain number of Cantonese *öng* also fall under this final. Thus 上章常 *zoñg*, *taoñg*, *dzoñg*; and apparently all the 雙爽 class, which are *soñg*.

Ö stands for Cantonese *e* and Pekingese *ê* (not the short vowel in English *one* [*wên*] but something between the vowel in the English *chaw* and *chair*: in fact it is the pure short sanskrit *α*, prolonged instead of being short, and might therefore be written *éé*). Thus 惹嗟 (the last being exceptional in Peking) 蛇奢扯車. In almost all cases this final is vulgarly *o*, which involves a change from soft *sh*, *ch*, *j* to hard *s*, *ts*, and *x*. Morrison avoids this final altogether, taking refuge in colloquial *ae* and *ö* (our *e* and *o*).

Oñ (Morrison's *ün*) stands as a rule for Cantonese *ün*, and no other dialect will fit in as well. The following characters will exemplify the algebraical value of *öñ*: 撰

泉 both *djōñ*: 船 然 善 軟 all *jōñ*;
 宜 酸 both *sōñ*; 荃 穿 both *ch'ōñ*.
 This final may take either a hard or soft
 initial, and some distinguish *sōñ* 宜 from
shōñ 酸; and of other pairs the same may
 be said *mutatis mutandis*.

Ou is the *ou* of Yangchow, the *o* of most
 other dialects. Morrison writes *o*. It is
 the *o* in English *soul*, *bone*. Thus 多 梭
 窩 婆 are *tou*, *sou*, *ou*, *bou*, or precisely
 the English words *toe*, *sew*, *owe*, *beau*—a
 fine set of specimens of English irregularity.

U is quite regular: thus 夫 杜 戶 路
 古 布 蒲 呼. The only thing to be
 noticed is that all *mu* are either *m*, *mou*, or
mōū. Compare the same class of words in
 the Yangchow dialect.

Ung may be said to be the Cantonese
ung: thus 中 龍 蒙 風 逢. There are
 a few outsiders, such as 統 *kung*, and (col-
 loquial) 崩 *pung*. The Ningpo people do
 not, as do the Foochow and Wenchow peo-
 ple, distinguish between the 冬 and 東
 rhymes.

U only occurs alone and after the initials
c, *dj*, *h*, *ng*. Thus 飲 預 据 拒 許
 愚 *ü*, *yü*, *eü*, *djü*, *hsü*, *ngü*. In all other
 cases it is turned into *i*, as 呂 *li*; or into
i, as 趨 *ch'i*.

The same may be said of *üeh* and *üēñ*,
 with the additional restriction that there is
 no final *ng*. Thus 厥 捐 *cüeh*, *cüēñ*: 倔
 權 *djüeh*, *djüēñ*: 月 員 *yüeh*, *yüēñ*.
 There are a few words of the *ngüēñ* class
 [元] which are practically the same as
ngü 愚], just as *ngüēñ* is the same as *ngi*.

Uo is a final which, like *ö*, exists chiefly
 in theory. Thus all average *kia* [佳 駕]
 are *cüo*, but invariably *ko* when it is possible
 to put them to colloquial use. So all *hia*
 [下 霞] are *yüo*, but invariably *o* in col-
 loquial. Similarly 亞 鴉, &c. are theore-
 tically *yüoa* or *üoa*; with many other col-
 loquial sounds. The solitary character 靴
 is also pronounced *hüo*, and no initials take
 this final but those named.

There is a very obscure final *üōñg* which

only takes the initial *c*: thus, 江 講 港
 炯 all *cüōñg*, but colloquially *koñg*.

Another not very common final is *cüung*
 迴, which is barely distinguishable from
 中 *tsung* (when the *ts* is softened to *ch*) on
 the one hand, and from 君 *cüing* on the
 other.

Uing is the *ün* or *üng* of the northern and
 southern *kwan hwa*, and only occurs after
c and *h* (or their lower forms *dj* and *y*) and
ng. Thus 君 羣 訓 云, and 郡, which
 last is either *ngüing* or *djüing*.

A reference to the tables will explain the
 peculiar position of the final *iañg*. As was
 explained in the papers published in the
Chinese Recorder of 1883, the Chinese do
 not seem to have conceived the distinction
 between English *ch* and *ts*, or between the
 Italian *c* (also practically the English *ch*)
 and *k*. Their conception has been to dis-
 tinguish between hard *ts* and *k* and soft *ts*
 and *k* (i.e. *tsj* and *kj*), both of which are in
 Pekingese *chi* e.g. *chiang*. It is possible
 that the Sanskrit alphabet with its three
 sibilants *s*, *sh* and the intermediate *hs* or *s*,
 may account for the Chinese ideas of initials,
 for, apart from soft *ts* and soft *k* there is a
 third initial *ts'h* (or pure English *ch*), which,
 it will be found, in no dialect precedes an
i or an *ü*. Thus 長 禪 represent in
 theory the hard initial *ts'h* before the finals
ang and *en* or *an*: 強 represents softened
k (*kj* or *c*) before the final *ang*: 祥 repre-
 sents the softened *ts* (*tsj* or *tj*) before the
 final *ang*. In dialects where the lower series
 is represented by what we call distinct con-
 sonants, *ts'h* becomes *dz'h*, *ks* should be *gj*,
 and *ts* should be *dj*, but the two latter are
 in practice both *dj*. The different dialects
 confuse this theoretically perfect system in
 different ways, and the result is the com-
 plete befogging of European enquirers, who
 themselves have only an imperfect set of
 alphabets to use. In Ningpo *ts'h* and *ts* (or
tsj) are not distinguished, consequently
 '長 and 蔣 are both either *chanñg* or
tsiañg, and 長 祥 are both either *djañg*

dziaŋg. It will be found that this defect pervades the whole dialect.

In Ningpo the *sz*, *tsz* are regular. Thus 死 子 是 嗣 此 *sz*, *tsz*, *zz*, *dz*, *ts'z*. Within this group fall certain of the 志 之 class as distinct from the 致 知 class: the two first are *tsz*; the two last, *chī* (a sound akin to Sir Thomas Wade's *chih*, which, as we have proved, is simply *tsz* with a softened *ts*). In Ningpo the last named 知 class meet the *chu* and *tsü* 咄 沮 classes on the common ground of *i*: thus these last three characters are all *chī*.

The final *iung* only occurs after *h* and *ng*: thus 兄 and 濃 絨 *hiung* (or *hsiung*) and *ngiung*.

The final *ouñ* represents the Yangchow *ou*, where that final stands for those *wan* which are in Canton *un*. Thus 官 寬 歡 *kouñ*, *k'ouñ*, *houñ*. Morrison writes this *un*.

The final *öñ* occurs after a few initials which cannot precede *öñ*: thus, 短 團 亂 媛 *töñ*, *döñ*, *löñ*, *nöñ*. Morrison writes this *ön*.

The last final *üoh* is best illustrated by examples: 角 覺 *ciüoh* (vulg. *koh*: 屬 *djiüoh*: 畜 旭 項 *hsiüoh*: 曲 *c'üoh*: 育 役 域 欲 *yüoh*.

It will thus be seen that Ningpo is extraordinarily rich in vowels, diphthongs, and nasals; but, in spite of this, is hopelessly at variance with the rhyming tables, or what we have elsewhere called the theoretical pronunciation.

The tones of Ningpo are, in theory, eight, but, in practice, six. The distinction between the 下 上 and 下 去 (e.g. as in the words 馬 and 罵, has absolutely disappeared. The distinction between the 上 上 and 上 去 (e.g. as in the words 點 and 店), though not absolutely gone, has vanished to all intents and purposes. This fact goes to strengthen one of our previous speculations upon the antiquity of tones, as we then expressed it: 'the theoretical distinction between the 上 and the 去, owing to the natural antagonistic working

of dialectical laws in different regions, has never been satisfactorily grasped as a whole; and, even if it has, has failed in practice.' Moreover, since this opinion was expressed, it has been further strengthened by the discovery that in Hakka, though the distinction between the 上 and 去 is clear, yet the two are much used alternatively in conversation.

Before, however, entering into further details upon this subject, it will be well to insert a full table of Ningpo sounds for convenience of reference.

The following table of Ningpo sounds exhibits a dialect from a new point of view. The upper and lower series question is thus brought prominently forward.

If it be compared with the Wénchow dialect, that of Ningpo will be found very much richer, inasmuch as the Wénchow dialect only contains 452 sounds, even when the lower series words are separately counted, whereas the Ningpo dialect contains 444 syllables, notwithstanding that it is practically short of two tones, (and thus loses a chance of putting in an odd local syllable here and there); and notwithstanding, again, that about 150 syllables beginning with sonants are counted as being identical with the same syllables beginning with surds. Probably not 44 of these 444 (or 600) sounds are absolutely characterless. There is an interesting chapter on local sounds in the Ningpo Annals, but there are very few of these which are not to be matched with colloquial characterless sounds in one or more other dialects, or with now practically obsolete characters invented by fancy writers, and still found in standard dictionaries. Between the dialects of Peking, Hankow, Sz Ch'uan, Yangchow, Canton, Hakka, Foochow, Wénchow, and Ningpo, it will be seen (if persons interested will take the trouble to look) that there is complete homogeneity; and, though the variations between this and that dialect are often greater (as regards oral difficulty) than the differences between Portuguese and French (as

one extreme), and no greater than between Flemish and Dutch (as another extreme), yet the rigid adherence of all to theoretical standards is more perfect than in the European languages or dialects, whilst colloquial local excrescences are, for the most part, common to all, and therefore are only tacit literary excrescences, i.e. excrescences by common consent not admitted into literary classification owing to their inelegance. It seems plain, on the one hand, the characters have in no way affected the free development of the language, whilst, on the other hand, the unchangeable aspect of the characters and the (as yet of improved date) absolute, theoretical, algebraical standard of sound given to them, have kept a literary guide for reference which, in all dialects to some extent, in Foochow very much, and in Ningpo most extensively of all, has produced a duality of sound.

The following table requires for use a word or two of special explanation.

Beginning with *a*, the *a*'s proper are first exhausted: but, as the lower form of *ha* is also *a*, with a slight stress, certain lower *a* recur under the initial *ha*.

B is the next letter in our alphabet, and the *b*'s are next exhausted; but, as *p* is the upper form of *b*, it is necessary to count *p* and *b* as one. *B*, also, is the lower form of aspirated *p* as well as of unaspirated *p*; but there is no need to repeat *b* for this reason.

All the successive alphabetical letters are next exhausted, in due order, in the way above described: notes are inserted here and there to explain repetitions and apparent irregularities.

It has been shewn in previous papers that enquiry so far pursued points to the lower series as being the oldest and the upper (and especially the Canton middle) series as being an offshoot. A comparison of the ancient alphabets also seems to shew that the surd consonants have been separately conceived of later than the sonants: this, however, is speculation; but the point should be borne in mind.

The tones of Ningpo are remarkable in the extreme. The two even tones are sufficiently distinguished by their initials, for no upper word beginning with a consonant can begin with the same consonant as a lower word; and, in the case of vowels, the lower series has a quasi-aspirate or stress, (as for instance in the French *Le Havre*), midway between the quite unaspirated word (e.g. *L'Avre*), and the clearly aspirated (e.g. English *haversack*). Otherwise, the two even tones are so alike that it is difficult to describe the difference intelligibly. The lower even tone is however the same as in Wenchow and Foochow. The upper even tone is almost the same as at either Peking or at Canton, but these two slightly differ from each other. Distinction can go no further: the two things are practically equal to the same third thing, (like squared circles), but are not equal to each other. The lower and upper rising tones are to all intents precisely the same as those of Canton: but the lower and upper departing tones are, in Ningpo, practically indistinguishable from the lower and upper rising tones. The two lower tones are absolutely indistinguishable, but the upper departing tone requires more explanation. It is distinguishable from the upper rising tone, and, when slowly and carefully uttered, precisely resembles the upper departing tone of Canton. The upper departing tone of Canton is, however, varied into what is called a 變音, which (as has been carefully explained in previous papers), first, makes many departing tone words sound as if they were in the upper rising tone; secondly, has corrupted several lower series words (e.g. 轎潤) into a pure upper rising tone. There is no such idea as that of 變音 in Ningpo; but in practice, as stated, the upper rising tone is confused with the upper departing, and the lower rising tone is quite merged into the lower departing.

The upper entering tone is precisely the same as that of Canton, and the same as the lower entering tone of Foochow and Hakka.

The peculiarity of the entering tones in Ningpo is not that, as in Canton, Yangchow, and Hakka, they take a final *k*, *p*, or *t*; or that, as in Foochow and Wanchow, they take vowels with little or nothing of a jerk to justify the name 'entering'; or that, as in Sz Ch'uan and Hankow, they are absolutely the same as the lower even: the peculiarity in Ningpo is that (1) they are all strictly short and jerked; (2) they take special final vowels reserved to themselves. If the English words *fat*, *pit*, *skut*, *pot*, *siesta* are deprived of the final *t* and *sta*, the precise Ningpo entering tone finals are all of them arrived at, and no other words ending in vowels can use these vowels. The lower entering tone precisely resembles no other tone in any of the dialects named, but perhaps the upper entering tone of Foochow is the nearest, and at all events, near enough to be called the same for present purposes.

There is absolutely no tonal *guna* or rhythmical modification in Canton or Hakka extending throughout the tone classes; in Foochow there is a perfect system of vocal and tonal *guna*; in Wanchow there is a plain system, but rather less perfectly definable; in Sz Ch'uan and Hankow there is none; in Yangchow there is a rhythmical system of change which I have never carefully examined and cannot define; in Peking there is an incomplete system, hardly yet crystallised, and not a *sine quâ non* of correct speech. Dr. Edkins has described this pretty accurately, but this must be differentiated from real *guna* (as best seen in Foochow) in the following way. At Peking there is rhythmical change. At Foochow there is (1) radical downright change; (2) rhythmical change upon the downright change.

E. H. PARKER.

UPPER SERIES.				LOWER SERIES.			
Even.	Inflected.			Even.	Inflected.		
上平	上上 & 上去	上入		下平	下上 & 下去	下入	
1 a	a	..		1 a	a	..	
2	ah		2	ah	
3 aañ	aañ	..		3 aañ	aañ	..	
4 aŋg	aŋg	..		4 aŋg	aŋg	..	
5 pa	pa	..		5 ba	ba	..	
6	pah		6	bah	
7 paañ	paañ	..		7 ..	baañ	..	
8 pañg		8 bañg	bañg	..	
9 pe	pe	..		9 be	be	..	
10 pei	pei	..		10 bei	bei	..	
11 pêng	pêng	..		11 bêng	bêng	..	
12 ..	p'a	..	}	N.B. the lower form of the aspirated classes is the same as the lower form of the unaspirated. In both cases the lower form has a stress, or quasi-aspirate.			
13 ..	..	p'ah				
14 p'aañ	p'aañ	..					
15 p'añg	..	..			
16 ..	p'e	..					
17 p'ei	p'ei	..					
18 p'êng	p'êng	..					
19 pi	pi	..	19 bi	bi	..		
20	pih	20	bih		
21 pieñ	pieñ	..	21 bieñ	bieñ	..		
22 ping	ping	..	22 bing	bing	..		
23 pioa	pioa	..	23 bioa	bioa	..		
24 p'i	p'i	..	}	See above note.			
25 ..	..	p'ih				
26 p'ieñ	p'ieñ	..					
27 p'ing	p'ing	..					
28 p'ioa	p'ioa	..					
29 po	po	..					
30 ..	..	poh				
31 poa	poa	..	29 bo	bo	..		
32 poñg	poñg	..	30	boh		
33 pou	pou	..	31 boa	boa	..		
34 pöü	32 boñg	boñg	..		
35 pouñ	pouñ	..	33 bou	bou	..		
36 ..	pu	..	34 (wan ting)		
37 pung	pung	..	35 bouñ	bouñ	..		
38 p'u	p'u	..	36 bu	bu	..		
39 p'ung	p'ung	..	37 bung	bung	..		
40	ohéh	}	See first note.			
41 chī	chī	..					
42 chīng	chīng	..					
43 chō	chō	..					
44 chōñ	chōñ	..					
45 ..	..	ch'éh				
46 ch'ī	ch'ī	..					
47 ch'īng	ch'īng	..	}	See first note.			
48 ch'ō	ch'ō	..					
49 ch'ōn	ch'ōn	..					
50 oi	oi	..					
51 ..	..	oih				
52 (wan ting)	..	..			
53 ..	..	ciáh				
54 oiañg	50 dji	dji	..		
55 oie	oie	..	51	djih		
56 oieñ	oieñ	..	52 dja	dja	..		
57 oing	oing	..	53	djiah		
58 oioa	oioa	..	54 djañg		
			55 dje		
			56 djeñ	djeñ	..		
			57 djing	djing	..		
			58 djoa		

	UPPER SERIES.				LOWER SERIES.												
	Even.	Inflected.			Even.	Inflected.											
	上平	上上 & 上去	上入		下平	下上 & 下去	下入										
59	ciu	ciu		59	djin	djiu											
60	c'i	c'i		See First Note.													
61															
62															
63	c'iang	c'iang															
64	c'ie	c'ie															
65	c'ieñ	c'ieñ															
66	c'ing	c'ing															
67	c'ioa	c'ioa															
68	c'iu	c'iu															
69	cü	cü															
70	..	..		69	djü	djü									
71	cüeñ	cüeñ		70		djüeh									
72	cüing	cüing		71	djüeñ	djüeñ											
73	cüo	cüo		72	djüing	djüing											
74		73	(wanting)	..					djüoh						
75	cülong	cülong		74											
76	cüung	cüung		75	(wanting)	..											
77	c'ü	c'ü		76	(wanting)	..											
78		See First Note: no aspirated form of cüong.													
79	c'üeñ	c'üeñ															
80	c'üing	c'üing															
81															
82	c'üung	c'üung															
83	..	ta															
84									83					..	da	dah
85	taañ	taañ									84	
86	tañg	tañg									85	daañ	daañ				
87	t'a	t'a									86	(wanting)	..				
88		See First Note.													
89	t'aañ	t'aañ															
90	t'añg	t'añg															
91	te	te															
92	tei	tei															
93	(wanting)	(wanting)															
94	têng	têng															
95	t'e	t'e															
96	t'ei	t'ei															
97	t'eiñ	t'eiñ															
98	t'êng	t'êng															
99	ti	ti															
100			99	di	di										
101	tia	..			100	dih									
102	(wanting)	(wanting)			101	(wanting)	..		diah								
103	tieñ	tieñ			102										
104	ting	ting			103	dieñ	dieñ										
105	tioa	tioa			104	ding	ding										
106	tiu	..			105	dioa	dioa										
107	t'i	t'i			106	(wanting)	..										
108	..	..													
109	..	..													
110	t'ieñ	t'ieñ															
111	t'ing	t'ing															
112	t'ioa	t'ioa															
113	..	to															
114										113				..	do
115	toa	toa										114	doh
116	toñg	toñg										115	doa		doa		
												116	doñg	doñg			

UPPER SERIES.				LOWER SERIES.			
<i>Even.</i>		<i>Inflected.</i>		<i>Even.</i>		<i>Inflected.</i>	
上平	上上 & 上去	上入		下平	下上 & 下去	下入	
117	ton	ton		117	dou	dou	
118	töü	töü		118	döü	döü	
119	töüñ	töüñ		119	döün	döün	
120	..	t'o					
121	..	..	t'oh.				
122	t'oa	t'oa					
123	t'oñg	t'oñg			See First	Note.	
124	t'ou	t'ou					
125	t'öü	t'öü					
126	t'öüñ	t'öüñ					
127	tu	tu		127	du	du	
128	tung	tung		128	dung	dung	
129	..	t'u			See First	Note.	
130	t'ung	t'ung					
131	tsa	tsa		131	dza	dza	
132	..	..	tsah	132	dza ..	dza ..	dzah.
133	..	tsaafi		133	dzaafi	dzaafi	
134	tsafig	tsafig		134	dzafig	dzafig	
135	ts'a	ts'a					
136	..	..	ts'ah.		See First	Note.	
137	ts'aafi	ts'aafi					
138	ts'afig	ts'afig					
139	tse	tse		139	dze	dze	
140	tsei	tsei		140	(wanting)	(wanting)	
141	tseiñ	tseiñ		141	(wanting)	(wanting)	
142	tsêng	tsêng		142	dzêng	dzêng	
143	ts'e	ts'e			No aspirated form of tseiñ.		
144	ts'ei	ts'ei					
145	ts'êng	ts'êng					
146	tsi	tsi		146	dzi	dzi	
147	..	..	tsih.	147	..	..	dzih.
148	tsia	tsia		148	..	dzia	
149	..	..	tsiah	149	dziañg	dziañg	
150	tsiafig	tsiafig		150	dziañg	dziañg	
151	..	tsie		151	dzieñ	dzieñ	
152	tsieñ	tsieñ		152	dzing	dzing	
153	tsing	tsing		153	dzioa	dzioa	
154	tsioa	tsioa		154	dzioa	dzioa	
155	tsiu	tsiu		155	dziu.	dziu.	
156	ts'i	ts'i					
157	..	..	ts'ih.				
158	..	ts'ia					
159	..	..	ts'iah				
160	ts'iafig	..					
161	..	ts'ie					
162	ts'ieñ	ts'ieñ					
163	ts'ing	ts'ing					
164	ts'ioa	ts'ioa					
165	ts'iu	ts'iu					
166	tso	tso		166	dzo	dzo	
167	..	..	tsoh	167	..	..	dzoh
168	tsoa	tsoa		168	dzoa	dzoa	
169	tsofig	tsofig		169	dzofig	dzofig	
170	..	tsou		170	(wanting)	(wanting)	
171	tsöü	tsöü		171	dzöü	dzöü	
172	tsu	tsu		172	dzu	dzu	
173	tsung	tsung		173	dzung	dzung	

UPPER SERIES.				LOWER SERIES.			
Even.		Inflected.		Even.		Inflected.	
上平	上上&上去	上入		下平	下上&下去	下入	
174	ts'o	ts'o					
175	..	..	ts'oh				
176	ts'oa	ts'oa					
177	ts'oŋg	ts'oŋg					
178	ts'ou	ts'ou					
179	ts'öü	ts'öü					
180	ts'u	ts'u					
181	ts'ung	ts'ung					
182	e	e	..	182	e	e	
183	eiñ	eiñ	..	183	eiñ	eiñ	
184	êng	êng	..	184	êng	êng	
185	..	..	fah ..	185	..	..	vah
186	faañ	faañ	..	186	vaañ	vaañ	
187	..	fe	..	187	..	ve	
188	fêng	fêng	..	188	vêng	vêng	
189	fî	fî	..	189	vi	vi	
190	..	..	foh	190	..	..	voh
191	foŋg	foŋg	..	191	voŋg	voŋg	
192	föü	föü	..	192	vöü	vöü	
193	fu	fu	..	193	vu	vu	
194	fung	fung	..	194	vung	vung	
195	ka	ka	..	195	ga	ga	
196	..	..	kah	196	..	..	gah
197	kaañ	kaañ	..	197	..	gaañ	
198	kaŋg	kaŋg	..	198	..	gaŋg	
199	ke	ke	..	199	ge	ge	
200	keiñ	keiñ	..	200	..	geiñ	
201	kêng	kêng	..	201	..	gêng	
202	ko	ko	..	202	..	go	
203	..	..	koh	203	..	..	goh
204	koa	koa	..	204	goa	goa	
205	koŋg	koŋg	..	205	goŋg	goŋg	
206	kou	kou	..	206			
207	kouñ	kouñ	..	207			
208	köü	köü	..	208	göü		
209	ku	ku	..	209	gu		
210	kung	kung	..	210	..	gung	
211	k'a	k'a					
212	..	..	k'ah				
213	k'aañ	k'aañ					
214	k'aŋg	k'aŋg					
215	k'e	k'e					
216	k'eiñ	k'eiñ					
217	k'êng	k'êng					
218	k'o	k'o					
219	..	..	k'oh		See first Note.		
220	k'oa	k'oa					
221	k'oŋg	k'oŋg					
222	k'ou	k'ou					
223	k'ouñ	k'ouñ					
224	..	k'öü					
225	k'u	k'u					
226	k'ung	k'ung					
227	kwa	kwa	..	227	gwa		
228	..	..	kwah	228	..	..	gwah
229	kwaañ	kwaañ	..	229	gwaañ	gwaañ	
230	kwaŋg	kwaŋg	..	230	gwaŋg		
231	kwe	kwe	..	231	(wanting		

UPPER SERIES.				LOWER SERIES.			
<i>Even.</i>		<i>Inflected.</i>		<i>Even.</i>		<i>Inflected.</i>	
上平	上上 & 上去	上入		下平	下上 & 下去	下入	
232 kwei	kwei	..		232 gwei	gwei		
233 kwêng	kwêng	..		233 gwêng	(wan ting)		
234 kwo	kwo	..		234 gwo			
235 kwoŋg	kwoŋg	..		235 gwoŋg			
236 ..	k'wa	..					
237 ..	..	kwah					
238 ..	k'wañ	..					
239 k'we	k'we	..			See first note.		
240 k'wei	k'wei	..					
241 k'wêng	k'wêng	..					
242 k'wo	k'wo	..					
243 k'woŋg	k'woŋg	..					
244 ha	ha	..		244 a	a		
245 ..	..	hah		245 aŋ	..	ah	
246 ..	hañ	..		246 aŋg	..		
247 haŋg	haŋg	..		247 e	e		
248 he	he	..		248 eiñ	eiñ		
249 heiñ	heiñ	..		249 êng	êng		
250 hêng	hêng	..		250 o	o		
251 ho	ho	..		251 ..	..	oh	
252 ..	..	hoh		252 oa	oa		
253 hoa	hoa	..		253 ou	ou		
254 hou	hou	..		254 ouñ	ouñ		
255 houñ	houñ	..		255 öü	öü		
256 ..	höü	..		256 u	u		
257 hu	hu	..		257 ung	ung		
258 hung	hung	..		258 wa	wa		
259 hwa	..	..		259 ..	..	wah	
260 ..	..	hwah		260 wañ	wañ		
261 hwañ	hwañ	..		261 waŋg	waŋg		
262 hwaŋg	hwaŋg	..		262 we	we		
263 (wan ting)	(wan ting)	..		263 wei	wei		
264 hwei	hwei	..		264 wêng	wêng		
265 hwêng	hwêng	..		265 wo	wo		
266 hwo	hwo	..		266 woŋg	woŋg		
267 hwoŋg	hwoŋg	..		267 yi	yi		
268 hai	hai	..		268 ..	..	yih	
269 ..	..	hsih		269 ..	..	yah	
270 ..	..	hsiah		270 ..	..	
271 hsie	hsie	..		271 ye	ye		
272 hsieñ	hsieñ	..		272 yeñ	yeñ		
273 hsing	hsing	..		273 ying	ying		
274 hsiu	hsiu	..					
275 ..	..	hsüeh					
276 hsieñ	hsüeh	..					
277 hsüing	hsüing	..					
278 hsüo	hsüo	..					
279 ..	..	hsüoh					
280 i	i	..		280 yi	yi		
281 ..	..	shé		281 ..	..	jéh	
282 shī	shī	..		282 jī	jī		
283 shīng	shīng	..		283 jīng	jīng		
284 shō	shō	..		284 jō	jō		
285 shōñ	shōñ	..		285 jōñ	jōñ		
286 la	..	..		286 ..	la		
287 ..	..	lah		287 ..	..	lah	
288 } See next	note.	..		288 laañ	laañ		
289 }		..		289 ..	laŋg		

The lower forms (if any) would be *yin*, *yüeh*, &c.; but these lower forms also belong to *u*, *üeh*, &c. See explanation above given.

UPPER SERIES.				LOWER SERIES.			
<i>Even.</i>		<i>Inflected.</i>		<i>Even.</i>		<i>Inflected.</i>	
上平		上上 & 上去		上入		下平	
						下上 & 下去	
						下入	
290	See next	note.	..	290	le	le	
291	..	lei	..	291	lei	lei	
292	..	..	..	292	leĩ	..	
293	..	..	..	293	lêng	lêng	
				294	li	li	
				295	..	..	lih
				296	..	..	liah
				297	liaĩg	liaĩg	
				298	lieĩ	lieĩ	
				299	ling	ling	
				300	lio	lio	
				301	liu	liu	
				302	lo	..	
				303	..	..	loh
303	..	..	loh	304	lo	lo	
304	lo	..	..	305	loĩg	loĩg	
305	..	loĩg	..	306	lou	lou	
306	lou	..	..	307	lõũ	lõũ	
307	lõũ	..	..	308	lõũĩ	lõũĩ	
308	} See last	note.	..	309	lu	lu	
309		..	..	310	lung	lung	
310	..	..	..	311	m	m	
311	..	..	..	312	ma	ma	
312	..	ma	..	313	..	..	mah
313	..	..	mah	314	maaiĩ	maaiĩ	
314	..	maaiĩ	..	315	maĩg	maĩg	
315	..	maĩg	..	316	mo	mo	
316	..	mo	..	317	me	me	
317	..	me	..	318	mei	mei	
318	..	mei	..	319	mêng	mêng	
319	(See last	note).	..	320	mi	mi	
320	..	mi	..	321	..	..	mih
321	} See last	note.	..	322	mieĩ	mieĩ	
322		..	..	323	ming	ming	
323	..	..	..	324	mio	mio	
324	..	..	..	325	miu	miu	
325	..	..	..	326	mo	mo	
326	..	mo	..	327	..	..	moh
327	..	..	moh	328	mo	mo	
328	} See last	note.	..	329	moĩg	moĩg	
329		..	..	330	mou	mou	
330	..	..	..	331	mouĩ	mouĩ	
331	..	..	..	332	mõũ	mõũ	
332	..	..	..	333	mung	mung	
333	..	..	..	334	na	na	
334	na	..	..	335	..	..	nah
335	} See last	note.	..	336	naaiĩ	naaiĩ	
336		..	..	337	..	ne	
337	..	..	..	338	..	nei	
338	..	..	..	339	neiĩ	neiĩ	
339	..	..	..	340	nêng	nêng	
340	ni	..	..	341	(sound strictly speaking foreign to	the genius in	
341	} See last	note.	..	342	no	no	(both series).
342		..	..	343	..	..	noh
343	..	..	..	344	noĩg	noĩg	
344	..	..	..	345	nou	nou	
345	..	..	..	346	nõũ	nõũ	
346	..	..	..	347	..	nõũn	
347	..	..	..	

N.B.—All words in the upper series beginning in *l*, *m*, and *n* are practically characterless, modern, and colloquial, and foreign to the theoretical genius and construction of the language.

UPPER SERIES.				LOWER SERIES.			
<i>Even.</i>		<i>Inflected.</i>		<i>Even.</i>		<i>Inflected.</i>	
上平	上上 & 上去	上入		下平	下上 & 下去	下入	
348	See last note.			348	nu	nu	
349	..	nung		349	nung	nung	
350	(see next note)			350	ng	ng	
351	..	nga		351	nga	nga	
352	} <i>Ng</i> is open to the same remarks as <i>l</i> , <i>m</i> , and <i>n</i> .			352	..	..	ngah
353				353	nganñ	nganñ	
354				354	..	nganñg	
355				355	..	nge	
356				356	..	ngeiñ	
357				357	ngi	ngi	
358	} See last note.			358	..	..	ngih
359				359	..	..	ngiah
360				360	ngiañg	ngiañg	
361				361	..	ngie	
362				362	ngieñ	ngieñ	
363	} ..			363	nging	nging	
364		ngioa		364	ngioa	ngioa	
365				365	ngiu	ngiu	
366				366	ngiung	ngiung	
367				367	ngo	ngo	
368	} See last note.			368	..	..	ngoh
369				369	ngoa	ngoa	
370				370	ngoiñg	ngoiñg	
371				371	ngou	ngou	
372				372	..	ngouñ	
373	} See last note.			373	ngöü	ngöü	
374				374	ngu	ngu	
375				375	ngü	ngü	
376				376	..	ngüing	
377				377	..	ngüo	
378	} See last note.			378	..	..	ngüoh
379				379	..	..	ngwah
380				380	ngwaañ	ngwaañ	
381				381	ngwei	ngwei	
382				382	o	o	
383	o	o	oh	383	..	..	oh
384	oa	oa		384	oa	oa	
385	oiñg			385	oiñg	oiñg	
386	ou			386	ou	ou	
387	..	ouñ		387	ouñ	ouñ	
388	öü	öü		388	öü	öü	
389	(same predicament as <i>l</i> , <i>m</i> , <i>n</i> , <i>ng</i>).			389	r	r	
390	..	sa		390	za	za	
391	..	..	sah	391	..	..	zah
392	saafi	saafi		392	zaañ	zaañ	
393	sañg	sañg		393	..	zañg	
394	se	se		394	ze	ze	
395	sei	sei		395	zei	zei	
396	..	seiñ		396	zeiñ	zeiñ	
397	seng	seng		397	zeng	zeng	
398	si	si		398	zi	zi	
399	..	..	sih	399	..	..	zih
400	..	sia		400	zia	zia	
401	..	..	siah	401	..	..	ziah
402	siañg	siañg		402	ziañg	ziañg	
403	sie	sie		403	zie	zie	
404	sieñ	sieñ		404	zieñ	zieñ	
405	sing	sing		405	zing	zing	

From Nippon.				From Korea.			
Form.		Inflected.		Form.		Inflected.	
上平	上上	上上	上上	下平	下上	下上	下上
405	406	...	...	...
407	407	...	...	...
408	408	...	...	...
409	409	...	...	...
410	410	...	...	...
411	411	...	...	...
412	412	...	...	...
413	413	...	...	...
414	414	...	...	...
415	415	...	...	...
416	416	...	...	...
417	417	...	...	...
418	418	...	...	...
419	419	...	...	...
420	420	...	...	...
421	421	...	...	...
422	422	...	...	...
423	423	...	...	...
424	424	...	...	...
425	425	...	...	...
426	426	...	...	...
427	427	...	...	...
428	428	...	...	...
429	429	...	...	...
430	430	...	...	...
431	431	...	...	...
432	432	...	...	...
433	433	...	...	...
434	434	...	...	...
435	435	...	...	...
436	436	...	...	...
437	437	...	...	...
438	438	...	...	...
439	439	...	...	...
440	440	...	...	...
441	441	...	...	...
442	442	...	...	...

From Nippon.				From Korea.			
Form.		Inflected.		Form.		Inflected.	
上平	上上	上上	上上	下平	下上	下上	下上
443	443	...	...	...
444	444	...	...	...
445	445	...	...	...
446	446	...	...	...
447	447	...	...	...
448	448	...	...	...
449	449	...	...	...
450	450	...	...	...
451	451	...	...	...
452	452	...	...	...
453	453	...	...	...
454	454	...	...	...
455	455	...	...	...
456	456	...	...	...
457	457	...	...	...
458	458	...	...	...
459	459	...	...	...
460	460	...	...	...
461	461	...	...	...
462	462	...	...	...
463	463	...	...	...
464	464	...	...	...
465	465	...	...	...
466	466	...	...	...
467	467	...	...	...
468	468	...	...	...
469	469	...	...	...
470	470	...	...	...
471	471	...	...	...
472	472	...	...	...
473	473	...	...	...
474	474	...	...	...
475	475	...	...	...
476	476	...	...	...
477	477	...	...	...
478	478	...	...	...
479	479	...	...	...
480	480	...	...	...
481	481	...	...	...
482	482	...	...	...
483	483	...	...	...
484	484	...	...	...
485	485	...	...	...
486	486	...	...	...
487	487	...	...	...
488	488	...	...	...
489	489	...	...	...
490	490	...	...	...
491	491	...	...	...
492	492	...	...	...
493	493	...	...	...
494	494	...	...	...
495	495	...	...	...
496	496	...	...	...
497	497	...	...	...
498	498	...	...	...
499	499	...	...	...
500	500	...	...	...

No.	Sir T. Wade's spelling (includes where possible Hankow, Yangchow, Sz Ch'uan)	Dr. Williams' spelling (i. q. Canton Dictionary)	Messrs. Macleay & Baldwin's Fanchow spelling	Basel Mission Hakka spelling	Wen-chow and Yang-chow new sounds	Ningpo spelling in vogue	Spelling modified to suit all dialects	Representation of the sound intended, in one or more European tongues
7	..	..	au	..	..	..	ao	ahö in Ger. beinah ölig.
8	..	au	..	..	..	..	au	ou in Eng. fountain.
9	ao	au	au	au	..	ao*	an	au in Ger. aus.
9a	..	..	..	..	..	aen	anñ	Fr. ain in pain.
9b	..	..	..	..	..	ang	añg	Fr. ane in banc.
10	e	e	é	e	..	..	ē	e in Eng. send.
11	eh	é	é	é	..	ae	e	a in Eng. parent.
12	ei	ei	e	..	..	e	ei	ei in Eng. feint.
13	..	..	eu	..	..	..	ein	eyoo in Eng. they ooze.
14	..	..	..	eu	..	..	eu	ehu in It. deh ! umiltà.
15	ê	a	..	u	..	ih, e(ng)	ê	{ u in Eng. fun, sung, see No. 74.
16	..	..	..	..	êo	..	êo	ao in Eng. the idea of
17	..	..	..	..	êü	eo†	êü	ehu in Fr. le huer.
18a	..	..	..	..	..	en	ein	{ eigne in Fr. peigne (but fainter).
18	i	i	i	i	..	ih	i	i in Eng. pin.
19	i	i	i	i	..	i	i	i in Eng. machine.
20	..	..	..	..	i	ü	i	{ Russian vowel bi (half ü half i).
21	..	..	iäh, räh	ya	..	iah, yah	iä, yä**	ia in Fr. fiacre.
22	ia	yá	iä, yä	ya	..	ya	ia, ya	ya in Eng. yard.
23	..	..	..	..	iae	..	iae, yae	ie in Fr. tiens.
24	iai, yai	yai	..	..	..	..	iai, yai	eeys in Eng. she eyes me.
25	..	yau	..	..	..	..	iän, yän	eou in Eng. the outing.
26	iao, yao	yáu	..	yau	..	iao*	iau, yau	ieau in Ger. die Ausländer
27	ieh, yeh	..	ié	ye	..	..	iö, yö	ie in Fr. piétiner.
28	ieh, yeh	..	ié	ye	..	iae	ie, ye	{ ea in Eng. the area (first e and a.)
29	..	..	ie	..	..	..	iei, yei	{ ea in Eng. the a, b, c or Eng. yea. [away.
30	..	..	ieu, yeu	..	..	..	ieiu, yeiu	eaoo in Eng. yea, ooze
31	..	..	..	..	ieu	..	ieu, yeu	No. 14 preceded by y.
32	..	..	..	..	iêo	..	iêo, yêo	eao in the Eng. idea of.
33	yi	..	..	..	..	yih	yî	{ ye in Eng. vulgar yis (for yes).
34	i, yi	i	..	..	..	yi	yi	yie in Eng. yield.
35	io, yo	..	io, yo	yo	..	..	io, yo**	io in Fr. lion. [ohische.
36	..	..	..	..	..	..	iö, yö	iêö in Ger. die österrei-
37	..	..	..	..	ioa	iao*	ioa, yoa	{ betw. yar and yaw in Eng. yard and yawl.
38	..	..	..	..	iöe	..	iöe, yöe	ee (r) in Eng. he erred.
39	..	..	..	..	yoi	..	ioi, yoi	eoy in Eng. the oysters.
40	you	..	..	..	..	..	iou, you	eow in Eng. he owns.
41	iu, yu	iu	iu	yu	..	iu	iu, yu	the Eng. you.
41a	..	..	..	..	iang	..	iañg	ian in Fr. fiancer.
41b	..	..	..	..	in	..	ien	ien in Fr. bien.
41c	..	..	..	..	ing	..	ing	No. 73 plus a nasal ng.
42	o	o	..	..	ô, oh	..	o	o in Fr. ton.
43	..	ú, óu	..	..	..	..	ô	u in Eng. fur.
44	..	..	ò	..	..	ao*	oa	{ bet. ar and aw in Eng. car and caw.
45	..	..	òi	..	..	..	oai	atowe in Eng. saw we this
46	..	..	ë	..	..	..	öe	i or ir in Eng. fir.

* In Ningpo it is difficult to say whether No. 9 or No. 44 is the sound of oa, or ao, or oao.

† Either No. 17 or No. 50 will do for Ningpo.

** y is used as initial, i in combination. Thus yau, chiau.

No.	Sir T. Wade's spelling (includes where possible Hankow, Yangchow, & Ch'uan.)	Dr. Williams' spelling, Canton Dictionary.	Messrs. Maclean & Baldwin's Foochow spelling.	Rasel Mission Hakka spelling	Wên-chow and Yang-chow new sounds.	Ningpo spelling in vogue.	Spelling modified, to suit a'l dialects.	Representation of the sound intended in one or more European tongues.
47	..	oi	..	oi	..	..	oi	oy in Eng. toy.
48	ou	ô	o	..	..	o	ou	ou in Eng. mould.
49	..	..	oi	..	..	..	oui	oue we in English.
49a	..	..	..	..	..	ong	oŋg	on in Fr. son.
49b	..	..	..	..	..	ün	öŋ	No. 43 nasalized Fr. un.
49c	..	..	..	..	..	ön	öŋŋ	No. 17 & 50 nasalized.
50	..	u, ui, üi	ëü	..	..	eoŋ	öü	eu u in Fr. peu usité.
51	u	u	u	u	..	o(ng)	ü	u in Eng. bull.
52	u	ü	u	u	..	u	u	u in Eng. to or too.
53	ui	ui, üi	ui	ui	..	..	ui	oui in Fr. souiller.
54	ü	ü	ü	..	..	ü	ü	{ Fr. eu or eût (no other word in French.)
55	üa	..	..	..	..	..	üa	uas in Fr. tu as.
56	..	..	..	..	üaa	..	üaa	ai in Fr. tu indiques.
57	üeh	..	..	..	..	üih	üë	ue in Fr. tu établis.
58	..	..	..	..	üi	yüi	üi	ui in Fr. suite.
59	üo	..	..	..	..	yüô	üo	uo in Fr. tu opposes.
60	..	..	..	..	üoa	..	üoa	{ uo & half r in Fr. vu orange.
61	ua, wa	wá	wa	wa	..	wa	wa	oua in Fr. jouable.
62	..	..	..	..	waa	..	waa	ou in Fr. fou incapable.
63	..	..	..	..	wae	..	wae	ouei in Fr. fou hein.
64	..	wai	..	..	..	..	wäi	wi in Eng. wild.
65	uai, wai	wái	wai	..	..	..	wai	ouai in Fr. ouailles.
66	..	wé	..	we	..	wae	we	wea in Eng. wear.
67	uei, wei	..	..	..	..	we	wei	wa in Eng. wade.
68	uê, wê	wa	..	wu	..	..	wê	wo in Eng. won.
69	..	..	wi	..	..	..	wi	wie in Eng. wield.
70	uo, wo	wo	wo	wo	..	wô	wo	{ Eng. woa horse! Ital. uomo.
71	..	..	..	woi	..	..	woi	o oi in Eng. to oil.
72	wu	ü	u	wu	..	wu	wu***	wou in Eng. wounded.
73	the vowel	in m n	ng sz	zz tsz	dz jj	rr &c.	*	{ the sound in a snort of contempt.
74	ê	..	..	..	êê	..	êê	{ Sir T. Wade's ê final, long. Indescribable.
75	yü	ü	ü	..	..	ü, yü	yü***	iu in Fr. si usité.
75a	..	..	..	..	..	ün	üefi	{ No. 57 nasalized, almost uain in Fr. tu ainsi.
75b	..	..	..	..	..	yüông	üofig	iuon in Fr. lui eu on dit.
75c	..	..	..	..	..	yuong	tung	{ ühung in Ger. küh' ungarische.
75d	..	..	..	..	..	waen	waafi	{ No. 62 nasalized. Fr. oing.
75e	..	..	..	..	..	wang	wafig	{ No. 61 nasalized. Fr. ouan in fou anguleux.
75f	..	..	..	..	..	wong	wofig	{ No. 70 nasalized. Fr. ouen in Rouen.
75g	..	..	..	..	..	wo	wou	wo in English woven.

* In Ningpo it is difficult to say whether No. 9 or No. 44 is the sound of oa, or ao, or oao.

† Either No. 17 or No. 50 will do for Ningpo.

*** yü, wu are quasi-aspirated forms of ü, u. Strictly speaking, too, yao, yü are quasi-aspirated forms of iao, ü.

A SKETCH OF FORMOSA.*

THE DUTCH IN FORMOSA.

After the Dutch had thrown off the Spanish yoke, and had succeeded in establishing their independence, they turned their attention to the extension of their commercial relations with the East. At this time, towards the end of the sixteenth century, the monopoly of the oriental trade was in the hands of the Portuguese, who 'from Japan and the Spice Islands to the Red Sea and the Cape of Good Hope were the sole masters and dispensers of the treasures of the East.' This monopoly they had enjoyed for about a century, when the Dutch, impelled not only by the strong animosity they bore against the Portuguese, but also by a determination to obtain for themselves commodities which they had been compelled to buy in Portuguese markets, determined to make an attempt to wrest the supremacy of the Eastern trade from their enemy and to secure it for themselves. In order to be independent of the routes to the East employed by their rivals, they at first endeavoured to find a way to China by the N.E., but having failed in this they attempted successfully the passage by the Cape, the first Dutch navigator to double it being Cornelius Houtman, who reached Sumatra and Batavia in 1596. The opening of new markets resulted from this, and before long many private companies were formed to trade with the East. These were finally amalga-

mated by the States General into the 'Dutch East India Company' in 1602, the operations of which were so successful that in a short time it had factories in India, Ceylon, Sumatra, on the Persian Gulf and Red Sea.

The Dutch arrived for the first time in Chinese waters in 1601, and at once endeavoured to obtain from the Chinese authorities permission to trade with their country. At first they met with but small success, their plans being thwarted by the Portuguese, who did all in their power, by intriguing with the Chinese and by false representations, to prevent the grant of the much-coveted permission. In this they were so far successful that Admiral Warwijk, who arrived in 1604 at the Pescadores with a squadron, and who failed completely to effect a landing at Amoy, was compelled to retire to Pulo Condor without having accomplished the object of his mission. Further attempts to obtain leave to trade were made, but they all appear to have ended in failure, and from 1607 to 1622, we find no mention of Dutch ships having

* The information in the sketch of Formosa is gained from a study of all available sources of information and from the evidence of those who have resided and travelled in the island. We are under especial obligation to Mr. G. Phillips, H. B. M. Consul in China, and to the Rev. J. Mackay, of the Canadian Presbyterian Mission, who has travelled extensively in Formosa and who has lived amongst the aborigines.

visited China. During this period the Dutch were occupied with affairs in Batavia and in attempting to open up a trade with Japan, and it was not till the Dutch authority in the former country was firmly established by the victories of Jan Pieterzoon Koen, and negotiations with Japan had been conducted to a favourable issue, that they once more directed their attention to China. In 1622 a squadron of 14 ships left Batavia, and sailed for Macao, which was in the hands of the Portuguese. A landing was effected with a body of 900 Dutch troops aided by Japanese and Malay auxiliaries, but this force was driven back by the Portuguese, who fought with great courage. This attack on Macao was highly resented by the Chinese, who urged that, as Macao was Chinese territory, the Dutch had by attacking it committed a hostile act against China. The Dutch, on the other hand, complained of not having the same trading privileges extended to them as were granted to other nations, and accused the Chinese of giving assistance to the Portuguese. The Dutch admiral, seeing that these mutual recriminations were not likely to lead to any practical result, determined to take measures to compel the Chinese to grant what they were unwilling to give,—liberty to trade,—and with this view proceeded to take possession of the Pescadores. This he succeeded in effecting without much difficulty, and at once commenced to fortify the island of Pehoe, forcing the Chinese inhabitants of the island and the crews of captured junks to work at the fortifications, and treating them with such cruelty that out of 1,500 labourers thus employed not fewer than 1,300 died.

The object of the Dutch in seizing the Pescadores is not far to seek. The position was a central one from which the Portuguese trade between Macao and Japan, and the Spanish trade between Amoy and Manila could be intercepted. In addition to being thus able to cripple the commerce of their rivals in the China Seas, the Dutch were most

favourably situated for harassing China, should she continue to persist in her refusal to open her ports to Dutch commerce, or otherwise prove unreasonable at any time. The Chinese themselves perceived this, and feeling naturally much alarmed at having a Western power seated at their gates, immediately entered into negotiations with the object of persuading their dangerous neighbour to depart from their newly-acquired stronghold. The Emperor of China insisted on the withdrawal of the Dutch from the Pescadores as the only basis of a settlement; the Dutch demanded for themselves, freedom of commerce with China and its prohibition to the Spaniards in Manila. Neither side would agree to the terms dictated by the other; and negotiations proving futile the Dutch had recourse to open war. They despatched a fleet to scour the seas; vessels were detached to blockade the port of Amoy; junks bound for Manila were captured, and many seizures of prizes along the coast were made. This state of 'reprisals' continued for two years, when the Chinese, finding that they were unable to cope against the superior tactics and the deadly artillery of the Dutch, again attempted to arrange the difficulty by negotiations. An envoy was sent by the Dutch Admiral Keizeroon to Amoy, where he was received with much pomp, but the Chinese, who could not yet bring themselves to receive on an equal footing the deputy of a 'barbarian power,' whose subjects were 'red haired,' required that the envoy should perform the *kotow* before any discussion could take place. The envoy very properly declined to submit to such an indignity, and negotiations were broken off. Reprisals commenced once more and were carried on for some time in a desultory manner. At length the Chinese made a proposal that if the Dutch would consent to retire from the Pescadores, they not only would be granted liberty to trade, but also be allowed to settle on an island off the coast of Formosa, called Taiwan, which they could use as a trading centre. The Dutch, who had al-

ready begun to experience great difficulty in obtaining supplies and to find that the numbers of the Chinese troops were always increasing, agreed to the proposal, and accordingly in 1624 a peace was concluded on the terms proposed by the Chinese. The Chinese thus succeeded in removing to a greater distance a neighbour whom they had found very troublesome and dangerous to the peace and welfare of their kingdom, by ceding a territory to which they do not appear to have had any title or claim. The Dutch, on the other hand, obtained commercial privileges—the great object of their struggle—and an entrepôt for their trade, which enabled them more effectively to damage the commercial interests of their rivals, the Spanish and the Portuguese.

Having briefly given an account of the events which led to the settlement of the Dutch in Formosa, we now proceed to give a description of the period during which they occupied the Island.

The treaty with the Chinese allowing the Dutch to occupy Taiwan was concluded in 1624, and in the same year they moved to their new territory. In order to render it secure against attack, steps were immediately taken to defend it, and to this end a fort was built called Zelandia after the name of the ship in which a famous Dutch general had come to China. The site for the fort was well chosen, being situated so as to command the principal harbour. Before long a flourishing town grew up in its neighbourhood, and a brisk trade was carried on with the mainland, the harbour being always crowded with Chinese junks laden with Chinese merchandise, which was exchanged for spices, cotton goods, camlets, and silver. Before the Dutch settled on the island, Taiwan had for some time been the seat of a considerable trade between the Chinese and Japanese, which had to be carried on in this neighbourhood, as direct commerce between China and Japan was strictly prohibited. This trade had been perfectly

free of duty, no taxes of any kind being levied, when with a short-sighted policy the Dutch commenced to lay restrictions on it by levying a duty on raw sugar and rice, which were exported in large quantities to China. To this tax, no objection was made on the part of the Chinese traders, but the Japanese positively refused to pay it. Two Japanese junks were, therefore, seized by the Governor of Zelandia, and the crews detained for a year. On their release in 1631 they returned to their own country, where they reported what had occurred. The Japanese authorities on hearing of this matter immediately caused nine ships of the Dutch East India Company, which happened to be in Japan, to be seized, and ordered trade with the Dutch to cease. The Dutch were much alarmed at this, for they were most anxious to keep on good terms with the Japanese. They had only succeeded in 1609 after much trouble in gaining a footing in the country by being allowed to establish a factory at Firando, which permission had been followed by a decree in 1611 granting them liberty to trade, and putting them on the same footing as the most favoured nations. Moreover, the trade with Japan had hitherto been in the hands of the Portuguese and the Spanish, and as the Dutch were then striving to get possession of this trade for themselves, they felt that a quarrel with Japan would deal a deathblow to their policy. They recognised the absolute necessity of effecting by some means or other a compromise. It was accordingly determined to surrender the Governor who had previously detained the Japanese crews, and who, they alleged, had been the cause of all the trouble. In 1636 he was sent as a prisoner to Japan and formally handed over to the authorities. The Japanese were satisfied; trade was reopened, and in the following year the Governor was released. Before long the Dutch reaped the reward of their degrading policy by being left in sole possession of the trade with

Japan, the Portuguese and the Spanish being banished from the country.

In addition to these difficulties with the Japanese, the Dutch had been established in Taiwan for two years only when trouble arose between them and their foes, the Spaniards. As already stated the monopoly of the trade with the East had been in the hands of the Portuguese for nearly a century. In 1580, on the death of King Sebastian, the crowns of Portugal and Spain were united under Philip II., and from that date until 1640, when Portugal again became a separate kingdom, the interests of these two nations in the commerce of the East became identical.

Commercial relations between the Spanish and the Chinese commenced in 1543, when the Philippines were conquered by Admiral Legaspi, from which time an extensive trade was carried on with Manila and the coast ports of China. Of what importance this trade was to the Spanish can be seen from the following account of it:—

‘The people of Manila were allowed to send yearly some 250,000 dollars worth of Chinese merchandise to New Spain. Much more found its way there clandestinely. It was supposed that a million and a half of gold entered China every year from this Manila trade. About the end of the sixteenth century there were 14,000 persons in New Spain engaged in the manufacture of silks, dependent upon their supplies for raw material from China. At this time there were 20,000 Sangleyes (Chinese traders) in Manila, who paid “a yearly poll tax of nine crowns, six reals.”’

The Spanish were naturally most anxious to protect their trade, and with this view, and in order to have a station in the China Seas whence to hamper the Dutch trade, the Spanish Governor of the Philippines sent an expedition to Formosa in 1626, which sailed to the North, and established a fortress on an island off Ke-lung, to which was given the name of St. Salvador. Three years later, in 1629, an-

other fort was erected at Tamsui, called St. Domingo. These proceedings on the part of the Spanish were reported to the Dutch authorities at Batavia by Pieter Nuits, the Governor of Zelandia, the same person who was delivered over to the Japanese.

His report is so interesting, and gives such an entertaining account of the commercial rivalry between the Dutch, the Portuguese, and the Spanish, and such a vivid picture of the state of trade at this time in the China Seas that we reproduce it in full.*

A Report upon the Dutch settlement at Taiwan drawn up by Governor Nuyts in 1629, and forwarded by him to the Governor-General and the Council of the Netherlands East India Company at Batavia.

MOST HONORED SIRS,

I have noticed that many well informed persons, both here and in India, and also in our native country, differ in their accounts of the Chinese trade, as to its importance, and as to the places where it is carried on; and do not speak of it in a way that its extent and value demand. As far as I know there has never yet been given a true and correct account of the same by my predecessors who have held office here; I therefore consider it a duty I owe to the Company generally, and to those who have embarked their capital in the same trade, to give them as clear and comprehensive a report as lies in my power, in so far as matters have come within my observation and experience during the short time I have been in command, and in my several voyages to China.

The island of Formosa, where the settlement or fort of the Company is situated, is called Pockan by the Chinese.

The place known formerly as Taiwan, to which we have given the name of Zelandia, lies 21 degrees north of the Equator, but the island of Formosa itself extends further northwards as far as 25½ degrees. The

* See *Dutch Trade in Formosa in 1629*, by George Phillips.

settlement is distant from the Chincheo river, or Amoy, about 32 German miles. There could be no place more conveniently situated for trade with China, because it is very accessible to, and easily reached from the Chincheo river, at all seasons of the year.

Your Excellencies have on the island a small fortress on a high sand hill, which is simply a sand bank lying about half a mile off Formosa. This fort is being built chiefly of brick, and we hope it will be quite finished within the next two years, but as the ground is sandy the fortifications are very apt to fall in during the rainy season, so that it requires a large sum yearly to keep it in repair. The entrance of the channel is narrow, and is only fourteen feet deep at high tide, but once in the harbour the depth of water is over five fathoms, and ships can lie here sheltered from all winds.

The country contains many high and lofty mountains. The natives are good-natured, but very lazy and addicted to begging, and are contented with very little. Every household sows just as much as they think necessary for their wants during the coming year. The sugar cane is grown to some extent, and there are a few edible roots, and also some fruit trees, but those met with are chiefly wild, although when cultivated they bear fruit abundantly. I will on some other occasion speak further on this subject, and also say something of the manners and customs of the inhabitants; but I must now return to other things.

The Company are in the habit of sending treasure in Chinese junks from Taiwan to the town of Amoy, on the Chincheo river, sometimes to their agent there, and sometimes to private merchants for the purpose of purchasing such goods as are suitable to the demands of the Japan, India and home markets. This trade is carried on through the connivance of the Combon, or the Governor-General of Hocho (Foochow).

Many Chinese merchants come here also with their ships to offer their goods for sale;

this, however, brings us but little profit. Thus, when the time approaches for sending our ships to Japan and Batavia, and our stock of Chinese merchandise here is low, we are compelled to send some of our ships to Amoy, where, through the connivance of the authorities, Chinese goods are brought on board our ships in great quantities, and are much cheaper than those we buy in Taiwan; the difference in the price of silk per picul being sometimes as much as eight or ten taels lower. From Amoy, if time permit, the vessels return to Taiwan with their cargoes: if not, they sail direct to their destination.

Chinese merchandise finds its way to Manila entirely in Chinese junks, which pay an export duty to the government on leaving the country. To induce the Chinese to supply them plentifully with goods, the Spaniards are in the habit of advancing them large sums of money to lay out in goods for them, in China, for which, however, they frequently forget to bring them their value in return.

This way of doing business with the Philippines has been in vogue for many years, but our having obtained permission to trade here, and the seas having become unsafe from pirates has somewhat interfered with it; in consequence of which many of the Chinese merchants have come here with their goods for sale instead of taking them to Manila, whereby their trade with that country has been very dull during the past four years. The Portuguese at Macao have now for about one hundred and fifteen years traded with China at a very heavy cost, and by means of handsome presents and valuable gifts, have obtained permission from the Chinese Government to reside at Macao, and also the right to go to Canton or Quinam, to the two half-yearly fairs held there. They certainly derive more profit from this trade than either the Manila people or ourselves; as they, having been so long settled in Macao, have gained much knowledge and experience, by which they

are enabled to get goods of better quality and more assorted than others can; and they also have the opportunity of ordering such goods as they especially require, made up in lengths and breadths, and figured, to suit the markets of Japan, India and Portugal.

But as they have begun to build forts and fortresses, they are looked upon with suspicion by the Chinese, who fear that they wish to increase their territory in China, as they have done in Malacca. Thus for some years past they have had to encounter much opposition and ill-treatment at the hands of the Mandarins and Governors, who have subjected them to many extortions, and have almost ruined them by expenses, when attending the half-yearly fairs at Canton.

This they have done to such an extent that the Portuguese have been compelled to absent themselves from these fairs altogether for a time and to send their merchandise there for sale under the care of some trustworthy person.

On this account as well as on account of their various losses at sea through engagements with us, in which we have taken many of their ships, their gains are considerably lessened. Things have now come to such a pass with them, that if we could only succeed in intercepting their ships on the way to Japan, their trade with China would cease of itself, and they would be brought to such straits that they would even have to leave Macao, as they would find they could gain nothing by remaining there any longer.

Since the establishment of the Company here in Zelandia, two difficulties have arisen, of great moment and inconvenience. The first is that our common enemy, the Spaniards, have erected a fortress on the northern part of Formosa; and the second is, that the Japanese maintain they have perfect liberty to trade here; both of which troubles must be met, but by different means. The Spaniards must be met by open force; but the Japanese must be over-

come by kind and respectful treatment, not letting them see that we are using dissimulation towards them. This should be attended to at once, so that trouble may be averted, for long delay will bring about irretrievable ruin. It is certain, indeed, more than certain, that the only support of the Portuguese and Spaniards in India is the China trade. The wars that we have everywhere waged against them, together with the disgrace that they are in in Japan, has so weakened them, and has so ruined their trade in other countries, that there is no other place than China where they can make any profits worth mentioning. If we could succeed in depriving them of this trade, or at least in lessening their profits from the same, as we have done in many places, they would be compelled to abandon their best settlements, such as Macao, Manila, Malacca, Timor; and their factory at the Moluccas would lapse of itself. The authorities at Manila clearly see this, and they know only too well that they have no other means of retrieving their lost position than to get possession of the island of Formosa, if it be possible. Moved by these considerations, they took possession in 1626 of a place called Kelang, situated at the most northern part of Formosa, where they built a fortress. In the following year they assembled at this place a large fleet with the view of driving us from here, but in this, thank God, they failed on account of the storm and tempest they encountered; which event was at the time of its occurrence duly reported to the Government at Batavia.

The Portuguese at Macao have also done all that they possibly could against us; although the only place from which they could expect help in time of need was the very distant settlement of Goa; their other possessions everywhere else in India being on the decline. But instead of succeeding in their designs against us they have found how very weak they are; they have made urgent representations, and have brought the state of affairs to the notice of their

King; whereupon great preparations are being made at Goa, and they have boasted that they intend to fortify Pulo Timor; without, however, as yet doing anything towards it. As matters now stand with that nation, it is certain that we could ruin them, or at least entirely paralyze their trade, not only in the South Seas and New Spain; but also in Malacca and Goa. This done, it would be a simple matter for the Company to get into its own hands all the China trade.

It would be easy to give in detail the means whereby this end could be accomplished if I were assured that things were upon a sufficiently firm footing to admit of this being done, and that the power of the Company was equal to the strain. It would not do to be mistaken in this. When we had succeeded in excluding the Portuguese from the commerce of these countries, then your capital would not be sufficient for the sixth part of what would be wanted for the China trade. On the other hand, when we had succeeded in getting sufficient funds to carry it on, we should find ourselves at first in the predicament of not being able to consume or to find purchasers for all the merchandise that would be brought to us.

Let us put these grand projects aside and take a survey of our real position. We could purchase from this country every year as much merchandise as the funds of the Company, without prejudicing any of their other interests, would allow. Up to the present we have never had a lack of merchandise, but rather of funds to purchase it, so that it would be impossible for us to give you an idea as to the amount of capital that could be yearly laid out here.

This much is certain, we have never had any difficulty in fulfilling our contract to supply the Japanese annually with Chinese produce to the amount of seven hundred and forty thousand guilders, and much more merchandise would doubtless be forthcoming if there was capital to purchase it.

But although we may not wish to undertake so great an enterprise, it is a matter of

the greatest moment that we should make ourselves master of Kelang, and send a sufficient force there for that purpose, for the following reasons.

1.—From this place the enemy could always fit out ships to wait for our yachts and other vessels that were going over to trade in the Chineco river; and it would be next to impossible that they should always escape capture. Now, a single prize that they could make, would be a greater loss to the Company than the expense of fitting out and keeping up a fleet for six months, for the reduction of Kelang.

2.—If the Spanish stay there, they, with the large capital they have at their command, will be always a source of trouble to us, and be able to attract many merchants and much merchandise to their settlement.

3.—If they have once got a firm footing there, it is to be feared that they will incite the natives and Chinese living here to rebel against us. This would be a misfortune to us, as we, without their friendship, would not be able to remain here, unless we greatly strengthened our garrison and fleet, which would consequently materially increase our expenditure and cause a great diminution of our profits.

4.—Kelang once reduced, we should then have the opportunity of employing a larger amount of capital, because the goods which formerly went to the Spaniards would come to us, and at the same time the Chinese would have to reduce their prices.

5.—Thus we shall find by experience, that the more capital the Company lays out in commerce (although the contrary would seem the case) so much the cheaper will be the goods and greater the profits derived from them.

China is a country of such great abundance that it is able to furnish the whole world plentifully with certain kinds of merchandise. The Chinese send goods from all parts of the country to towns and seaports where they see there is the most ready money to purchase them. For example, be-

fore the Spaniards traded to China, or the Chinese to Manila, merchants were in the habit of sending their merchandise to the island of Sanxian, afterwards to Lampacao, at which latter place the Portuguese were established for eighteen years. After this they sent them to Macao and Canton. But eventually they sent such an enormous quantity of goods to the fairs at this latter place that the funds of the Portuguese were insufficient to purchase them.

The merchants who attended these fairs from the North, and from the interior of the country, seeing that their goods remained unsold, shipped them in their own vessels, and on their own account to Manila, Siam, Macassar, &c.; until after much loss and misfortune at sea, more especially from pirates, they found themselves compelled to give it up. But as soon as they again perceive a place where a large trade is to be done, and where there is a large amount of capital to be laid out, they will flock to that place and will be satisfied with a much smaller profit than before, and will give up these long voyages to which their ships are unadapted; and prefer selling their goods at their own doors, to sending them abroad.

From this it will clearly be seen that with increased capital, our purchases will be effected with greater profit.

Lastly, but chiefly, we must do our utmost to destroy the trade between China and Manila, for as soon as this is done, we firmly believe that Your Excellencies will eventually see the Spaniards leave the Moluccas and even Manila of their own accord; more especially as they are now banished from Japan, so, being deprived by us of the China trade, they will not be able to bear the great expenses and burdens which they have to sustain without perishing in their exertions. This they see as well as we; therefore it is evident that they will do their utmost to drive us from Fort Zelandia, and from everywhere else in China, as it is of the utmost importance to them that they should do so; therefore it behoves us

to take all necessary measures to prevent this.

Regarding the Japanese: for many years before our arrival here, they carried on a clandestine trade with the Chinese, and always got as many goods as they had capital to pay for, but after we came and had erected a fortress, and formed a settlement, my predecessors tried to attract most of this trade to the Company, in order that we might reap the benefit of the treaty we had entered into with the Chinese authorities, when we agreed to give up Pehoe and to remove hither.

On this account duties were levied on certain goods, which gave rise to so much ill-feeling on the part of the Japanese trading here, that their merchants complained of it to their Government.

Governor-General Carpentier, foreseeing the harm that this would do us in Japan, tried by means of a special embassy and by presents, to prevent it, and sent me in 1627 as Ambassador; but the complaints had already been taken notice of at Court, and the officers being prejudiced against us, we were unable to get an audience.

Furthermore, some Japanese, with the view of ousting us out of the country, had taken some natives of this place to Japan, and had offered the sovereignty of Formosa to the Emperor; this also went against us. It is true it would be a good thing if the Japanese could be compelled or induced to employ their capital anywhere else than here, as we could then get all the gain which they derive from this trade; but if they gave up trading here, the Company would not have money enough at hand to purchase all the goods that are brought there. It would be very desirable if the English out of their large capital could now and again be induced to invest some of it here with us, so that we should not be lowered in the eyes of the Chinese, by lack of capital, as has sometimes been the case.

Moreover, how can we refuse free trade to the Japanese here without getting into ill-

odour in Japan, whose trade is very profitable and important to us? I consider it would be best at once to allow them to have a share in the trade without levying any duties upon them, as I fear they will not submit to any being levied.

This should be decided at once or the profits of our Japanese trade will be lost to us.

Is it not unreasonable that we should demand duties from a people, in whose country, with the exception of a small present to the Emperor and the High Authorities, we have perfect freedom to trade without any tolls whatever being exacted from us? Besides this, the maxim 'qui prior est tempore, prior est jure' holds good for them, as they traded with the natives here long before we came; wherefore it seems that they have a right to demand duties from us, rather than we from them: but they have never even gone to the length of proposing such a thing. If we are to carry out Your Excellencies' orders, the result will be that we shall have to leave Japan, and if this should bring about a war between the two countries, who could guarantee to us that we should be able to keep and defend Taiwan and Kelang (if we had made this latter place ours by that time) against them? Besides, in any case, even if we should be able to hold our own we should be at such heavy costs in keeping up these places that there would be no profit derived from them.

So it seems to me that the best, safest, and most reasonable course to follow, is for us to remain on friendly terms with them and allow them a share in the trade, as our position in Japan differs from that in any of the other kingdoms in India, where we are allowed to trade out of fear, or by the hope of gain; whereas in Japan it is quite another matter, as they do not in the least care about us, and fear no harm we could do them; nor do they set great store by the profits they can reap from us.

We will leave this subject and consider whether the Chinese and Japanese trade

could not only be made to pay the annual expenditure which is required to carry it on, but whether it could not also be made to bring us in a revenue which would be a great source of wealth to our country and make us more powerful than we hitherto have been by simply laying out capital here more advantageously than we could do elsewhere.

To better illustrate my meaning I give you the following examples:

In 1627 we sent from here to Japan five cargoes of silk valued at.....	621,855. 4.10
To Batavia and Holland two cargoes valued at.....	559,493. 19.2
	<hr/> 1,181,349.3.12

=at 12 guilders to the £ to 98,446.

The above cargoes showed a profit of one hundred per cent.

In 1628 there were not such large cargoes sent to Japan and Java as in the preceding year, partly on account of trouble in China, and partly through want of capital.

The cargoes, however, sent to Japan were valued at	410,863 15. 8
To Batavia and Holland	277,572.15.12
Total...	<hr/> 688,436.11. 4

=at 12 guilders to the £ to about £57,369.

By God's help we hope to make as much profit from the above, as we did with the cargoes of the preceding year. Presuming that this trade should not be further increased our profits are still very large. I have no doubt, however, that the trade is capable of further expansion, for Mr. Nyenroode, our chief factor in Japan, in writing to me for Chinese produce, says:—'If we had more of the Chinese trade like the Portuguese have, I should be able to considerably swell my list; but as matters are now we must abide by circumstances, and limit our demands to our capital.

(*) * * * * *

Nunc, audi, vide, lege relegere, et tandem quod justum est judica.

(Signed) PIETER NUTTS.

Fort Zeelandia, 10th February, 1629.

The Dutch authorities at Batavia do not appear to have acted at once on the suggestions of Governor Nuits. No opposition to the construction of the Spanish forts was offered, and no steps were taken to drive away the Spanish till twelve years after they had first established themselves in the Island. In 1641, the year after the thrones of Spain and Portugal became separate, the Dutch resolved to endeavour to get rid of their dangerous neighbours, and the following outspoken communication from the Governor of Zelandia was sent to the Commander of the Spanish fortress at Kelung:—

To GONSALO PORTILIO,

Governor of the Spanish Fortress
on the Island of Kelang.

SIR,—I beg to inform you that I have been placed in command of a large naval and military force, for the purpose of making myself master, by fair means or otherwise, of the fortress of Santissima Trinidad on the island of Kelang, of which Your Excellency is the Governor.

It being the usage among Christian nations to give notice of one's intentions and designs before commencing hostilities, I therefore send you this summons to surrender. If you are willing to listen to our terms of capitulation, and will deliver over to us the fortress of Santissima Trinidad and your other strongholds, you and your garrison shall be treated in all good faith, according to the usages and customs of war; but if you turn a deaf ear to this summons, there will be no remedy left than to have recourse to arms. I, therefore, hope Your Excellency will well weigh over the contents of this letter and avoid bloodshed, and I trust you will without delay, and in a few words, let me know your intentions.

Commending you to God,

Your Excellency's Friend,

PAULUS TRADENIUS.

Fort Zeelandia, 26th August, 1641.

To this letter, the frankness and vigour of which are in strong contrast to most communications of a similar nature in the pre-

sent day, the Spanish Governor replied with spirit and courtesy, as follows:—

To THE GOVERNOR OF TAIWAN.

SIR,—Your letter of the 26th August was duly received, and in reply I have to inform you, as becometh a good Christian, who respecteth the oath that he hath given to his King, that I cannot and will not surrender the fortress demanded by Your Excellency, as I and the garrison are determined to defend it.

I am accustomed to meet large armies and have fought many battles against such in Flanders, as well as in other countries; I therefore beg you not to trouble yourself to write any further letters of such purport to me.

Let each of us defend ourselves as best as we can. We are Christian Spaniards, and the God in whom we trust is our Protector. May the Lord watch over you.

Written from our Chief Fortress Salvador,
6th September, 1641.

(Signed) GONSALO PORTILIO.

On receipt of the Spanish Governor's reply refusing to surrender, the Dutch at once prepared an expeditionary force against Tamsui and Kelung. This force was so strongly resisted by the Spanish that it was compelled to retire. The Dutch, however, fully realised the necessity of expelling a rival so dangerous to their commercial interests, and before long active preparations for another attack were made. The Spanish, hearing that another expedition was being organised to act against them, applied to the Governor of Manila for reinforcements, but as he was at that time engaged in operations against Mindanao and Sooloo, 'the only help sent was a few provisions, a small quantity of munitions of war, and eight Spanish soldiers!' All preparations having been made, the Dutch expedition set out. On the 3rd of August, 1642, the fleet, consisting of four frigates, a large cutter, a fly boat, eight small vessels, and numerous transports, arrived off Tamsui. The Dutch were not long in effecting a

landing, though bravely opposed by the Spanish, whose force was so small that it was soon outnumbered and compelled to surrender. The Dutch, having landed, proceeded to attack the fort. Its garrison held out bravely, but being unable to withstand the superior numbers opposed to it was compelled to surrender after a siege of six days, on the 24th August, 1642. By this victory the Dutch were left masters of Formosa, and we hear of no further attempt being made by the Spanish to establish themselves on the Island.

The Dutch had now got rid of their European neighbours, the Spanish, and had arranged their difficulties with the Japanese. But a third and more formidable enemy sprang up, who, as the sequel will show, finally succeeded in driving the Dutch from their settlements in Formosa.

In order to understand aright the growth of the Chinese power in Formosa, it is necessary to glance at the events which were occurring in China at the time when the island was occupied by the Dutch. From 1624 to 1644 China was the scene of civil war and of foreign invasion. It was during this period that the Ming dynasty was overthrown, and a Tartar monarch ascended the throne. Civil war with all its miseries had caused many of the Chinese to flee from their homes, and it is stated that no less than 25,000 families emigrated to Formosa, who formed the nucleus from which has sprung the large and industrious Chinese population now to be found all over the island. Although a Manchu Emperor had succeeded in obtaining the throne of China, there were many provinces throughout the Empire which refused to acknowledge his sway. Among them was the province of Fuhkien, which held out for a considerable time, being enabled to do so through the patriotism of a number of bold, daring characters, who refused to wear the Manchu badge of submission—the queue, now so highly prized by the denizens of the Flowery Land—and who

vowed vengeance on the invaders of their country, who had brought misery and destitution to their homes. Of these daring spirits the most famous were *Chêng Chi-lung** and his son *Chêng Kung*,† or as he is more commonly known, Koxinga.‡ *Cheng Chi-lung* was born at the village of Shih Tsing§ near An-hai|| in the Chin-chew¶ Prefecture. He went when young to Macao, where he became a Christian under the name of Nicholas Gaspard. From Macao he proceeded to Manila, and he is also said to have served under the Dutch in Formosa. From the latter place he removed to Japan to join his uncle, and while there married a Japanese wife who gave birth to a son, named *Chêng Kung*, the famous Koxinga. While assisting his uncle, *Cheng Chi-lung* appears to have won his confidence, and he was despatched by him with a vessel laden with treasure and merchandise to trade in China. Finding himself possessed of so much wealth, he availed himself of the opportunity to appropriate it for his own purposes, and changing his rôle of trader to that of pirate became the terror of the seas. With the prizes he took, he was soon able to get together a fleet so large that he commanded the coast from the province of Chekiang to that of Kwangtung. One of the princes of the Ming dynasty, who was anxious to procure his assistance against the Manchus, conferred upon him the royal surname of Chu, from whence he came to be called *Kwoh-sing-ye* (Koxinga)**, the bearer of the royal surname. The Manchu authorities, seeing that he was so powerful and that they were no match for him, and fearing lest he might join the cause of the adherents of the Ming dynasty, tried to bribe him over to their side with

* 鄭芝龍. † 成功.

‡ For the chief events in the life of Koxinga and his father we are almost entirely indebted to the 'Life of Koxinga,' by Mr. Philipps.

§ 石井. || 安海.

¶ 泉州府. ** 國姓爺.

the offer of high rank. To these attempts he finally yielded, and received the rank of admiral from the Manchu Emperor, who also granted him a free pardon for all his piratical acts. From this date he gave up piracy and devoted himself to trade. He not only fitted out ships from his residence at Anhai, situated at a distance of about twenty miles from the treaty port of Amoy, to trade with the Straits, Siam, Java, Manila, Macao, and Formosa, but also compelled all vessels carrying on trade with the Dutch, Portuguese, and Spanish settlements to obtain in the first instance a permit from him. In this way he amassed a fortune so enormous that he is said to have exceeded the Emperor in wealth, and became such a power in the south of China that the Manchus, beginning to be alarmed at his influence, used every endeavour to get him into their power. After many failures they ultimately enticed him to Peking by stratagem, and there put him to death. His son Koxinga, who had left Japan when quite young to live with his father at Anhai, was deeply grieved to learn the fate of his father, and, determining to avenge his death, proceeded to Koolangso, opposite to Amoy, with a small band of followers, including his brother Sieh-she*, and there raised the standard of rebellion. He provided himself with funds by seizing a junk laden with treasure which had arrived at Amoy from Japan, and soon collected so large an army that he was able before long to take possession of Amoy and Quemoy. In 1650 he aided the Chinese in resisting the attack of the Manchus on Canton, and offered such a determined opposition to the besiegers that the siege was protracted for eight months, and the city only fell at last through treachery. In 1653 he occupied the town of Hai-tsing† at the entrance of the Changchow river, and his power increased so rapidly that 'never before or since was a more powerful and mighty fleet seen in the waters of this Em-

pire than that of Koxinga's, numbering more than 3,000 junks, which he had ordered to rendezvous in the bays and rivers round Amoy. The sight of them inspired one with awe. This squadron did not include the various fleets he had scattered along the neighbouring coast.' In 1658, with the object of making himself master of Kiangnan, he headed an expedition against Nanking, but the Manchus made so effectual a resistance that Koxinga had to retire with great loss. The Manchus, seeing the advantage of attacking Koxinga's forces before they had time to recover from their recent defeat, lost no time in despatching a squadron to Amoy, whither Koxinga had retreated. On this occasion victory was on the side of Koxinga, the Manchu fleet being overcome after a severe fight and much loss of life. The Manchus, despairing of ever being able to vanquish Koxinga by sea, now resorted to another plan of overcoming him, which was to starve his forces by cutting off all sources of supply from the villages along the coast. Accordingly a decree was issued calling upon all the inhabitants of the coast to retire four leagues inwards and to submit to have their dwellings destroyed. This edict was at once carried into effect, and 'to prevent the great number of destroyed villages from being rebuilt, forts were erected at the distance of every three miles, and each one garrisoned with 100 men, who put to death, without pity or without any form of law, all the unfortunate beings whom they happened to find in the immense belt included in the twelve-mile radius.'

Koxinga, cut off from all supplies on the mainland, was compelled to look about him for some place whence he could provision his troops, and it was to Formosa that he turned his attention. As we have shown, the disturbed state of affairs on the mainland of China had driven large numbers of immigrants to seek a home in Formosa. This immigration was at first encouraged by the Dutch, but afterwards, becom-

* 襲 會. † 海 澄.

ing alarmed at the large numbers that kept crossing over, they put a stop to it, and actually tortured some of the immigrants whom they suspected of intriguing with their countrymen on the mainland. This treatment made the Chinese settlers unfriendly to the Dutch, and accordingly when Koxinga formed the design of conquering the island, he not only was able to gain all the information he required by maintaining a clandestine correspondence with the Chinese settlers, but also found them only too ready to co-operate with him in the execution of his plans. The Dutch themselves were aware of this, and hearing that Koxinga was making warlike preparations, sent an embassy to demand of him whether he was for peace or war. To this demand Koxinga sent the following answer:—

‘Being at great distance from you, I could not but receive your letter with a more than ordinary satisfaction, which I perused more than once, to inform myself the better of your intentions. You mention some false rumours, but at the same time seem to give credit to them. In my father Iquam’s time, the Dutch possessed themselves of a certain place in the isle of Taiwan, with his consent, for the convenience of trade, which I have not in the least interrupted, and therefore judge you to be obliged to me upon that score. I have of late years been so deeply involved in a war with the Tartars, that I have had no leisure to trouble my head with an inconsiderable island that produces nothing but grass. It not being my custom to disclose my designs, but rather, if I aim at the east to point to the west, how can you suppose to be informed of them by rumours. The reason why so few of our ships come to that island is because they cannot trade thither with any profit, the customs being so heavy. It was but this year the Tartars made a strong invasion into the low land of China, in hopes to put an end to the war with one blow, but they were so bravely received that they were forced to retreat with the loss of 100 of their commanders and a

great number of their men; we then retired into the islands of Ey and Quemoy, in hopes to draw them thither, and so catch them in the trap. Concerning your complaints of having been treated in a hostile manner in the island of Pescadores, if it be really so, it has been done without our knowledge. I sent back an immediate answer, together with your presents, to the letter sent to me from Batavia four years ago, by which I understand, that you intended us but a very slender satisfaction, for the Joncken or ships and the loading and money aboard them detained by you, notwithstanding which I did not think fit to urge the business any further for fear of occasioning a rupture betwixt us; it shall be my endeavour, as soon as the Tartarian war is brought to a conclusion, to encourage trade as much as possible may be, and don’t question but you will on the other hand contribute to it, as far as lies in your power. Given in the 10th year, the 19th day of the 10th month of the reign of King Indick.’

These assurances did not, however, allay the suspicions of the Dutch Governor, who urged the importance of making every preparation against an attack. The local Council also desired to adopt precautionary measures. But the Admiral of the Fleet insisted that there was not the least danger, although he had been sent from Batavia with reinforcements to protect Formosa, or, if that was unnecessary, to attack Macao. He upbraided the Governor and the Council for being alarmists, and stated his intention of proceeding to attack Macao, as his presence was no longer required in Formosa. The Governor tried in vain to persuade him to remain, but, turning a deaf ear to all remonstrances, he set out to attack Macao. Having completely failed in his attempt on that Portuguese settlement, he returned to Batavia, and accused the Governor of Zelandia of being needlessly alarmed as to the movements of Koxinga. The Council entirely failing to appreciate the position of affairs, and being averse to incurring further expenses

by despatching reinforcements to Formosa, recalled the Governor. The apprehensions of the Governor were, however, only too well founded, for no sooner had the Admiral, 'Headstrong John,' as he was most appropriately nick-named, withdrawn than Koxinga, crossing over from the mainland, appeared before Fort Zelandia with 20,000 troops. Assisted by numbers of Chinese on shore, who were ill-disposed towards the Dutch for reasons already given, he succeeded in effecting a landing after having repulsed the attack of the Dutch, who, underestimating their enemy, had only detached 240 soldiers to oppose him. He at once occupied a position between Fort Zelandia and Fort Provintia, took possession of the latter fort, and the town of Zelandia, laid siege to Fort Zelandia, and cut off all communication with the open country. The Council of Batavia were at last aroused to the danger of the position. Succours were sent with all speed from Batavia, consisting of ten ships and 700 soldiers. The garrisons of Kelung and Tamsui were ordered to reinforce the besieged, and the women, children and other helpless persons were sent to Batavia. By aid of the reinforcements Koxinga was temporarily checked, but with a fatal want of foresight the Dutch, having been applied to by the Governor of Fuhkien for assistance, sent five ships to help in the expulsion of Koxinga's forces from the neighbouring mainland. This weakening of the Dutch forces resulted in a loss of confidence among the besieged and to this was super-added treachery on the part of some of the garrison, who pointed out where the fort was weak. Koxinga was not slow to avail himself of these advantages. His onslaughts became more vigorous, and finally succeeded in making a breach. The fort was at length compelled to surrender after a siege of nine months, and on the 12th February, 1662, Koxinga hoisted his flag on Fort Zelandia. No less than nine thousand Chinese and six hundred Dutch are said to have perished during the siege. The lives of

the Dutch who survived were spared, and they were allowed to leave the Island with their private property for Java. The Council of Formosa, who had done all in their power to secure the island, were imprisoned and their goods confiscated, whilst the Governor was condemned to perpetual banishment on one of the Bunda Islands.

Thus ended the Dutch occupation of Formosa (though according to Valentyn they did not leave Formosa until 1668), and from this time Chinese rule was established in the island.

From the above sketch it will be seen that the Dutch were first of all confined to the fort of Taiwan, that thence their authority extended to Tamsui and Kelung, at each of which places were erected strongholds of great strength for that period, from which the chief harbours on the West and North Coast were controlled by garrisons stationed in the fortresses. The Eastern coast remained almost unknown to them, no settlement having been established there during the time of their occupation. The stations at Tamsui and Kelung, being mere military outposts, had but little influence on the surrounding country beyond their immediate neighbourhood. Even at the headquarters of the Dutch, the region of Fort Zelandia, their control did not extend far. Still wherever they came in contact with the natives, they endeavoured to civilize them by education and other influences. Many of them were taught to read and to write, a fact mentioned by contemporaneous Dutch writers and proved by title deeds and other documents which have been recently found among the descendants of aborigines who were subject to the rule of the Dutch. Earnest endeavours were also made to introduce Christianity. Schoolmasters were placed in the various villages to give instruction in the leading doctrines. The catechism and part of the Gospel were translated into the native tongue. Churches and schools multiplied, inter-marriages be-

tween the colonists and natives became frequent, and the number of converts increased daily, many thousands having, it is said, embraced the new doctrines. But the Dutch Government, being afraid lest they should offend the Japanese, who were then persecuting the Christians in Japan, and losing their trading privileges, should be dismissed from the country like the Portuguese and the Spanish, discouraged in every way the conversion of the natives.

As regards the civil government of the natives, the Dutch introduced new laws among them, and allowed a headman to be elected in each town or village from among the people themselves, who administered their affairs and from whose decisions an appeal lay to the Governor of Fort Zelandia. The natives seem to have been well disposed towards the Dutch, and even to this day, we are informed, they speak of them in terms of high respect. They failed, however, to ingratiate themselves with the Chinese settlers, and on this account, so soon as Koxinga raised his standard in Formosa, the Dutch rule was doomed. During the time of the Dutch occupation the goodwill and co-operation of the Chinese were indispensable. Still less can this necessity be ignored to-day, when, after 250 years of colonization and absorption of the aborigines, the Chinese are more powerful than ever.

CHINESE RULE IN FORMOSA.

After the Dutch had been expelled from Formosa, Koxinga, freed from all opponents, immediately set about the work of establishing himself permanently in his island home. He assumed the title of Lord of the district, and fixed his Court at Zelandia.

He found the Chinese settlers far more willing to be subject to him than to their former rulers, the barbarians from the West, whose customs were strange and whose treatment of them had in many cases been harsh. Although not of pure extraction himself, for, as we have seen, his

mother was a native of Japan, he was far-seeing enough to understand that the form of government best suited to the Chinese was that to which they had been accustomed in their native homes, so long as it was administered justly. Accordingly we find him introducing Chinese laws and forms of government, and dividing his kingdom according to the Chinese territorial system by separating it into two departments. He also showed that he well understood how to avoid injuring the susceptibilities of his subjects by not assuming the title of Emperor, though he was emperor of the island in every respect but in name.

Recognising the importance of securing his position, he established garrisons along the west coast. He also made several endeavours to extend his authority into the territory of the aborigines, and with this view made several attacks on them. Having failed in these, he began to devise plans for the extension of his sway abroad.

He first turned his attention towards the Philippines, and determined to force the Spaniards to acknowledge his suzerainty by sending him tribute. For this purpose he summoned Father Ricci, head of the Dominican Mission at Amoy, at which place Koxinga had allowed him to build a chapel in 1655, to Formosa, and commanded him to repair to Manila with the following despatch :—

‘It has been the practice of all antiquity, and is so still, that any offspring of a foreign nation pay tribute and acknowledgment to renowned princes chosen by heaven. The foolish Hollanders, not understanding the decrees and ordinances of heaven, behaved themselves without fear or shame, wronging and tyrannizing over my subjects, and robbing my trading champans; for which reason I had long since designed to put out a fleet to punish their crimes. But heaven and earth having endued me with a wonderful forbearance and generosity, I continually sent them friendly advice and admonitions, hoping they would repent for their sins,

and mend their faults ; but they, growing more hardened, more unruly and perverse, took no notice. I being therefore highly provoked, in the year 1662, in the fourth moon, the fury of my anger swelling, set out a fleet to chastise their crimes, and coming to their forts slew innumerable multitudes of them, the Hollanders having no way left to fly or get off, and naked humbly begged they might be our subjects. Their cities, forts, lakes, warehouses, and what they had been many years gathering in a short time became mine, and had they, being sensible of their faults, come sooner, humbly bowing their foreheads, to pay tribute to me, perhaps I had been appeased, and they would not be now so miserable.

‘Now your little and mean kingdom has wronged and oppressed my subjects, and my trading champan, not much unlike to the Hollanders, provoking discord, and encouraging revenge by your present tyranny. The affairs of the island Hermosa are all settled to my mind. I have hundreds of thousands of able soldiers, abundance of ships of war, and abundance of champan in this island. The way to your kingdom by water is very short, so that setting out in the morning, we may come to it at night. I thought to have gone thither in person with my fleet to punish your crimes and presumption, but I remember that though your little kingdom gave the first provocation, it afterwards expressed some repentance, giving me advice concerning the first article of this affair, I resolved to pardon it. My fleet being now in the island Hermosa, I send before only the Father and by his friendly advice, that your small kingdom may submit to the will of heaven, and acknowledge its faults, and come yearly in humble manner to my court to pay homage to me. In case you do so, I order the Father to return to me with the answer, and I shall give entire credit to him. I will deal fairly, pardon your past faults, assisting and giving you employments in your royal town, and will order the merchants to go

and trade there. And in case you suffer yourselves to be deceived and are not sensible of your own good, my fleet shall be upon you immediately, and shall burn and destroy your forts, lakes, cities, warehouses, and all other things, and then though you beg to be admitted to pay tribute, it shall not be granted, if so, the Father need not return. Good and evil, loss and gain are now in the balance ; your little kingdom must resolve speedily, and not delay repentance till it is too late. I only advise and admonish you friendlyly.’

‘In the 13th year of Jun Sie (that is 1662) the 7th of the 3rd moon (which was in April).’*

In 1662 Father Ricci started on his difficult mission, and reaching Manila, forthwith interviewed the Spanish authorities. Every precaution was taken to conceal the object of his mission, but the news soon spread abroad that the reverend Father had come as an emissary from the court of Koxinga. The Spanish population was indignant and vowed to exterminate the Chinese in Manila. The latter, becoming aware that unless they took the initiative, they would be attacked themselves, rose in a body, and it was only through the intervention of Father Ricci, who acted as go-between at the request of the Spanish Governor, that they were induced to lay down their arms on being promised a free pardon. In the meantime information had reached Koxinga that the negotiations with the Spaniards were not progressing favourably, and he had determined to repair to Manila in person to exact his demands, when his career was suddenly cut short by death after a reign of one year and nine months.

Koxinga was succeeded by his son Cheng King, who inherited none of the military qualities of his father, being more devoted to literature than to warfare. He, however, continued the hostilities, commenced

* Navarette. Churchill's Collection, Vol. I., p. CXIX.

in the time of his father, against the Manchus, who attacked the islands of Quemoy and Amoy which had been occupied by Koxinga. A stout resistance was offered to them, and it is doubtful if they would have succeeded in recapturing them, had they not been aided by the Dutch, who hoped that the Tartars would in their turn assist them to recover Formosa. Driven from Amoy, Cheng King joined the rebellion which the Kings of Fuhkien and of Kwangtung were carrying on against the forces of the Manchu Emperor. Considering, however, that he had not been treated in a respectful manner by those whose cause he had espoused, he declared war against his former ally, the King of Fuhkien. Warfare was maintained between them for some time, until at last Cheng King was forced to retire to his own dominions in Formosa, where he soon afterwards died, leaving behind him a son, aged 14, named Cheng K'o-shwang, who succeeded him.

Soon after the succession of Cheng K'o-shwang the King of Fuhkien was subdued by the Manchus, the title of King was abolished, and that of Governor substituted in its stead. The first officer who received the appointment of Governor was an official of great ability, and it was through his instrumentality that the boy king of Formosa was inveigled into visiting Peking, where he was induced to surrender his claims to the lordship of Formosa to the reigning Manchu Emperor, the great Kanghi. This happened in 1683, and in the following year an official of the rank of *Taotai*, or Intendant of circuit, was appointed to proceed to Formosa, which from this time onwards has remained an appanage of the Chinese Empire.

When Formosa came under the rule of the Manchus, its population was made up of two elements, the aborigines, untamed and civilised, and the Chinese settlers.

The aborigines, of whom a detailed account is given elsewhere, were the original occupiers of the soil, and were once spread

over the whole island. During the Dutch occupation attempts had been made to bring them within the pale of civilisation, but as the authority of the Dutch did not extend much beyond their settlements on the west and north coasts, the number of so-called civilised aborigines was not very large, the majority remaining in their wild state.

The second element in the population, the Chinese settlers, formed a very numerous class, living on the west and north coasts of the Island. It consisted of two different peoples, the Hakkas and the Fuhkieneses.

The Hakkas are a peculiar race of Chinese, who are supposed to have migrated from the provinces of the north to those of the south of China. They speak a dialect of their own, which is so different from that spoken by the Fuhkieneses as to be almost a different language. In character they are most industrious and plodding; very keen in business and bold in disposition, being more accustomed to bodily exertion and more hardy than the ordinary Chinaman.

The other settlers, chiefly immigrants from the neighbourhood of Amoy and Changchow, are distinguished by the thrift, perseverance, and patient industry which generally characterise their race in other parts of the world.

Many of these settlers had arrived in Formosa long before the Dutch occupation of the island. Their numbers had received additions from time to time, and especially at the time of the troubles arising from the Manchu invasion near the beginning of the 17th century, which drove many families from their homes, and compelled them to seek a refuge beyond the seas. At first the settlers occupied isolated settlements along the west coast; but as continuous immigration from the mainland swelled their numbers, their territory became too small for its ever-increasing population, and they were forced to make inroads into the coun-

try of the aborigines. To these encroachments the natives offered a stubborn resistance, but they were gradually driven back by the superior force of the Chinese, who were also aided by the liking of their enemies for ardent spirits, of which they craftily availed themselves by driving hard bargains as to grants of land when the aborigines were under the influence of wine. This intensified the already existing hatred, and rendered more bitter the perpetual conflict which was carried on between the invaders and the invaded.

Between the settlers themselves quarrels were of frequent occurrence. In Formosa, as in other parts of China, the *Puntis*, or Chinese proper, affected to despise the Hakkas, and, being at the same time jealous of the large tracts of country which they succeeded in obtaining and bringing under cultivation, they were ever ready to create a disturbance on the slightest pretext.

The task of governing such an unruly population was by no means an easy one. On the one hand the aborigines regarded all Chinese without distinction as their natural enemies, and were always on the lookout for an opportunity to slay them. On the other hand, the settlers had been almost free from control ever since their arrival in the island, and leading a life which was one of continued quarrels among themselves and an incessant struggle against the savages, they were but little inclined to submit to any recognised authority. Moreover, many of them were descendants of families who had been driven from their homes by the Manchus, and consequently felt unwilling to submit to those who had been the cause of their expatriation. Those of them who had arrived more recently were well aware that the system of government as administered on the mainland too often brought in its train greedy and rapacious officials, who cared little what sufferings they inflicted on the people so long as they could levy their own squeezes and fill their purses.

The first object of the Chinese Government, after having acquired possession of the island, was to bring it as far as possible under the machinery of an official administration, which might be able to some extent to control the unruly and lawless inhabitants. Accordingly, the island was incorporated with the Empire of China by converting it into a *fu* or prefecture of the Province of Fuhkien, to which the name *Taiwanfu* was given. This prefecture, over which a prefect presided, was subdivided into three districts, the Taiwan, the Fengshan, and the Chilo District, each of which was under the rule of a district magistrate, subject to the control of the prefect. He in his turn was under the jurisdiction of a Taotai, who though under the authority of the Governor of Fuhkien, had the power of addressing memorials direct to the throne, and also acted as Literary Chancellor at the competitive literary examination.

In addition to the official machinery for governing the Chinese settlers, some means had to be devised for controlling the so-called civilised aborigines, residing within the territory surrendered to China, which reached north to Keelung and south to Shamawuh, and was bounded on the east by the high central range of mountains extending across almost the whole length of the island. The mode of governing them is thus described by Père de Mailla, a missionary who made a map of Southern Formosa for the Emperor Kanghi :—

‘Although these islanders are entirely subject, they have still some remains of their ancient government. Each townlet elects three or four of the elders who enjoy the greatest reputation for probity. In virtue of this election, they become the chiefs or judges of the rest of the inhabitants ; it is they who constitute the final appeal of all litigants ; and if anybody refused to acquiesce in their judgment, he would be driven out of the community without any hope of ever being able to re-

enter, while no other town would dare to receive him. Their tributes to the Chinese are paid in grain. As regards these tributes, there is in each townlet a Chinaman conversant with the language, who serves as interpreter to the mandarins. These interpreters, who ought to procure the relief of these poor people, are themselves unworthy harpies who prey upon them pitilessly; indeed, they are such petty tyrants that they drive even the patience of the mandarins to the verge of extremity, as well as that of the islanders, who, however, are compelled to abstain from interfering with them for fear of courting still greater complication.'

As to the untamed aborigines they were beyond the control of the Government, against whom they have maintained a desperate struggle for their independence.

It was not, however, the interpreters, though they were rapacious and extortionate in the extreme, who were the main cause of discontent among the people, but the Chinese mandarins, who were insatiable in their cupidity. The absence of control from the Central Government at Peking rendered the authorities on the island practically independent. Communication with the mainland was maintained in the most fitful way. The Governor of Fuhkien, who was supposed to make an annual tour of inspection through the island, seldom visited it. The mandarins, feeling themselves free from all control and responsibility, and desiring to make the most out of what they regarded as a life of banishment, carried on their exactions unchecked. Their oppression, however, became so severe, and their demands so unjust and outrageous that the colonists, who, as we have seen, were a turbulent and reckless race, disinclined from the very first to submit to any rule, were driven to rebellion. The authorities, instead of suppressing the rising with a severe hand, had recourse to a temporising policy, and with the aid of 'silver balls' which

were more after their own heart than leaden ones, succeeded in quelling the storm for a time. But as no steps were taken to remove the old grounds of complaint, and as the venality of the officials continued as before, it was not long before it broke out again, and insurrections became so frequent that Formosa was styled 'the natural home of sedition and disaffection.' This state of affairs continued with monotonous repetition until the Japanese expedition in 1874, when the Chinese Government, rudely awakened from its apathy, took steps to render the administration of the island more effective.

The immediate and ostensible reason for this expedition was the murder of certain shipwrecked *Lew-Chewans*, whom the Japanese regarded as subjects, by a tribe of aborigines on the south coast of Formosa. The murder of shipwrecked crews, cast on the coasts of Formosa, had become so frequent that in 1867, after the cruel massacre of the crew of the American ship *Rover*, General Le Gendre, United States Consul at Amoy, proceeded to the south of the island to negotiate with the aborigines of that neighbourhood with a view to induce them to enter into a treaty to abstain from molesting strangers in future. He succeeded in making the following agreement with Toketok or Tauketok, the principal chief of the tribes of the south:—

'Territory under Tauketok,

'Village of the Tabarees, Feb. 28, 1869.

'At the request of Tauketok, the ruler of the 18 tribes south of Liang-hian, and between the range of hills East of it and the Eastern sea, including the bay known as the Southern Bay of Formosa, where the crew of the American barque *Rover* were murdered by the Koaluts, I, Charles W. Le Gendre, United States Consul for Amoy and Formosa, give this as a memorandum of the understanding arrived at between myself and the said Tauketok in 1867, the same having been approved by the United States Government and assented to, I be-

lieve, by the foreign ministers at Peking, viz. :—

‘Castaways will be kindly treated by any of the 18 tribes under Tauketok. If possible they are to display a red flag before landing. Vessels requiring supplies are to send a crew on shore, displaying a red flag, and must not land until a similar token has been shown from the shore, and then only at the spot indicated. They are not to visit the hills and villages, but, when possible, are to confine their visit to the Tuiahsokang, being the first stream on the East coast, the North Eastern Cape of South Bay, and to the Toapangnack to the West of the rock where the *Rover's* crew were murdered, the latter being the best watering place in the N. E. monsoon. Persons landing under other than these conditions do so at their own peril, and must not look, I believe, for protection from their government, if molested by the natives, who, in such case, will not be held responsible for their safety.

(Signed) CHAS. W. LE GENDRE,
United States Consul.

Witness :—

(Signed) J. ALEX. MANN,
Commissioner of Customs for
Southern Formosa.

(Signed) W. A. PICKERING,
Interpreter.’

The aborigines do not appear to have observed this agreement; the massacres of shipwrecked crews continued, finally culminating in the murder of 54 Lewchewans, which led to the Japanese expedition against the aborigines in 1874.

Since the abolition of the feudal system in Japan in 1871, a large number of persons discontented with the new state of affairs had sprung into existence. Dissatisfaction soon found expression in risings, and the progressionist party clearly saw that something must be done to withdraw the attention of discontents from affairs at home. Just at this time the murder of the

50 Lewchewans took place, and the Japanese determined, unless they received satisfaction from the Chinese, to send an expedition to the island to punish the authors of the outrage, and according to some with the *arrière pensée* of annexing the whole island. In 1873 an embassy was despatched to Peking to urge on the Chinese Government the necessity of taking immediate steps to punish the aborigines, and to prevent the recurrence of such cruelties in future. Negotiations ensued. China did not seem inclined to act, so the Japanese, having interpreted her attitude as one of disavowal, resolved to undertake the work of redress themselves.

On the 19th of May 1874, the First Minister of State issued the following notification :—

‘May 19, 1874.

‘In the 11th month of the 14th year of Meiji (November, 1871), fifty Riukians (Lewchewans), who were cast ashore in the savage part of Formosa, were murdered by the natives, and in the 3rd month of the 6th year of Meiji (March, 1873) four men of the Oda prefecture were cast ashore there and treated in a brutal manner. These affairs were made the subject of representation to the Government of China by our Ambassador Plenipotentiary.

‘Now Formosa not being far from Japan, it is probable that there will be other cases from time to time of Japanese being cast ashore there, and considering the progress which is gradually being made in navigation, it may be expected that people will in future visit that country.

‘Under such circumstances, the repetition of similar outrages is greatly to be apprehended, and His Majesty has therefore at this time appointed Saigo Yovimichi, General of the Second Rank, Commander of an expedition to that island. It will be his duty first to call to account and deal with the persons guilty of outrages on our subjects; and secondly, to take such steps

as will insure the safety of our people's navigation in the future.

The above is hereby notified.

(Signed) SANJO SANEYOSHI,
Daijo Daijen.'

Before the issue of this notification, a Japanese transport had already been despatched to Formosa conveying the advanced guard of the 'High Commission,' as the expedition was called. General Saigo, who was appointed to the chief command, soon followed with 1,800 troops, and immediately proceeded to the punishment of the aborigines. Two defeats were inflicted on them, by which the Japanese gained possession of that part of the island lying S.E. and S. of Fêng-kiang. Eight of the villages of the hostile tribes had been destroyed and their inhabitants compelled to flee north, when the attacks on the aborigines were suspended, the Japanese being satisfied with the punishment already inflicted on them.

The Chinese, though they may have appeared to have tacitly sanctioned the Japanese expedition by not having taken immediate steps to prevent it, never for a moment abandoned their claim of ownership of the island, which they regarded as an integral portion of the empire.

They had had a long experience of the difficulties of overcoming the aborigines, and may have been willing to allow the Japanese to punish them instead of undertaking the unpleasant task themselves, and also to experience the cost in men and money of such adventures. When, however, they perceived that the Japanese did not depart from the country, but claimed the expenses of the campaign from China, they commenced to take active measures to place themselves in a position to enforce their right over the island. Their armaments were pressed forward; war *matériel* was purchased on all sides; the markets were cleared of arms, and gun vessels were requisitioned. A High Commissioner, Shên Pao-chen, was appointed to direct the operations in the island, and troops were brought

over in large numbers from the mainland, no less than 11,000 men having been landed in the south of Formosa between the months of August and November. The roads in the island were improved, and communication between the east coast and the mainland was established by steam from Foo-chow.

But though both nations seemed bent on war, it was really to the interest of both to avoid it. The Chinese Government knew that it could not implicitly rely for assistance on the mass of the Chinese population in the island, who were discontented at the extortion and illegal exactions of the mandarins. Further, the preparations of the Chinese were in no way thorough. The money intended for the purchase of arms was in many instances misappropriated, and even when applied to its proper purposes, the weapons purchased were in many cases worthless. The troops too were entirely wanting in discipline, being chiefly composed of rowdies enlisted from the lowest strata of society, and were undrilled and unpaid.

As to Japan, her position was well described at the time as follows :—

'Japan's real work lies within her own boundaries. She has to consolidate her Government, reform her financial system and her administrative machinery, get the idea of discipline and obedience to constituted authority into the heads of her privileged classes, educate her people, develop her natural and industrial resources, break the power of these wretched close commercial corporations which suck all the life-blood out of her trade, enrich officials, and impoverish their country. It will be time to talk about colonization when there is a surplus population; and about armed expeditions when legitimate demands for outrages have been legitimately preferred, when there is a good balance in the Treasury which represents the surplus of revenue over expenditure, and not gold borrowed from foreigners, and when motives of expediency

have less to do with such expeditions than with that which now threatens to bring serious trouble upon the Empire. It would be well for both hostile nations, better far for Japan, if her friends could persuade her that it is to her interest to withdraw her troops from Formosa. Else may she, wise after the fact, exclaim with Sir Andrew Aguecheek, 'Plague on't, an' I thought he had been valiant and so cunning in fence, I'd have seen him d—d ere I'd have challenged him.'

Fortunately war, which appeared so imminent, was averted through the mediation of the British Minister at Peking, who by his influence, tact, and good judgment succeeded in bringing about the following agreement :—

'As the people of every country are bound to protect others within its borders, and see that they suffer no injury, it is consequently obligatory on each country to take such measures as will secure this protection ; and if wrongs have been suffered the country which has the grievance should look to the other for redress. Now, therefore, seeing that the aborigines of Formosa had destroyed and barbarously injured certain people under the protection of Japan, it was the purpose of that Government to call them to account for these acts, and to this end they despatched troops to that region to punish them and bring them to order. The whole matter having now been fully discussed with the Chinese Government, the three following stipulations, relating to the withdrawal of the troops and the manner of preventing like outrages in future, have been agreed upon by the two parties.

I. As Japan had in view the protection of her subjects in all that she has now done (in Formosa), China does not regard those acts as wrong.

'II. China binds herself to pay an indemnity to the families of the sufferers ; and, as she desires to retain the improvements made there in opening roads, erect-

ing houses, and in other things done there, she hereby agrees beforehand that she will pay a sum to recoup this outlay, the amount to be hereafter determined upon.

III. All the documents which have passed between the two parties in relation to this affair are hereby recalled and cancelled, so that they may not hereafter be quoted as precedent. China will take every proper measure to restrain the aborigines of that region, so that hereafter no injuries shall be suffered by unhappy mariners who may be cast ashore among them.'

The terms in relation to indemnity were as follows :—

'China will first pay 100,000 taels to Japan, as indemnity to the families of the men who were killed in Formosa. She will further pay 400,000 taels to Japan when the troops now in Formosa have been withdrawn, and take possession of the roads opened, houses erected, and other things done there. The 'money for the last will be paid on the 20th December next, on which day the troops will all leave, each party fulfilling his own part without fail. If Japan does not withdraw all her troops on that day, the money will not all be paid up.'

The troops were accordingly withdrawn, and thus ended the Japanese High Commission to Formosa, which clearly showed the Chinese Government that, if it was to maintain its hold on the island, steps should be taken to strengthen the Chinese rule there by improving the internal and external communications and reforming the territorial divisions, which were so badly arranged as to leave large tracts of country almost free from control. We have seen that when the Emperor Kanghi gained possession of Formosa in 1683, the island was converted into a prefecture of the province of Fuhkien, and divided into three districts,—the Taiwan, the Fêngshán and the Chilo District. In 1723 the Changhua district and the Tamshuiting were added, and in 1727 the Pescadores were joined under the same administration. It is not therefore

difficult to see how defective the administrative arrangements of the island were and how much they needed reform. In the district of Fêngshān alone, there was only one magistrate to govern a territory extending over an area of more than 400 square miles, with a military force consisting of one officer and 500 soldiers to help him to keep order. Again in the east of Formosa, the inhabitants, made up of Hakkas, and aborigines, civilized and uncivilized, were all under the control of a sub-prefect residing at Taiwanfu. To show how merely nominal his authority was and how completely ineffective the Chinese administration of the east coast had become, it is only necessary to state that aborigines who had been reclaimed were through neglect allowed to relapse into their former state. In fact the people, though not in name, were in reality almost free from official control, and so much was this the case that in many Hakka towns the entry of an official within their walls was strictly forbidden, and all official communications with the savages had to be conducted through the Hakkas or the subdued aborigines instead of through the regular official channel. With these facts before them, it is not a matter of surprise that in 1874 many people were inclined to doubt that Formosa was part and portion of the Empire of China.

The High Commissioner Shen Pao-chen* perceived that the only remedy for the present ineffective administration was a redistribution of the seats of Government, improvement in communications, works of defence, and colonisation. Accordingly a new district was created in the South, extending from the rivulet near Pang Liaot to the extreme South, called the Hang Ch'un† district, and on the East Coast a new district was made with Pelam§ for its head quarters. In 1878 a further change

* 沈葆楨. † 枋寮.
‡ 恒春. § 卑南.

was made in the territorial administration of the island by establishing a new prefecture in the North entitled the Tai Pei* prefecture, which includes the districts of Tam-shui,† Hsin-chu‡ and Yi-lan.§

As to communications, steps were at once taken to strengthen the hold of the Government on the East, to which end a road was made down the coast from Suao to Khelai. By this road, greater security was ensured to those who trade on the East coast, and a wide tract of territory was thrown open. To colonise and protect this region a number of emigrants were brought from the mainland under the auspices and aid of the Government..

A road was also constructed from a place called Chihshan,|| 25 miles East from Takow, across the Kunlan mountains to Pelam. This road is of great importance, for the Kunlan mountain is the converging point of many savage tracks leading North and South, and by it communication between Pelam on the East and Takow on the West is established, a journey of 4 days being necessary to travel from one place to the other.

The defences of the island also received consideration. A new fort was built about a mile to the South of Anping to command the roadstead there; one was erected at Saracen Head for the defence of Takow, and another smaller fort was constructed to defend the entrance to its inner harbour.

The visits of the superior official, the Governor of Fuhkien, which were at one time merely nominal, became more regular, a visit of inspection being made each year. In this way the subordinate mandarins on the island were restrained from levying their 'squeezes.' The Chinese settlers, being allowed to carry on their pursuits undisturbed by the inordinate exactions of

* 臺北府. † 淡水.
‡ 新竹縣. § 宜蘭縣.
|| 赤山.

mandarin venality, have become a more contented and law-abiding race of people, and insurrections and rebellions, once so frequent, are now rare events. The improvements in the internal communications also contributed towards bringing about a more settled state of affairs, for by them the control of the government was rendered more effective throughout the island, especially in the populous west.

In 1879 the bond of union between the Central Government at Peking and the island was strengthened by extending to the North the literary examinations, which had hitherto been confined to the prefecture of Taiwan. The system of literary examinations forms one of the strongest ties by which the central Chinese Government maintains its authority, especially in the outlying and troublesome provinces. In Yunnan, Szechuan, and other similar provinces where aboriginal people had to be subdued, the effect of admitting them to the advantages of the literary examinations, and thereby giving them the opportunity of sharing in the government of the country, has always been to bring them more under the central authority at Peking and to make them more contented.

In 1879 the Chinese authorities were again aroused to the defenceless condition of the island owing to the threatened outbreak of war between China and Russia. Plans were drawn up for the erection of four new forts connecting Banka with Taiwanfu, and a gunboat was detached for permanent service in the North of the Island. But the Russian scare was soon over, and little or no attention was paid to the island until quite recently, when it became the object of attack from the latest foes of China, the French.

PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY.

Formosa is intersected by a range of mountains, varying in height from 200 to 12,000 feet, following the general direction of the island from north to south,

and forming its backbone. The range is called by the Chinese Chü-Shan, or Saw Hills. Its western slope is somewhat gradual, and falls on to a large undulating plain on which the Chinese have settled, but on the eastern coast the range descends very precipitously, presenting a most dangerous shore, exposed to the full blast of the Pacific. The western coast has no good harbours, and vessels are often compelled to lie off the island exposed to bad weather. The only harbours are Keelung and Tamsui, in the north, and Taiwan, in the south. The Chinese are confined as yet to the possession of the western plain, and the harbours and villages of the western and northern coasts, and to a few settlements on the east; the main mountain range being inhabited by aboriginal tribes, gradually becoming subject to the Chinese, or exterminated by them, the invariable result of the contact of aboriginal races with those of a superior civilization.

The outline of the coast is very irregular, with numerous inlets and bold headlands. The island presents every variety of country, —high peaks enveloped by mist and snow, valleys covered with luxuriant vegetation, and the extensive plain on the west, with its rich alluvial soil. Here is found nine-tenths of the whole population of Formosa. Through this plain the rivers, few and shallow, wind from the foot of the hills. On the wild, abrupt eastern coast, where there are few sandy beaches, and on these often a heavy swell, there is only one fertile plain of any considerable extent. This valley, known commonly as Kapsulan, and officially as Komalan, commences some 25 miles south of Keelung, and extends for some 14 miles further south to Suao Bay. Its greatest width is some seven miles, the inland boundary being a semi-circle of mountains. Within the valley, one large rice-field, are situated thirty-five villages and several thriving towns, the principal of these being Lotong, a well-built town with a population of a few thousands, and

some trade. Although only settled since the beginning of this century, and in the early years of its occupation the resort of outlaws, it can now boast of a very orderly and respectable community, who live well, owing to the fertility of the soil. The original inhabitants of the plain, called by themselves Kabaran, have been compelled by the Chinese to retire from the open country to the lower hill slopes, where they are forced into contact with the untamed aborigines dwelling within the dense forests. The amount of level land to be found along the whole broken, steep eastern coast, is exceedingly limited, the precipitous and thickly wooded mountains coming for the most part sheer down to the beach, deep water being found close alongside. On the few small bays with patches of plain land which are to be found, Chinese communities have settled. The lower slopes of the hills are being gradually denuded of their covering, the edge of the wooded tracts being invariably the boundary line between the territories of the settlers and the natives. On the east the streams are fierce mountain torrents, more like waterfalls than rivers, rendering navigation of any sort an absolute impossibility.

The great defect of Formosa, in the way of the development of the island, is the absence of good deep-water harbours, and the violence of the monsoons in the Formosa channel, which renders navigation difficult and dangerous. The east coast is not visited by the full strength of the N.E. monsoon, presumably owing to the precipitous and mountainous character of the mountain slope. With practically no harbour of any value on the east coast, those on the west coast are mere roadsteads, with few exceptions, only admitting vessels of light draught, up to ten or twelve feet. The coast line, except in the north, is a succession of sand banks and shoals. From the brief description given of the main ports, which are open to foreign trade, —Keelung and Tamsui in the north, and

Taiwan and Takow in the south,—it will be seen what enormous, almost insuperable difficulties exist in the way of navigation.

The northern part of Formosa is high and mountainous, with the exception of its north and north-west points, which are low, with reefs extending a considerable distance off the coast. The sea has here a great depth. The scenery in the immediate neighbourhood of Keelung is very fine, with picturesque knolls and undulating wooded hills coming down close to the water-edge, while behind these the mountain-range of Tamsui, generally covered with clouds, rises to 2,800 feet above the sea. The verdure and vegetation here form to the eye a pleasing contrast to the flat western coast, and the general sterile northern mainland. Northern Formosa is volcanic, as might be expected from the fact that it is situated between two great volcanic centres, Japan and the Philippines. The river at Tamsui, and the alluvial plain at the back of the town, form a natural boundary between the Tamsui mountain system and that of the main mountain backbone of the island. The hills here are composed of stratified rocks which have been tilted up by the igneous rocks. At Keelung sandstone is the predominating formation, where it assumes the most fantastic shapes.

North of Tamsui the beach is a field of lava, seamed and cracked, with deep gullies, and is not unlikely the outer edge of a submarine eruption. At Keelung there is at the present day probably volcanic agency at work under the sea. The water is occasionally covered with floating pumice, and the results of volcanic subaqueous movement have been noticed, especially during the earthquake of 1867. There are six sets of volcanic geysers in the district. During the earthquake mentioned the sea receded from Keelung harbour, leaving the anchorage quite dry, returning a few seconds after in two huge waves, sweeping away shipping, and destroying to a great extent Keelung and

other towns close by, while even Tamsui suffered considerably.

Keelung is situated on the shores of a bay situated between capes Foki and Petow, lying some twenty-two miles apart. The portion of North Formosa between these points receives the roll of the heavy sea of the N.E. monsoon, though fairly sheltered during the S.W. monsoon. In the bay is Keelung island, a remarkable black rock rising precipitously on all sides, with a somewhat flat summit, 580 feet in height. The harbour is easy of access, and fairly well sheltered in all except the northerly winds, whose full force is felt. At present the depth of water in Keelung harbour is not sufficient for large ocean steamers to gain the requisite shelter from the N.E. monsoon, owing to the accumulation of ballast, which has for many years been thrown overboard, by the junks. The bad weather often prevents cargo-boats from going alongside the steamers outside. The harbour might be improved by dredging, which has been proposed more than once, but it is more than doubtful whether the effect would be lasting. If the coal-mines are ever to be of any great value, or to turn out profitable, the water must be permanently deepened close to the town.

The so-called harbour of Tamsui, 'Fresh-water' town, which is really only the lower reach of the Tamsui river, lies in a valley situated south of the high northernmost range, one of whose peaks stands 2,800 feet high over the harbour. To the south of this again is a double-peaked hill, with a summit 2,000 feet high. In the funnel-shaped entrance is a bar, with only eight feet of water at low tide, and seven to twelve feet rise during spring tide. The anchorage ground, which is of shifting sand, is most insecure. The shore, next the mouth of the Tamsui river, is composed of low ground interspersed with sand hills; on the south are sand and mud flats, stretching for some distance southwards; on the north a stony flat. Hu-wei, the town known to Euro-

peans as Tamsui, is situated some two miles from the mouth of the river, just beyond the old Dutch red fort, which is now the British consulate.

The harbour is really formed by the debouchure of numerous streams rising in the mountains in various directions, and at distances varying from twenty to seventy miles from the mouth. The main branch comes from the south-east, but another important one rises in the north-east, in the immediate neighbourhood of Keelung, a few miles to the south, on the southern side of a hill-pass, the upper reaches being covered with fierce rapids. These streams flow towards Mêngka, called also Bangka or Banca, where they form a junction, some fifteen miles from the sea, into which they empty themselves. Large quantities of silt are brought down by the river, especially when swollen by heavy rains, the result being a troublesome bank in the middle of the river, and the narrow bar at the entrance, on which the sea at times breaks with great violence. A dangerous surf rises with a fresh breeze, and vessels cannot count on entering, or once within, on leaving the port. In fine weather and at high tide, coasting steamers of small draught can enter, but vessels of any considerable draught do not venture in, on account of the insufficient depth, and the surf-swell. The anchorage has shifted from the southern side, where it was within the memory of native residents, to the northern bank. This has been generally attributed to the wholesale deposit of ballast from junks in the river, never interfered with by the Chinese officials.

In the south, Takow is the only port with a harbour which admits vessels of twelve feet draught. This harbour is formed by a small basin, lying within a great placid lagoon, six miles in length and one to two in breadth, situated parallel to the sea. On the north it is bounded by a rich, flat plain, through which meanders a river, and on the south is a low sand bank, extending southward from Saracen Head;

until it rejoins a continuation of the plain. On this is situated the village of Takow, with a population of about 1,000. The entrance to the harbour is only 200 feet wide, lying next to and north of Saracen Head. A narrow ridge of sand runs from this point northwards, curving out but generally parallel to the shore north of the entrance. Over the north and south parts there are ten to twelve feet of water at low spring tides, but on the central portion not more than seven to nine feet. Its loose sands are constantly shifting, especially when freshets occur, and in the S.W. monsoon, when wind and swell beat against the tides, forcing their way seawards from the lagoon. In bad weather the sea breaks heavily on the bar. The anchorage is so confined that vessels cannot swing, and have to be moored head and stern, and a middle spit of sand further reduces the breadth of the anchorage, which is only practicable for small steamers.

Trade is carried on from this place principally with Amoy. From Takow to Taiwan the distance is about twenty miles, the journey being performed either on foot, by chair, or on horseback. A telegraph line has united the two places since 1874, when it was erected by Chinese students, who had been trained in the Foochow dockyard school of instruction. Owing to the surf so common at the Takow harbour, boats similar to those called catamarans are largely used. These are rafts of stout bamboos lashed together, the boatmen using the common Chinese paddle and a large sail, rigged in the ordinary way. The passenger is seated in a large tub placed in the centre of the raft-boat, which has surrounding it a slender-looking, but strong, bamboo railing. These unsafe looking craft face the roughest swell thrown against the coast by the whole force of the S.W. monsoon, yet accidents are not very common. In any case, they are the safest class of boat for the purpose required. Approaching Takow from the sea the prominent features

in a very unattractive landscape are on the left Ape's Hill, 1,100 feet high, with its barren, rugged sides rising with a steep slope from the sea. This hill, a block of coral, whose summit resembles a crater, is believed to be an extinct volcano, which has been alternately submerged and upheaved. Further south in Saracen Head, 173 feet high, a nearly level block, faced on the sea side by precipitous cliffs rising from the water's edge.

For some twenty miles north of Takow is a straight line of beach pierced by four small streams, and there is nothing noticeable until Fort Zelandia is reached, built by the Dutch in 1634 to guard the entrance of the then extensive lagoon-harbour of Taiwan-fu, the capital of the island. This open roadstead,—known sometimes as the Anping road, from the fishing village of that name which has sprung up round the ruins of the Dutch fort,—has an anchorage of some six fathoms, but is situated next a series of flat sandy banks, on which the surf breaks heavily. These banks separate the roadstead from a shallow muddy lagoon, next which is a low, flat plain. During the N.E. monsoon, from December to March, sheltered anchorage is found to the south-west of Fort Zelandia. But this position is unsafe during the whole of the S.W. monsoon, and when the monsoon is exerting its full strength, no vessel can lie off the Western Formosa coast, exposed to its full brunt. The bar is so dangerous that cargo-boats cannot pass it for days and sometimes for weeks. The channel of the bar is constantly shifting here, as at Takow and Tamsui, and also like those shoaling rapidly. Good harbours existed formerly with fifteen to twenty feet of water, where junks cannot now enter, and according to the Dutch records, and Chinese testimony, the sea reached, at the time of the Dutch occupation, to the fort inside the city, that is, several miles further inland. From June till September trade at An-ping is stopped, all goods being sent to Takow for shipment. The superintendent

of the Imperial Chinese Customs and his staff are here, the British Consul and a medical missionary residing at Taiwan-fu. A mud plain, covered at high water, lies between the two places, communication being maintained by means of a small canal, by which flat-bottomed boats reach the city.

Since the time of the Dutch occupation, some 250 years ago, the whole west coast has undergone great change. The harbours are silting up, and the coast is gradually, though slowly, undergoing a movement of upheaval. The earthquakes which have occurred,—the worst of these being that of 1782, which lasted twelve hours, accompanied by terrible torrents of rain and tidal waves,—have largely helped in effecting these changes. During the Dutch occupation Anping was, as may be seen from the maps of that period, an island, while to-day it not only forms part of the mainland, but has a sand bank stretching into the sea for several miles, on which the Chinese fishermen have built a village and temple. The western and northern harbours are therefore likely to present more and more difficulties, as time goes on; and to keep the ports open, even for light draught trading steamers, will be an expensive process. For safe anchorage ground for a fleet it will be necessary to go to the Pescadores. Situated twenty-five miles W. of Formosa, this group of islands has excellent harbours, the best being between Pang-hoo and Fisher Islands, the two largest of the cluster, which is less in extent than the Chusan group. There are twenty-one inhabited islands in all, of which Pang-hoo, the largest, is eighty-four miles in circumference. These islands have a barren look, owing to the want of sheltered valleys and the absence of trees. The population, about 8,000, composed entirely of fisher people, is largely dependent upon the mainland and Formosa for food supplies.

The coast of Formosa is fairly well lit, there being lights maintained by the Imperial Chinese Customs, at South Cape,

Takow, Anping, and Keelung. There is also a light at the Pescadores.

TRADE.

When the ports of Formosa were thrown open by the treaty of 1860, little was known of the island except from the reports of the Chinese, from which source the illustrious but unreliable geographer Klaproth drew his information. The Dutch had done little to increase the store of knowledge regarding Formosa. The Chinese information was based as usual upon an examination of things and men from a standpoint very different from that adopted by a western critic, and in it we find little that is of any real value concerning the capabilities of the country or its inhabitants.

Like all countries shrouded in mystery, Formosa was credited with fabled treasures of the earth, the field, and the forest. It was to be an El Dorado for the merchant and miner; but, as so often is the case, the results by no means justified the exaggerated expectations formed.

The ports opened to foreign trade about the same time as those on the mainland, have not even justified legitimate expectations. The foreign merchant in Formosa has found more difficulties to contend with than his *confrères* on the China coast. There the inland water ways and canals offered channels ready made, and existing markets awaited foreign supplies, for which they were ready to give the native produce in exchange. In Formosa the merchant had to be a pioneer in the strictest sense of the word. Inland markets had to be created; communications were discovered to be almost non-existent; and only the western plain of the island was partially peopled by Chinese settlers, the rest being occupied by the natives, with whom the Chinese were in daily conflict. The administration was even less efficient than in China. The island is highly favoured by nature, but civilized man had not yet succeeded in leaving his mark on any but a very small portion of it.

The opposition from the officials, who were then semi-independent, and from the gentry and village elders, the latter very powerful in Formosa, aided by the ignorance of a people chiefly agricultural, with few wants and no capital, formed a barrier more difficult to beat down than is to be found even in China. The increase in the territory occupied by the Chinese settlers, the process of absorption and extinction of the aborigines which is steadily going on, and the enterprise of the Chinese traders, however, are working a change. Since 1874 reforms in the system of administration led to a more effective Government. In time, notwithstanding the difficulty which the want of good harbours presents, the trade of Formosa may be expected to largely increase, the main want being inland communications, roads and railways.

Let us see what the capabilities of the island are in the way of trade.

The increase made up to 1883 is given in the note at the foot of the page. At Takow between 1868 and 1883 the increase in round numbers was from £350,000 to £900,000, at Tamsui from £280,000 to close on £1,000,000. The duties levied have increased from £35,000 to £80,000 at Tamsui, and from £40,000 to £55,000 at Takow. So that the trade in fifteen years has expanded three-fold, while the duties have not doubled.

The principal imports are cotton and woollen goods and opium, chiefly in the hands of foreigners. Both cotton and woollen manufactures find a ready sale among the aborigines and Chinese. There are no cloth manufactures of any importance in the island, except a rough texture almost unfit for use, and a sort of open grass cloth made by the savages. The practice of opium smoking is unfortunately rapidly on the increase, the savages having learnt the habit from the Chinese with great alacrity. The use of the pipe is said to be a preservative against the deadly fevers of the Formosan forests. The people prepare the opium, which is

brought over in the raw state, every village having a small boiling-shop. The poppy is as yet hardly cultivated in the island. Numerous small articles, chiefly for barter, such as bangles, brass-ware, ink-stones, isinglass, and so on, have been introduced into the island, and a considerable trade in native produce is also carried on by Chinese traders from the mainland. As Formosa is capable of producing nearly all the articles now imported from the mainland, the trade will probably before long change its character. The Customs returns unfortunately give no estimate of the junk-borne trade, which is important.

The chief exports of the island are coal from Keelung, tea and camphor from Tamsui, besides rice, sugar, indigo, hemp and timber from Tamsui and the two southern ports. But the industries of Formosa are as yet hardly developed at all, principally owing to the absence of interior communications, and the dangerous navigation and bad anchorage on its coasts. With proper communications it would be possible to a considerable extent to avoid these dangers. The export trade of the South is confined to sugar, turmeric, the fruit called *lung-ngans*, and sesamum seed. Sugar forms over nine-tenths of the exports. The export of rice from the island, which at one time was so great as to earn for Formosa the title of 'the granary of China,' has dwindled down, until it has almost ceased. This is to be accounted for by the fact that the improved communications along the China coast enable rice to be carried cheaper from Indo-China and central China to the north, and elsewhere.

It is unnecessary to say much regarding the coal-mines of Keelung, the only production which gives it any importance. At one time most extravagant estimates were formed of the value of Keelung as a centre of coal production and distribution. The coal exists, of fair quality, and can be turned out at a rate of 5 to 5½ dollars per ton at Hongkong against 6 to 7

dollars for Japanese, 8 to 9 dollars for Australian, and 8½ to 11 dollars for English. But Keelung coal will never compete with Japanese or Australian coal for the purposes of commerce. It is a small bituminous mineral, good for domestic purposes and for steamers making short passages, but otherwise it is quite unsuitable. It burns rapidly, cokes the furnace, and makes a large quantity of smoke, choking the tubes. The consumption is one-half greater than Welsh coal, one-quarter greater than Japanese coal, and its evaporating power 30 per cent. less, whilst the necessity for the frequent sweeping of the tubes causes loss of speed. As a self-productive coaling station it has a distinct value for any naval power seeking to establish itself in these seas, and this has been recognized by the French. The value of such a coaling station has been well illustrated by the use made of Hongkong by the French since the commencement of the Tonquin campaign. But they will have to defend it with forts, and a garrison will have to be left in a most unhealthy and dispiriting climate. Moreover the harbour is very defective, and a naval dépôt and harbour would have to be founded at the Pescadores. The native method of mining is exceedingly primitive and wasteful, horizontal tunnels being worked into the hill sides, slightly inclined upwards to permit the egress of water accumulated. The orifices often are not larger than just sufficient to permit a man to crawl in and excavate small lumps of coal. Mining on the European method has of recent years been carried on under an English engineer, who, employed by the Chinese government, organized a proper system of working. Still the mines have never been worked as efficiently as they should be, and it seems improbable that they ever will be while under Chinese administration. In various parts of the north coal is found in many small seams, from old anthracite to recent peat. But the seams are always thin, and never of a quality to compare with European coal. The best

coal in the north is said to exist at Nuan-Nuan, on the Tamsui side of the pass next Keelung, but the passage down the stream, which is impeded by rapids, makes it costly.

The trade in camphor, at one time very valuable, has diminished and now has little value. The trade was formerly in the hands of wealthy foreign firms. But in the early years, after the Customs were established, the camphor trade was a monopoly, in the hands of the Taotai, the chief official in the island, who farmed it out to Chinese. These monopolists bought the camphor from the mandarin at sixteen dollars the picul, and sold it at Hongkong at 28 dollars, for shipment to India, where it was largely in use for lubricating the body and other domestic purposes. Camphor-wood, the gigantic laurel (*laurus camphora*), is found throughout the whole mountainous interior occupied by the wild aborigines. At present it is only obtained from the narrow belt of debatable ground between the settlements of the Chinese and the territory of the aborigines on which the Chinese settlers are pressing forward with unremitting energy. The manufacture is attended with constant danger, from the natural jealousy of the savage towards the Chinese and their encroachments. The camphor tree has been the greatest incentive to the Chinese colonist to push forward. They enter into relations with the savages, wherever they can, gain or take permission to cut down the trees, and remove them to extract the camphor. Much of this valuable timber is wantonly or ignorantly wasted, it being no uncommon practice to burn large numbers of the trees to further felling operations. The trees are selected with care for the abundance of their sap, many being too dry to repay the labour and trouble of extraction. The best part of the tree is secured for sale as timber, and the refuse cut into chips. These are sometimes boiled in iron pots, one inverted on another, and thus the sublimated vapour is produced. The instrument used for cutting the wood into chips is a gouge

with a long handle. The stills, according to one of the Customs reports, are commonly constructed thus:—‘A long wooden trough, frequently hollowed from a tree trunk, is fixed over a furnace, and protected by a coating of clay. Into this trough water is poured, and a board perforated with numerous small holes is placed over it. The chips are placed over these holes, and covered with earthenware pots. Heat being applied in the furnace, the steam passes through the chips, carrying with it the camphor, which condenses in the form of minute white crystals in the upper part of the pots. From these it is scraped out every few days.’ These stills are moved to convenient sites from time to time, or camphor is manufactured in the towns, the chips being brought thither in baskets. Great caution is exercised in purchasing the camphor brought down by the producers in baskets, as it is not infrequently adulterated with alum, powdered cuttle-fish, or a peculiar mucilaginous substance obtained from the rattan creeper, which grows in great quantity. The first is detected by taste, the others by a suspension of a small quantity of the camphor in a glass of water, which is at once made turbid by their presence. Burning also detects adulteration by the residue left behind. The camphor is either stored in large vats, or packed directly into tubs or boxes, in which it is exported. No new trees are planted by the Chinese, and the camphor-wood supply must in time fail. The devastation of the forests, however, is tending to the gradual settlement of the inland portions of the island by the Chinese. Other timbers, but none of them valuable for the purposes of export, are plentiful in the inner hill-forests.

The demand for tea has largely increased, and wider tracts of hill country are being put under cultivation. The tea is not of a superfine quality, but it finds a ready market in America principally, but also in Australia. It has not a bad flavour, but the coarse preparation

of the leaf and the faulty packing, are disadvantages which will have to be overcome. As the tea plantations are situated so close to the river and harbour at Tamsui, the industry should increase. Tea has been tried on the east coast, but not successfully. No European has yet made tea planting pay, nor can he compete with the Chinese middleman, who can live cheaply, work cheaply, and speaks the language in common use.

Grass-cloth fibre and jute are also exported in small quantities. The first is exported to China to be woven into summer grass-cloth. Manufactured grass-cloth and other cloths are sent to Formosa to be dyed with the fresh Formosan indigo, famed throughout China for its bright and durable tints. The northern districts produce indigo, which, packed in large tubs, is shipped in the liquid state, to Amoy and Shanghai principally. Rice or pith-paper, the delicate substance so much in use by artificial flower-makers and painters especially in the south of China, is exported in large quantities from Tamsui, where the pith, the *aralia papyrifera*, is cut into sheets ready for the artist's brush. Petroleum is found some few miles south of Tamsui, and is said to resemble resin-oil more than the rock-oil of America or the Burmese earth-oil. In 1877 two Americans were engaged by the Chinese Government to work the petroleum wells, but they were hampered in their work, and as in all similar undertakings, the management was Chinese, and a couple of years saw its entire collapse.

One of the valuable products of Formosa, at present undeveloped, is sulphur. Within the volcanic district of the north three extensive *solfataras* are found. The first of these occurs at a place about five miles east of Tamsui, situated at a height of 430 feet above the sea level. These were at one time largely worked, but for some years have been stopped by the authorities. They are inferior to others, distant about three miles in a north-easterly direction, to reach which a pass of 2,500

feet high has to be crossed. These stand in a rocky gorge, elevated 1,750 feet above the sea. The third *solfatara* is near a village called Kim-pao-li, some seven or eight miles north-west of Keelung, situated at a height of 1,450 feet. At these sulphur-pits the process of manufacturing sulphur is carried on by the Chinese in a very rough way, in shallow iron pans about three feet in diameter, built over brickwork furnaces, which are fed with wood fuel. The loose lumps of sulphur found deposited here and there, and the earth impregnated with sulphur are gathered and heated in the pans. A light frothy slag rises to the surface and is skimmed off, and deposited in wooden moulds, which are made in the shape of water buckets. These are constructed of movable staves, so that when the sulphur has solidified, the hoops can be taken off, and the staves removed. A very curious attempt made by the Chinese authorities not only to suppress this manufacture, but actually to set nature at defiance, deserves passing notice. The Government, entertaining fears lest the sulphur-pits should be used during the rebellions to which the island has so often been subject, after one of these outbreaks in 1833, issued an Imperial edict directing the Viceroy of Fuhkien to devise means for suppressing the manufacture. The local civil and military authorities were ordered to proceed to the pits four times annually, and have those which emitted smoke and vapour filled up with earth, and set fire to those which gave forth sulphur. The attempt was made, but it is hardly needful to say had very shortly to be abandoned.

The cultivation of sugar, the staple of southern Formosa, has acquired large proportions within the last few years. The sugar export represents 96 per cent. of the entire export trade of southern Formosa and nearly 50 per cent. of the entire trade of the island. The coarse brown sugar which forms the greater part of the export, is in demand not only in Europe but also largely

in Japan, as well as at Hongkong and the various ports. It is somewhat similar in quality to the *taal* of the Philippines. Formosa might be made a large sugar producing country and its quality greatly improved. The defects, as in tea and other industries, are the bad communications, and the defective method of cultivation, owing to ignorance, want of capital, and absence of machinery. Though Formosa has very great disadvantages to deal with in its difficult and dangerous coast and navigation, that a large industry can spring up in face of similar difficulties is evidenced by Barbadoes, with its rock-bound coast, open roadsteads, and absence of good harbours, very similar to the Formosan coast.

The cultivation of the sugar-cane is entirely in the hands of peasant settlers, principally Hakkas and Fuhkienese, whose annual outturn is limited, as they usually have other small crops to attend to. The plodding perseverance characteristic of the Chinese agriculturist in his own country is apparent everywhere, but so also is the opposition to reform. No effort is made to improve the cane. The old methods are strictly adhered to, in preference to the scientific system now introduced nearly everywhere. The consequence is the sugar-cane is deficient in sap and growth, and must be renewed every two years. The peasantry are obliged by poverty to have resort to the middleman for funds, raised as mortgages on the standing crops, and, it need hardly be said, have to pay dearly for their loans. The cane is sent to a public crushing mill, instead of there being one attached to each plantation. The method of crushing the sugar is still more rude and costly than the mode of cultivation. Two rough circular stones, turned by oxen or water-buffaloes, form the mill. The cane being passed once or twice between the stones, the juice runs out from beneath the rollers through a bamboo tube to the boiling shed. The loss is 50 per

cent. by this process, whilst by a good modern machine it could be reduced to one third that amount. The waste in the boiling also is great. One or two attempts to introduce improved methods have hitherto been failures, not owing so much to any blind antagonism of the people to the introduction of machinery, as to the foolish arrangements made by the directors, men quite untrained, who either do not employ skilled Europeans, or fail to get the right class of men. Similar reasons have operated to bring about failure at the Keelung and Kaiping coal mines, and elsewhere.

Sugar is mostly grown in the neighbourhood of Taiwan, the rich flat lands lending themselves admirably to its growth. It could also be produced in considerable quantity south of Tamsui, but the absence of proper communication in that district makes it impossible to get it to market at a remunerative rate. The process of refining is better understood at Taiwan, simply because the sugar goes there. It is exported mainly to Japan, America, and England.

Amongst other articles turmeric root, used as an aromatic, and to produce a brilliant saffron dye, is exported. If permanence could be given to the colour, its value would be greatly enhanced. The groundnut also is largely grown, principally on account of the oil possessed by the seed. The nuts, after being heated, are pressed between two iron plates by means of wedges, the oil finding an exit through a hole in the lower part of the press into a receptacle below. The oil is used locally for various

domestic purposes, and the crushed nuts are formed into cakes for shipment to Amoy and other places, where they are used mostly as manure, but sometimes as food for cattle.

Although the native junk trade has in some measure decreased owing to the introduction of the foreign steamer, still the advantages under which the junk trading to Formosa performs its work, will enable it to long hold its own. This will be understood when the character of the voyages made to the mainland is explained. The distance is short, occupying frequently one day only, the winds are tolerably certain at fixed seasons, and the Formosan coast has many small harbours, with draught sufficient on their bars to admit junks where no steamer can enter. The working expenses are exceedingly small, the freights low, and they can afford to wait in port a long period for discharge and shipment. The greater portion of the junk trade is with Chinchew, a port situated a short distance north of Amoy. Occasional cargoes go to Foochow and Ningpo. An important feature is the local coasting trade, carried on in junks of from ten to twenty-five tons burden. During the stormy winter months this trade entirely ceases, but for the greater part of the year a large trade is carried on between Tamsui and Keelung, and other ports on the west coast, as well as Suao Bay on the east coast, in rice, camphor, sugar, and other produce to be re-exported to the mainland. The piracy which existed until recent years along the coast has almost entirely ceased.

TABLE NO. 3.—VALUE OF TRADE AT TAMSUI.
Comparative Statement of the Value of the Trade, the Import and Export of Treasure, Number and Tonnage of Vessels Cleared, and Total Revenue, for the Years 1874 to 1883.

YEARS.	VALUE OF THE TRADE.						TREASURE.		SHIPPING.		TOTAL REVENUE.
	IMPORTS FROM		EXPORTS TO		TOTAL IMPORTS AND EXPORTS.	RE- EXPORTS.	IMPORTED.	EXPORTED.	VESSELS CLEARED.		
	Foreign Countries (Hongkong).	Native Ports.	Foreign Countries.	Native Ports.							
									No.	Tonnage.	
1874	Hk. Tls. 661,469	Hk. Tls. 376,359	Hk. Tls. 135,133	Hk. Tls. 642,959	Hk. Tls. 1,715,920	Hk. Tls. 23,683	Dollars. 365,277 Hk. Tls.	Dollars. 236,883 Hk. Tls.	69	Tons. 21,010	Hk. Tls.m.c.c. 126,340.5.6.1
1875	567,991	459,367	44,061	770,802	1,842,221	8,141	148,711	133,511	106	34,817	152,909.4.2.9
1876	718,861	468,271	68,403	1,154,835	2,410,370	4,498	323,419	194,945	155	46,716	207,300.7.0.0
1877	705,413	628,937	87,011	1,345,236	2,766,597	16,842	442,257	132,662	146	43,171	235,504.3.9.6
1878	819,651	601,708	92,760	1,575,190	3,089,309	45,958	545,241	193,362	140	44,795	272,266.4.8.6
1879	822,816	724,660	81,834	2,003,876	3,633,186	776	735,035	180,055	148	44,897	284,302.5.1.6
1880	978,172	635,546	115,802	2,197,475	3,926,995	19,559	690,681	163,575	112	43,980	305,132.5.1.3
1881	1,019,566	739,070	96,637	2,310,607	4,165,880	25,073	605,477	169,002	135	58,281	320,469.5.9.0
1882	794,413	690,897	62,207	2,471,206	4,018,723	36,306	707,989	195,735	157	59,968	285,320.6.5.8
1883	647,385	570,563	42,135	2,301,599	3,561,682	26,661	1,113,012	178,242	141	60,757	296,931.8.4.9

TABLE No. 6.—VALUE OF TRADE AT TAKOW.
Comparative Statement of the Value of the Trade, the Import and Export of Treasure, Shipping Entered and Cleared, and Total Revenue,
for the Years 1868 to 1883.

YEARS.	VALUE OF THE TRADE.				TREASURE.		SHIPPING.		TOTAL REVENUE.
	Net Imports (deducting Re-exports).	EXPORTS.	Total Imports and Exports.	Re- exports.	Imported.	Exported.	Tonnage Entered.	Tonnage Cleared.	
1868.....	<i>Hk. Tls.</i> 641,742	<i>Hk. Tls.</i> 614,499	<i>Hk. Tls.</i> 1,259,241	<i>Hk. Tls.</i> 698	<i>Hk. Tls.</i> 87,517	<i>Hk. Tls.</i> 344,020	<i>Tons.</i> 21,671	<i>Tons.</i> 22,415	<i>Hk. Tls.m.c.c.</i> 51,486.9.5.6
1869.....	825,928	711,868	1,537,796	4,023	76,024	162,496	26,431	25,341	72,700.9.4.3
1870.....	890,878	1,254,021	2,144,899	2,966	350,065	66,126	43,157	42,665	112,525.4.4.1
1871.....	1,090,408	1,187,553	2,277,961	23,873	249,929	89,770	42,149	43,400	117,297.8.7.3
1872.....	964,464	1,194,816	2,159,280	23,736	312,277	153,449	39,987	39,928	110,694.8.9.1
1873.....	902,254	927,644	1,829,898	34,552	229,353	153,456	34,205	33,766	98,630.8.4.8
1874.....	1,098,873	1,204,356	2,303,229	59,571	588,840	233,438	41,997	43,103	139,110.8.3.8
1875.....	1,195,690	1,083,780	2,279,470	24,073	273,467	516,359	42,644	41,691	124,021.4.4.6
1876.....	1,282,576	1,415,714	2,698,320	19,007	473,979	437,015	62,351	63,258	167,944.3.6.2
1877.....	1,512,244	1,325,470	2,837,714	30,914	368,427	455,316	42,440	42,021	150,381.6.8.1
1878.....	1,372,660	1,120,723	2,493,383	77,818	197,410	547,372	38,012	36,897	133,871.0.0.3
1879.....	1,711,509	2,039,416	3,750,925	66,011	683,177	527,050	62,183	62,189	203,015.0.6.1
1880.....	1,966,466	2,561,078	4,527,544	19,876	914,125	471,746	69,045	60,274	249,293.6.1.6
1881.....	2,305,595	1,753,716	4,059,311	24,854	350,081	762, 03	61,861	62,016	218,395.1.4.5
1882.....	1,653,926	1,516,741	3,170,667	97,704	408,596	592,323	58,547	57,394	186,961.5.1.3
1883.....	1,402,897	1,770,099	3,172,996	26,657	632,044	431,761	62,589	62,222	164,896.8.2.5

CITIES AND COMMUNICATION.

The chief harbours of Formosa having been described, it is now proposed to say something of its principal cities and communications. The capital of Formosa, Taiwan-fu, is a prefectural city with about 70,000 inhabitants, quadrangular in form, five miles in extent, and surrounded by a battlemented wall twenty feet high. Within are the houses of the chief citizens, the *taotai* and other officials, and several temples. The town has no importance, except as an administrative centre, and trade emporium. Some 3,000 troops are usually stationed here under a *Chentai* or Brigadier General, but the place itself could offer no resistance, once the fort at Anping was silenced. The empty spaces in the town give it a rural and dispiriting aspect. The want of bustle and stillness of the place prove that its importance as a trading station is gone. This has resulted from the silting up of the rivers communicating with the coast, and from the shoaling of the coast itself. The neighbouring flat country is cultivated and fertile, mainly producing sugar and rice. To seaward of the town lies an extensive suburb containing the chief business quarter. The village of Anping lies situated round the ruins of the former Dutch stronghold, Fort Zelandia, on sand and mud banks, undergoing the process of rapid accretion. The old Dutch fortress was built in 1630, as the inscription over the main gateway on the northern side shewed; 'Te Castel Zeland, gebow-ed anno 1630.' It consisted of a central keep, erected on a small hill, believed to have been partly artificially built, and formed a bastioned fort, 60 yards square. At about 100 yards distance on the northern side a wall followed the course of the lagoon shore, and met the keep at its western and northern angles, its own angles being also protected by a kind of bastion. The walls, very thick but hollow in the centre, were built of small bricks especially brought from Batavia for the pur-

pose, and were extensively loopholed. A second fort, named Provintia, was subsequently built by the Dutch near the mouth of the Formosa river, on the side, as they called it, opposite to the fort on the island of Taiwan. This fort stands inside the city of Taiwan, and is known as 'the Red-haired houses.' To illustrate how the coast has altered, it may be mentioned that its position now is more than a mile from the bank of the present river, and several miles from the coast.

In this neighbourhood carts of a very rude description are in use, and a few roads, hardly however meriting the name, have been made. The carts, which have to be used on the very indifferent roads, which in bad weather become almost impassable, are strongly, though roughly constructed of thick wooden planks battened together, and fashioned into shape. The jarring noise made by the carts when near at hand is a constant annoyance to foreigners, though at some little distance the sound is not unpleasant.

The climate in winter is healthy and pleasant, not so cold as Hongkong, but with a clear bracing air. The N.E. monsoon, intercepted by the mountain range acting as a screen, is little felt, but a north-easter fills the air with sand and dust from the plain, which penetrate every crevice of the houses, and makes it disagreeable out of doors. The heat in summer is oppressive, for days together the thermometer never falling below 90°, when the nights are almost unbearable. In the day time it frequently reaches 100°. The S.W. breeze, which brings fresh air to the coast, is lost in crossing the plain, and Europeans are compelled to go to Takow for a change. Heavy rains fall in summer.

Takow, a town with about 2,000 inhabitants, is a place of little importance and no interest. It is a long straggling village, chiefly inhabited by fishermen, with a few buildings of semi-European design, occupied by several for-

eign merchants and customs employés. Numerous banyan trees and shrubs grow luxuriantly in the barren, sandy soil. On the other side of the lagoon the aspect is altogether different,—a rich tropical vegetation bordering the river, with bamboos, palms, mimosas, and other similar trees in abundance. Further inland, extending to the hill spurs of the higher main range, is the level plain, rich and highly cultivated, studded plentifully with sugar plantations and villages.

Tamsui, called by the Chinese Hu-wei, is situated within a reach of the debouchure into the sea of the stream known to foreigners as the Tamsui river. The harbour and physical features of the neighbouring country have already been described. The town is unwallled, contains a few thousand inhabitants, and is of no consequence except as the residence of the foreign merchants. Mêngka, or Bangka, a town of some 20 or 30,000 inhabitants, is the administrative centre. The real protection of Tamsui consists of the bar at the entrance, and the bad weather in the winter months. These natural defences have been supplemented by the White Fort on the north point of the entrance, a useless defence, and by an earth-work further inland, on a slight rising ground, in which one or more Krupp guns have lately been placed by the Chinese. The old Dutch red fort is still in fairly good condition, and forms now the English consulate. Twatutia, a somewhat populous town lying some few miles further up than Bangka, is the great centre for collecting, firing, and packing the teas. The level tracts of rich soil which extend to the foot of the mountains are well cultivated, affording abundant crops of rice, sugar, maize, and indigo, while tea grows luxuriantly on the hill-slopes.

Keelung stands at the head of the bay, a small and exceedingly dirty town, with about a thousand inhabitants. It is joined to the suburb of Sow-wan, on the south side of the harbour, by a stone causeway. The coal-

mines are about a mile E.S.E. of the town, on the southern banks of a small shallow stream, which branches off in that direction. The trade is unimportant, coal being the only valuable produce, while ground-nut oil, camphor, and camphor-wood are also exported in small quantities.

The climate in the Tamsui district is not healthy even for Chinese, far less for Europeans. From the latter end of November to early in May is the rainy season. The dampness of the air makes it cold, and chills are frequent, although the thermometer shows a high register as compared with the same latitude on the coast of China. The rainfall of Formosa is doubtless responsible in a large measure for the continued and almost cloudless sunshine experienced on the China coast between Foochow and Canton, during the N.E. monsoon. The constant rain in north Formosa is due to its propinquity to the Japanese Gulf-stream (the *Kuro Shioo*, the Black current of the Japanese), over whose heated waters the north-east wind blows. This wind, coming into contact with the lofty mountain ranges of Formosa, precipitates its surcharge of moisture on the island, and about twelve miles west to seaward. The wind then passes to the South China coast, relieved of by far the greater part of its moisture, and China thus escapes, at the expense of Northern Formosa, the very trying and depressing winter weather. The summer heat is tropical, and the changes sudden. Tamsui is occasionally visited by violent storms. In the dense tropical forests of the interior highlands, where the sun, owing to the thick foliage, rarely penetrates, dangerous fevers are frequent among the aborigines, while to the Chinese settlers they are deadly. Few Europeans have yet tested the forest climate. The rain falls about half the number of days in the year, the rain-fall being about 120 inches. For two-thirds of the wet season the sun is completely obscured, the mountains being hid, and the ground saturated. It is, how-

ever, the continuous character of the rain which tells, resembling closely our 'Scotch mist,' or mountain rain. The aspect of North Formosa is dreary and cheerless beyond description during the regular 'north-easters.' Typhoons are frequent between June and October, their occurrence being very irregular. Sometimes these are of singular violence and do a large amount of damage to life and property.

The inland communication in the neighbourhood of Tamsui is very defective. The journey from Tamsui to Keelung can be made by boat or chair, the time taken being eighteen hours by water in ascent, and ten by chair to a village situated at the rapids near the head of the stream. The distance by water is some thirty-five miles, the river being tortuous, with numerous fierce and shallow rapids, for which boats of special construction are used, some thirty-five feet in length and seven feet beam. These craft draw only some six to nine inches when laden, and are skilfully managed by a crew of two, recruited at the rapids by a third or fourth boatman. Between the head of the rapids and Keelung it is necessary to walk, or use a chair, over an exceedingly steep ridge some six hundred feet in height, next to which the French are now fortified. With Měngka or Bangka there is daily communication from Tamsui by steam-launches and row passage-boats, the voyage taking on the average three or four hours. Tuk-cham, a town of some little importance situated in a sugar district, with a harbour for junk-traffic from Chin-chew, north of Amoy, lies thirty miles south of Tamsui, from which it is five hours journey by sea with the monsoon, the overland trip by chair taking a day. Two important centres of trade in the north will some day be brought into effective communication with Tamsui, namely, Kapsulan on the east coast and Tukcham. The communication will have to be by land, for no dependence can be placed on junks, or even on steamers, owing to the frequent bad weather.

The climate of Keelung is worse than that of Tamsui. The N.E. monsoon is generally attended with rain. The mortality in the coal-pit region is great, the Chinese coolies dying off as fast as they begin to work. The difficulty of getting coolies to live in this unhealthy region is one of the chief obstacles to the successful working of the coal-mines. The great heat in summer and the constant bad weather in winter, with the rapid changes, make the climate most trying. The form of fever prevalent at Keelung and Tamsui is attended with much vomiting, and is said to be of a typhoid nature. The Chinese even at Tamsui suffer terribly from this type of fever, hundreds being carried off in some years, while ordinary fever is also very common and fatal among them. The staffs of the Chinese officials formerly in charge of the mines suffered so severely at different times that they refused to reside there. The east coast is reported to be even more prejudicial to health. In subduing the small part of it now in their hands, a fearful amount of life has been lost by the Chinese. Indeed it has been less on account of the onerous bush-fighting, bad as that is, than the sickness which decimates the troops, that the Chinese have been so slow in conquering the country. It is on record that of the 9,000 northern soldiers landed in Formosa in the summer of 1874 (not including a considerable staff of reserve men and coolies, who suffered more) within twelve months 1,485 officers and men, had died, the majority of the deaths being from jungle fever. The French no sooner landed in Keelung, where they as yet occupy only the heights next the harbour, where there is some chance of preserving health, than they began to experience what the climate of Formosa is for the European. The small force under Admiral Courbet has been greatly weakened by sickness, a considerable number of men being sent away by each French mail steamer, calling fortnightly at Keelung, as well as by each available transport.

The communications, so important to the administration and development of any country, are all in a very backward condition, as might be expected under Chinese administration. But some allowance must be made for the Chinese on account of the very great natural difficulties they have to contend with, especially the bad climate.

Since 1874 some interest has been shewn in the construction of roads and means of communication between various parts of the island. Considerable military reinforcements sent in that year enabled the work of clearing and constructing roads to be carried on. A road, or rather track, has been opened from Tamsui to Suao Bay, and some progress has been made with one from Suao Bay running southwards parallel to the east coast. In the south a road has been constructed, from a point about twenty-five miles east of Takow, across the summit of the mountain range to a village called Pelam. In 1874 such a road was of importance as a base of operations, should the Japanese expedition have attempted a flank movement through the savage territory. The road also intercepted the converging point of a number of forest tracks used by the aborigines, leading to various places of some importance in the south, and communicating with Tamsui and Suao Bay in the north. All this military road-making has had to be accomplished by bodies of workmen protected by soldiery, every workman having one soldier to guard him. During the wet summer in the south, and the wet winter in the north, little progress can be made, so that the working season,—always the dry weather,—is necessarily short. These mountain roads, it must be remembered, are no roads in the European sense of the word; they are mostly footpaths, impassable for chairs or beasts of burden. In many portions they are carried up the beds of the hill torrents, and are then only available in the dry season. No one who has not been in Formosa, or in some similar

country, can realise the difficulties to be encountered by the engineer or traveller.

The condition of the roads in the plains of western Formosa is most defective. A track, made for administrative and military purposes, runs from north to south on the western side of the island. The distance, from Tamsui to Taiwan, some 200 miles, takes in ordinarily fair weather ten days on foot, while in bad weather it is impassable. The 'road' passes along paths a foot or less broad, through paddy fields, following here and there a local cart-road, and then leaving it again. These cart-roads become during the rainy season water-channels or river-beds draining the surrounding country. To cross them the foot passenger has often to wade up to the waist. The permanent rivers during the period of rains become dangerous to pass, the ferry-boats or rather rafts, made of bamboo, insufficiently manned, being not unseldom swept away by the current. Between Tuk-cham and Tamsui, the road is somewhat better than the portion further south, but only a little better. The whole of the land communications, therefore, are practically useless for the purposes of trade, except in the immediate neighbourhood of Taiwan and other towns, where there is flat country surrounding them. Between Keelung and Tamsui, there is a mountain pass, and a narrow hill-torrent some sixteen miles in length rendering the creation of any road communication, which would be valuable to trade, almost impossible. It would be necessary to construct a railway. The disadvantage occasioned to the administration from the absence of communications, is proved by the fact that the least time in which an official answer can be received at Tamsui from the capital in the south is fourteen days, while it often takes several weeks. Effective communication from north to south by means of the telegraph, and a good road or railway, are absolutely necessary for efficient government. The island must also be connected with the mainland by telegraph, in order that the control, centred as it

is for the present in Fuhkien, and which must always be somewhere on the mainland, should be rapid and effective. The value of speedy communication by telegraph has already been recognized in China, where over 3,300 miles have been constructed, thus spreading a network from the extreme north to south, and from east to west along the sides of the main waterways. The connection of Formosa with the mainland is all the more desirable on account of its isolated position, intensified by the bad weather during six months of the year, which makes sea communication difficult and uncertain both from north to south, and from the island to the mainland.

THE ABORIGINES OF FORMOSA.

Like the aborigines of the Island of Hainan—the Li,—and the Miau-tsz, or indigenous inhabitants of Yunnan and other provinces of China, the aborigines of Formosa are divided by the Chinese into two classes.

1. The Chehwan*—the raw, untamed aborigines.
2. The Sekhwan†—the subdued, civilised aborigines.

The Chehwan, the 'raw' or untamed aborigines, as their name in Chinese implies, were the original occupiers of the soil of Formosa, being formerly spread over the whole of its area. Though not yet subdued, they have been slowly but surely driven back by the Chinese settlers from the west coast to the mountainous districts of the interior by a twofold process: either, on the one hand, being induced by the fair promises of the Chinese to part with their lands for a consideration far below their proper value, or, on the other, being forced to retire, though not without a severe struggle, before the superior strength of the immigrants from the neighbouring mainland. As a consequence of these two processes of ejection, the Chinese settlers have succeeded in obtaining possession of

the country lying between the west coast and the central mountain range, and have also planted a few settlements on the east coast, whilst the aborigines are confined to the mountainous region; the divide between the two territories being distinctly defined by the line of forests, which are cleared by the Chinese as they advance in order to allow of the land being reclaimed for agricultural purposes. The region occupied by the aborigines is very mountainous and thickly wooded, and is drained by streams which are little more than mountain torrents. A very small proportion of the land has been brought under cultivation, for, in addition to the natural aversion of its inhabitants to peaceful agricultural pursuits, the country is so mountainous and the soil so rocky that the extent of level ground available for cultivation is limited.

The aborigines, or Formosans proper, who are spread over this wide expanse of territory, stand very low in the scale of civilisation. In stature they are short, being considerably below the average height of an European. Their complexion is of a light reddish brown. Their jet black hair, which is perfectly straight, is worn long and unshaved, parted down the centre, and usually gathered together at the back by a band of cloth, though sometimes it is allowed to hang loose. They have a broad face with low brows, a nose straight but wide at the nostrils. Their general expression is dull and heavy, though somewhat relieved by their dark eyes, which are strikingly bright. The ears of both sexes are pierced for earrings, the women wearing in them carved bamboo tubes from which are suspended glass beads of different colours and flat pieces of bone.

One of their most peculiar characteristics is the habit of tattooing. The female tattoo consists of three sets of blue lines, with four in each set, which run from the ears to the corners of the mouth, where one half of the lines curve

* 生番. † 熟番.

off over the upper lip and meet under the nose, the other half descending under the lower lip and meeting on the chin. The middle set of lines differs from the others in having the interstices filled up with diagonal lines, forming a kind of diamond pattern. The male pattern is made up of two or three sets of horizontal lines, with four lines in each set, which run down the centre of the forehead and chin, to which is added a tattoo on the chest by any one who has succeeded in killing a Chinaman and bringing his head home as a trophy. This tattoo on the chest consists of short parallel lines joined by a horizontal one—a parallel and horizontal line being added for each head taken. Aborigines with as many as twenty-nine of these lines have been met!

Another peculiarity in the appearance of the male portion of the aborigines is the absence of the eye teeth, which are knocked out when they are quite young. By some the absence of these teeth is supposed to improve the wind for hunting, whilst others consider it increases the beauty of their appearance!

The dress of the aborigines is often almost preadamite in its simplicity, being merely a piece of cloth tied round the loins. In addition to this scant covering a kind of coat is sometimes worn, consisting of a large piece of cloth, which they weave themselves, embroidered with red, obtained by unravelling the threads of 'Spanish stripes' and respinning them. This coat is hung loosely over the shoulders, reaching in some cases to the waist, in others to the knees, the rest of the leg being left uncovered. Caps of rattan are worn plaited into different shapes, the most common being of the nature of a skull cap. The arms and neck are adorned with bangles of shell or beads. The women dress in a short petticoat and sleeveless jacket made of the same cloth as that worn by the men and embroidered in a similar manner with red threads. They also wear a sort of moccasins

or gaiter tied round the calf of the leg and to which are often attached rows of small jingling bells. Their heads are uncovered, and their hair, which is parted down the middle, is tied up in different styles, the most common being to plait it and bind it behind with red cord. In parts of the island caps, jerkins, and moccasins made of deerskin, and tanned by the aborigines themselves, are worn. The chief is naturally more gaudily arrayed than the rest of the tribe. His coat, which is of the same shape and material as that commonly in vogue, is adorned with beads and shells stitched on in rows; on his gaiters are rows of bells, and on either side feathers are inserted, while his cap is ornamented with beads and feathers, and in front with the top part of an unused opium pipe bowl!

The dwellings are generally of the rudest kind, being mere huts made of bamboo and rattan, with roofs thatched with grass, split bamboos (these being in some cases made in imitation of tiles), or slate stone. The entrance to the hut is so narrow and low that one has to stoop to enter it. The interior of the house consists of one room only, which is so low that the occupant cannot stand erect. Three sides of this room are occupied by beds made of split bamboo, 2 or 3 feet in width and 4 or 5 feet in height, and about the length of an average sized man. The hearth, which is made of a few stones on which a fire is continually kept alive, is in the centre of the room, which generally wears a most blackened appearance, as there is no means of escape for the smoke either by chimney or window, the huts not being possessed of either of such apertures. The centre post in the room is adorned with the skulls of animals which have been taken in the chase, and which before long are rendered jet black by the action of the smoke. The outside of the house possesses the ornaments dearest of all to the aborigines—the skulls and queues of their hated foes, the Chinese, which are hung under the eaves above the doorway. The greater the number

of these, the higher the estimation in which their possessor is held, and unless a man is possessed of at least one Celestial skull, he is doomed to pass his life in bachelorhood, for he is not allowed to join the ranks of Benedicts without this *sine qua non*. In front of the hut is the granary, consisting of a square kind of bin made of bamboo work, built on four timber piles, which are covered by a large piece of slate or wood to prevent the rats and other vermin attacking the grain. The domestic animals are dogs, pigs, fowls, and cats.

The food of the aborigines is of the simplest kind, consisting chiefly of rice and the flesh of animals killed in the chase, generally the wild boar and the deer, eaten half cooked. In eating their food they use neither knives, forks, nor chopsticks, but simply their hands. The food is not placed on plates, but on one common trencher or mat, around which the household sits and eats. They drink a liquor manufactured from millet, and for soup the water in which the sweet potato is boiled. They are exceedingly fond of *samsu*, or any ardent spirit, a fondness of which the Chinese have not been slow to avail themselves, never allowing an opportunity to pass of making them intoxicated, when they can extort from them very much what they please. Their fruits are neither of great delicacy nor very plentiful, but the pine-apple, banana, and orange grow abundantly.

The aborigines are divided into clans, which are again subdivided into tribes. Over each tribe a chief presides, who is vested with absolute power and who takes the lead in all matters appertaining to the tribe. The chieftainship is not hereditary, but where the son is not incapable, he generally succeeds to his father.

Marriage out of the clan is preferred to marrying within it. The marriages are arranged by the parents of the bride and bridegroom. When the engagement has been made, a present of game or wine is sent by the bridegroom to the parents of

the bride, which is supposed to clinch the bargain. Engagements are of short duration, sometimes lasting for not more than a week. On the wedding morn the bride, accompanied by her nearest relatives and co-villagers, male and female, proceeds towards the house of the bridegroom with singing, shouting, and dancing. The bridegroom, on hearing these sounds, goes forth with his friends and relations to meet the bride and to escort her to his house. Sometimes a separate dwelling is provided for the married couple, but often they have to rest contented with a corner under the paternal roof. Feasting, singing, and dancing are kept up for several days, after which all disperse to their respective homes. After marriage it is common for the husband to leave his own family and to enter that of his wife, and in a family where there are several sons, they can all leave their own family with the exception of the youngest, who must remain at home to support his parents. Marriages are held to be binding for life, and in the event of the death of the husband or the wife, the survivor cannot marry again for at least one year. A husband can, however, reject his wife for unfaithfulness, and she cannot take unto herself another husband until her former one has been remarried. Should she remarry before her former husband, she is liable to be punished at the discretion of the chief of the clan, who sometimes allows the injured husband to inflict corporal punishment on the erring wife. Children of both sexes are treated with great kindness, not only by their own parents, but also by the whole of the clan. The boys are trained from an early age for the chase, which they commence to follow before they are over ten years old; the girls are taught to spin and to weave, to hew wood and fetch water, and to dress the animals killed in the chase.

The most common mode of burial seems to be that of digging a hole in a retired spot, in which the body is placed in a standing posture without any coffin, and covered over

with earth. The spot, which is called *malin*, is ever afterwards regarded as an unlucky one, and seldom if ever visited. In the north the corpse is said to be buried in a stooping position, without a coffin, near the dwelling of the deceased, and 'the ordinary belongings of the departed are hung up before the grave, a practice similar to that common on the burial of a North-American Indian.' The period of mourning extends over a month, and is observed by the whole tribe, who do no work for three days. The nearest relatives shut themselves up for the same time without preparing any food, which is supplied to them by their clansmen, and during the remainder of the month cease from all labour, and indulge in no amusements.

The aborigines, like other uncivilised peoples, are very superstitious. They worship the spirits of the streams, the forests, and mountains, and when any trouble comes upon them or threatens them, they cry in a low wailing tone upon these spirits to protect them. They are also firm believers in augury. Whenever about to make a raid against the Chinese, or to set out on a hunting expedition, they watch carefully the flight of birds. Should a bird fly in the direction they intend to go, the omen is considered favourable, and they proceed on their way in the full faith that their journey will be successful. If, on the other hand, the flight of the bird is in an opposite direction, they postpone their departure until a more auspicious occasion. While friendly to strangers, they are ever ready to avenge any wrong inflicted on their clan. They hold it as a principle that the murder of any of their kindred should be avenged, and they never rest until their object has been fulfilled. A strange custom exists among them of pledging friendship, not unlike one of the methods of drinking healths in western lands. Two persons put their arms round each other's necks, and with their heads placed close together drink out of the same bamboo tube, which does duty for

a cup. Another common mode of showing friendship is for two persons to eat salt from the same dish.

The aborigines are possessed of no literature, and are unable to read or to write. They have not even any means of keeping time, and when they have made an appointment for any date, their only means of keeping a check on the days as they pass is by means of a tally of stones or grass, one stone or one knot in the grass representing a day. They are great hunters, being little devoted to agriculture. In fact their cultivation, consisting chiefly of millet, indian corn, mountain rice, sweet potatoes, ground-nuts, etcetera, is only carried on by them to an extent sufficient to meet their immediate wants. They use no plough, but turn up the soil with the Chinese hoe, the labour being entirely manual. Their crops are cut with the Chinese knife or sickle, the grain being threshed out by beating it against wood or stone, after which it is carried to the granary in a kind of reel very similar in shape to that employed by the Scotch fish-wife.

Their chief weapons are the spear, the bow with arrows of reed tipped with iron, and a long knife worn at the side in a sheath, but they are sometimes also armed with jingals and short iron swords, obtained from the Chinese by barter. The spears are made of bamboo and tipped with iron, the shafts being adorned with hair taken from the heads of Chinese who have been murdered by them. The animals they hunt are deer, wild pig, bear, and a species of leopard. Men, women, and children all smoke tobacco in pipes made of bamboo, the tobacco being grown by themselves.

In concluding these remarks on the life and manners of the unsubdued aborigines, it should be pointed out that the customs among the different tribes vary considerably, in the same way that their dialects do, and that what has been attempted is to give a general description, embodying the customs which are most prevalent.

The *Sekhwan*,* the subdued or civilized aborigines, are most commonly known by the name of Pepohwan,† 'barbarians of the plain,' from the fact of their dwelling in the plains, in contra-distinction to the aborigines proper who inhabit the mountains. At the present day, however, the Pepohwans are not merely confined to the plains, but are found all over the island except in the central range. A large settlement of them, consisting of no less than 4,000 persons spread among 36 villages, inhabit the Kapsulan valley on the east coast.

The *Sekhwan* are much superior in physique not only to the aborigines proper, but also to the Chinese. They are tall, straight, and somewhat slightly built. Their complexion is much fairer than that of the aborigines; their eyes are very large and bright, lending an expression of frankness to the whole face. The mouth is wide, the lips sometimes thick and sometimes thin; the nose is better shaped than that of the untamed aborigines, and more aquiline than that of the Chinese; their hair is jet black, straight, and long. Having come under the pale of Chinese civilization, the men have to wear the queue, though the women do not adopt the 'teapot' arrangement of hair common among Chinese women, but dress it by winding it into plaits coiled round the head and bound together by red thread, and in some cases have 'fringes' combed down low on the forehead. The men wear the short jacket and wide loose trousers of the Chinese, to which is sometimes added a piece of cloth hung from the shoulders in the same manner as among the aborigines. The women also wear wide trousers, and a broad-sleeved jacket reaching the waist. The head covering of the men consists of a turban, somewhat similar to that common among the Fukienses.

The Pepohwans on the coast maintain a livelihood by fishing, while those liv-

ing inland are tillers of the soil, though the large majority of them would much prefer a hunter's life, which they dare not pursue as the savages would kill them as readily as they would the Chinese. They are exceedingly poor, having mortgaged their lands to their evil genius, the Chinese middleman, to whom they have to pay rent in kind. Their food is of the simplest kind, generally rice with some few vegetables or fish, and is eaten with the fingers. The weapons they use are similar to those employed by the Chinese. Their houses are built *à la chinoise* and present a more cleanly appearance than those of their civilizers. Their life is spent chiefly out of doors, and when not occupied with domestic concerns or cultivation, they employ their time in weaving cloth. In addition to their own language, they all speak Chinese, for the officials have not been slow to recognise the importance of education as an instrument of civilization, and aid to effective government, and accordingly schools have been established among the civilized aborigines, many of whom are able to both read and write Chinese. This knowledge of the Chinese language also renders them capable of acting the part of go-between between the uncivilized aborigines and the Chinese in their bartering transactions, though in many instances these transactions are performed without the intervention of the Pepohwans by the uncivilized aborigines themselves, their representative being generally a woman.

The Chinese Government permit the *Shekhwan* to elect their own headman, or native official as he is called, who decides the petty quarrels and disputes of the villagers, and from whose decision an appeal can be made to the District Magistrate. Each village has also a '*tung-shi*, or 'interpreter,' who was originally employed for purposes of interpretation, but the Chinese language being now so widely spread among the Pepohwans, his duties as an interpreter are merely nominal, and his chief function is to collect the land tax, which

• 熟番. † 平埔番.

has to be paid to the Chinese Government. The *Sekhwan*, the 'civilized' aborigines as they are called, are in reality civilized in name only. In their modes of thought and actions they are still nearly as uncivilized as their neighbours, the *Chekwan*, their customs differing but slightly from those existing among the untamed aborigines. The spirit of revenge is common to them both. In fact the *Pepohwans* or *Sekhwan* have exalted this principle into a religion, for in some places temples have been found in which the objects of adoration do not assume the form of idols, but are the skulls of their victims, to which they render a most devoted worship. The truth is that they are only civilized so far as they are compelled to be, and are only too ready whenever they can to throw off the restraints imposed upon them by the Chinese, for whom they have little liking, and to revert to their original ways.

Among a people divided into so many tribes, and so little advanced in the scale of civilization, as the aborigines of Formosa, it is no matter for surprise that the variety of dialects prevailing among them is very great. In fact it is probable that each tribe, and their number is very great, has a dialect peculiar to itself. But notwithstanding this great variety, the philological information concerning the language collected by those who have been resident in the island, such as Hobson, Taintor, Bullock, and Phillips, clearly shows that not only are these dialects closely related to one another, but that they all belong to the Malayo-Polynesian or Oceanic family, which spreads itself over 'nearly all the islands from the coasts of Asia, Southward and Eastward, from Madagascar to the Sandwich Group and Easter Island, from New Zealand to Formosa.' Various lists of the most common words in many of these dialects have been collected, showing at a glance the close resemblance they bear to one another. A further comparison of these with their

equivalents in the languages spoken in the north and south of the Philippines,—the Tagalog and the Bisaya—in the Celebes, Borneo, Sumbawa, Lambok, Java, Tahiti, Hawaii, New Zealand, and elsewhere, demonstrates their common origin. From this similarity of language, we may infer an affinity of race, and there seems to be little doubt that the Formosans of to-day are descended from the same stock as the inhabitants of the Malay Archipelago, and the other members of the Malayo-Polynesian Family.

It still remains to be definitely determined to which branch of this great family the aborigines of Formosa belong. And here there lies ready for the philologist and the ethnologist a wide field of exploration, which careful and patient research cannot fail to render both instructive and interesting.

CONCLUSION.

To sum up briefly, the most important facts elicited are the following:—

1. Formosa was practically a *terra incognita* until 250 years ago, although its existence was known to western navigators and to the Chinese on the mainland. The Chinese records are nearly valueless, while the Dutch reports are greatly inferior to those on Japan drawn up by the *savant* doctors of the Dutch East India Company. Most of our information regarding the island is the result of the journeys and observations made by missionaries, merchants and officials who have been resident in the island since 1860, when the Treaty of Tientsin threw open the ports to foreign trade.

2. At the commencement of the seventeenth century the whole Eastern trade was in the hands of the Portuguese and Spaniards, their respective bases for trading and military operations in the China seas being Macao and Manila. The Dutch, who had recently recovered their independence in Europe, having established their East India Company, determined to secure

for themselves this trade, and commenced a struggle for supremacy in the Eastern seas. They besieged Macao, and, being repulsed, seized upon a strategic point of great value, namely the Pescadores, and built there a stronghold. To this the Chinese objected. Negotiations were entered into, broken off, and resulted in reprisals along the China coast, followed again by further negotiations and reprisals, much in the same manner that the French operations have for some time past been carried on. The Chinese at last discovered their inferiority in arms, tactics and organisation, but never despaired of being able to wear out their enemy. The Hollanders found that, though the Chinese were greatly inferior in warfare, their forces increased steadily in numbers the longer the operations were protracted, and therefore became more and more anxious to come to terms. A compromise was offered by the Chinese and accepted, whereby the Dutch were to occupy Formosa, to which the Chinese seem to have had neither claim nor title. The Dutch went to Taiwan in 1624, where they found several Japanese trading settlements. The Spaniards established themselves soon after in a stronghold at Keelung. The Dutch at first confined themselves to commercial operations around their fort at Taiwan, but soon came into collision with the Japanese, the quarrel with whom was arranged by a Jesuitical policy comprising two abject acts,—the surrender to Japan of their Governor who had seized two Japanese junks, and the suppression of the teaching of Christianity in Formosa, the converts to which were then being persecuted by the Japanese in their own country. Conflict with the Spaniards was from the first inevitable. After a brief struggle, which the Spanish commanders could not maintain owing to want of support, the Dutch became masters of the three strongholds of Formosa,—Keelung, Tamsui, and Taiwan.

3. The Dutch succeeded in establishing themselves in Formosa without any great

expenditure of men or money owing to the disorder in the Chinese empire consequent on civil war and foreign invasion. Only small colonies of fugitive Chinese settlers were found by the Dutch on their arrival, scattered here and there along the western coast, who had crossed from the mainland to escape the horrors of war. These formed the nucleus of the $2\frac{1}{2}$ or 3 millions of Chinese now in Formosa, who, having first settled on the plain, have steadily carried on the process of pressing onwards and driving back the aborigines into their mountain forests. The Chinese settlers at first accepted gladly the Dutch rule, but owing to various reasons became unfriendly, then bitterly opposed to the Dutch, and eventually enabled Koxinga to deal the death-blow to the Dutch rule, which had been maintained throughout by means of considerable garrisons established in their three strongholds.

4. The reasons for the Dutch downfall were:—

I. Divided counsels and vacillation; the incapacity of the governing body at Batavia to grasp the real state of the situation, though fully informed by exceptionally able and strong Governors; their disinclination to expend money on their colonial defences and navy,—precisely the same causes which brought about the downfall of the Spanish supremacy in the East.

II. The injudicious system of government which did not aim at securing the goodwill of the people, ending in turning them into active enemies, who, siding with Koxinga, expelled the Dutch after an occupation of some 40 years.

III. The policy adopted of suppressing in Formosa the teaching of Christianity, in order to secure and maintain trade with Japan, thus retarding the progress of education, and giving the natives a poor opinion of their standard of morality.

5. The chief steps in the Chinese colonization and rule were: first, the arrival of small communities of fugitive Chinese settlers;

second, the rule of Koxinga and his son and grandson; third, the Chinese rule proper. The isolated position of the island and the absence of inland communications led to the semi-independence of the local officials, which here, as elsewhere in China, meant misrule, oppression, discontent, and frequent rebellions. The only noticeable improvement in the administration has come with each of the occasional 'scares,' notably the Japanese expedition in 1874, and the threatened action of Russia in 1879. The scare over, nothing more was done till the next one. The Chinese have not yet seriously attempted the development of the island, dependent as it must be upon the improvement of the harbours and inland communications, a most expensive and difficult task, owing to the physical difficulties and the bad climate.

6. The permanent occupation of the island, which was difficult 250 years ago, is less easy to-day, when the Chinese popu-

lation has so largely increased, and the rule of the Imperial Government has been considerably strengthened. To occupy and bring the island under effective control would necessitate the maintenance of strong garrisons in an unhealthy climate, and the stationing of a considerable fleet on a coast notorious for its inclement weather.

7. The lessons for England are: (a) the value of information regarding and true appreciation of colonial interests and feelings, (b) the danger of divided counsels and vacillation, (c) the necessity to safeguard its interests and trade supremacy by colonial defences and naval forces, (d) the danger of 'scares,' with their hurried, ill-considered preparations, hardly commenced before abandoned.

In the consideration of these points there is ample food for reflection for every Englishman in the Colonies or Mother Country.

A. R. COLQUHOUN.

J. H. STEWART-LOCKHART.

THE LIFE OF KOXINGA.

2ND PART.

Koxinga, puffed up with the conquest of Taiwan, and the expulsion of the Dutch from Formosa, thought of making further conquests. It seemed to him, with the powerful army, and the immense resources he had at his command, an easy matter to carry out the same. The coveted islands of the Philippines were the nearest to his new sovereignty, and they were the first to which he turned his attention, and he at once determined to demand from them that tribute and vassalage, which he considered ought strictly to be given to him as sovereign of the seas. He selected Father Ricci, who was quietly carrying on his mission

work at Amoy, as his ambassador, to convey his demands to the Spanish Government. He summoned the worthy Father to Taiwan, but did not at once reveal his plans to him. As rumours were already rife in Amoy of Koxinga's projected conquest of Manila, he was greatly disturbed at this unlooked-for summons, thinking perhaps that the Pirate wished secretly to kill him in order that he should not make his intentions known to the authorities at Manila.

Notwithstanding this fear, which appeared justifiable under the circumstances, he obeyed the summons and left for Formosa with no little demonstration on the part of the faithful, whom he left behind at Amoy.

On reporting himself to the Pirate he was invited by him to his table for three days, without anything being said to him of the reason of his being summoned to his presence. On the eighth day after his arrival he was sent for to the Palace and appointed ambassador to the Governor of the Philippines. The despatches for the Spanish Governor were here handed to him open, and he was made clearly to understand that if he did not succeed in getting the Government to accede to his demands, he must not return to Koxinga's presence under pain of death. He further assured him, that it would be impossible to escape his fury, for he had determined in case of refusal of the Spanish Government to listen to him to repair thither with his forces, and to lay waste the whole island of Luzon by fire and sword, without leaving one stone upon another, and to scatter the execrable ashes of its inhabitants to the four winds. Father Ricci fully understood the gravity of the situation in which he found himself placed. To have refused to accept the mission entrusted to him by Koxinga was certain death, and to deliver such a message, as that with which he was charged to the Spanish Governor, was sure to bring disgrace upon himself. A great deal of wisdom and prudence was therefore required of him.

The despatch with which Father Ricci was entrusted ran as follows:—

‘It has been the practice of all antiquity, and is so still, that any offspring of a foreign nation pay tribute and acknowledge-ment to renowned princes chosen by heaven. The foolish Hollanders, not understanding the decrees and ordinances of heaven, behaved themselves without fear or shame, wronging and tyrannizing over my subjects, and robbing my trading champanes, for which reason I had long since designed to put out a fleet to punish their crimes, but heaven and earth having endued me with a wonderful forbearance and generosity, I continually sent them friendly advice and admonitions, hoping they would repent for their

sins, and mend their faults; but they growing more hardened, more unruly and perverse, took no notice. I being therefore highly provoked in the year 1662 in the fourth moon, the fury of my anger swelling, set out a fleet to chastise their crimes, and coming to their forts slew innumerable multitudes of them, the Hollanders having no way left to fly or get off, and naked humbly begged they might be our subjects. Their cities, forts, lakes, warehouses, and what they had been many years gathering in a short time became mine, and had they, being sensible of their faults, come sooner, humbly bowing their foreheads to pay tribute to me, perhaps I had been appeased, and they would not be now so miserable.

‘Now your little or mean Kingdom has wronged and oppressed my subjects, and my trading champanes, not much unlike to the Hollanders, provoking discord, and encouraging revenge by your present tyranny. The affairs of the island Hermosa are all settled to my mind. I have hundreds of thousands of able soldiers, abundance of ships of war, and abundance of champanes in this island. The way to your Kingdom by water is very short, so that setting out in the morning we may come to it at night. I thought to have gone thither in person with my fleet to punish your crimes and presumption, but I remember that though your little Kingdom gave the first provocation, it having afterwards expressed some repentance, giving me advice concerning the first article of this affair, I resolved to pardon it. My fleet being now in the island Hermosa, I send before only the Father and by his friendly advice, that your small Kingdom may submit to the will of heaven and acknowledge its faults, and come yearly in humble manner to my court to pay homage to me. In case you do so, I order the Father to return to me with the answer, and I shall give entire credit to him. I will deal fairly, pardon your past faults, assisting and giving you employments in your royal town, and will order the merchants to go and trade

there. And in case you suffer yourselves to be deceived and are not sensible of your own good, my fleet shall be upon you immediately and shall burn and destroy your forts, lakes, cities, warehouses, and all other things, and then, though you beg to be admitted to pay tribute, it shall not be granted you: if so, the Father need not return. Good and evil, loss and gain are now in the balance; your little Kingdom must resolve speedily and not delay repentance till it is too late; I only advise and admonish you friendly. In the 13th year of Yung-lie (that is 1662) the year of the 3rd moon (which was in April)*.

The Embassy eventually left Formosa accompanied by some high officers of Koxinga's Court, and on the 10th May 1662 anchored in the Bay of Manila, where they were received with all honour and a salute from the batteries on shore.

Father Ricci repaired at once to his convent, and the next morning accompanied by the Provincial, sought a private interview with the Governor in order to make arrangements with him as to the way the Embassy should be received so as to avoid all disorder and disturbance consequent upon the irritating nature of Koxinga's demands. After a long conference it was resolved to receive the Embassy as purely a commercial one, and to be very reserved in their deliberations with it, thinking that to be the more prudent and decorous plan of contesting in a dignified manner Koxinga's arrogance.

In spite of all the precautions that were taken both by the Government and by Father Ricci to present the purport of the mission from being known, the Chinese officers on board the fleet spoke openly of its object in Manila and the suburbs. All the power of the Government was required to be exercised, in order to keep under the anger of the Spaniards, who were for at once putting all the Chinese at Manila to death, and sending

their heads to Koxinga as tribute. The natives also shared in the rage and indignation of the Spaniards, and looked upon the Chinese as traitors and threatened to kill them every moment. The fear of being attacked and killed so wrought upon the Chinese that they took upon themselves the initiative and broke out into open revolt. On the 25th May they assassinated two defenceless Spaniards in the village of Parian. Having compromised themselves by this act they tried to push their way into the town, but were driven back by the guard, and the cannon on the walls opened fire upon them. While this bombardment was going on, Ricci, with ten captains of the fleet, which had formed the convoy to Manila, retired to the convent. On hearing the noise of the cannon the Chinese were greatly terrified and begged the Father to protect them. To assure them of their safety he had them brought to his own room.

It would at that time have been no difficult matter for the Governor to have annihilated all the Chinese in Parian and in the suburbs of Manila, but as he was ignorant of the cause of their revolt he ordered the bombardment to cease, and sent for the superior of the Province and commanded him to send some religious person of his order as a messenger from the Government to the rioters in order to learn the cause of their complaint.

The Honourable Prelate sent for Father Ricci and asked him to undertake the perilous mission. He readily consented, on condition of his being accompanied by Father José de Madrid, who was well versed in the Chang-chew dialect, which was indispensable to treat with the Chinese at Manila. Father Ricci, duly empowered to settle the matter in the best way he could, started for Parian, the chief seat of the revolt. He assembled eight thousand of the rioters in the space in front of the Church and asked them the cause of the riot. They replied that they had only taken up arms in their own defence against these

* Navarette, Churchill's Collection, Vol. I. p. cxix.

who had threatened to kill them, and added that as it seemed they were to be killed it would be more honourable to die with arms in their hands. The good Father asked them how they had learnt they were to be killed? They answered such was the common report, and that he, Father Ricci, had made prisoners of the Chinese Commanders of the fleet, who for aught they knew were at that moment suffering death at the hands of the Spaniards.

Father Ricci did his best to question them, and they promised they would lay down their arms if he would bring the captains, whom he stated were safe in his convent, to them, and they also asked that Father Jose should remain as hostage with them. This was agreed to, he willingly leaving Father Jose in their hands. Scarcely had he set out when the turbulent mob took the life of Father Jose. They then rushed after Father Ricci and attacked him in the streets. He was quite ignorant of what had happened to his Brother Missionary, and was near upon being killed, and doubtless would have been had not some Chinese, who believed in his honesty, defended him from the fury of their fellow-countrymen. The mob themselves in their cooler moments repented of having killed Father Jose, as, by committing this crime, they made themselves unworthy of the pardon promised them by Father Ricci in the name of the Governor. Their wrath then turned against the assassin, and they wanted to kill him, but he had already committed suicide by hanging himself to a beam.

Father Jose's body was discovered in the evening under a heap of stones and was at once removed and sent to the convent, and his death was kept a secret from the Government so as not in any way to interfere with the negotiations that were being carried on by Father Ricci. The Governor was for putting all the Chinese to the sword if they persisted in their rebellion, but when he heard they would lay down their arms at once, if the Captains of the fleet whom

they believed to have been beheaded were shown to them, he agreed to the promise of pardon that Father Ricci had given them in his name, and he ordered the recall of the troops and the cessation of hostilities.

Some of the Captains showed themselves to the rioters, and before the end of the day the gravity of the situation, as far as the Chinese of the village of Parian were concerned, was at an end.

On the day of the bombardment of the village of Parian there disappeared from Manila thirteen Chinese vessels under the command of one Captain Nachin, a cunning, proud and revengeful man. Informed of the flight of these vessels, the Governor ordered them to be pursued, but they had gone too far to be overtaken and they arrived without mishap at Formosa.

The malicious Nachin went direct to Koxinga, and shewing by his manner and appearance the great trouble he was labouring under, addressed him as follows: -

'Most powerful Lord, all your faithful subjects have been destroyed and put to death in Luzon; I alone, under the protection of our gods, have been able to escape from the hands and swords of the cruel Spaniards. In this way they have paid the tribute, which you expected, and which is due to you. What will you do? Your power is unlimited, your soldiers valiant, your arms victorious, and the success with which you have been favored and which came direct from heaven has rendered you terrible in the sight of other nations, and has made you always triumphant over the enemy both by sea and land. Vessels, munitions of war, warlike stores and provisions for your army are not wanting, and your soldiers are as numerous as the stars in the firmament and as sand by the sea shore. Let your power destroy the Christian name in all regions, and let all the Spaniards of Luzon, our greatest enemies, perish by your sword, for neither will your justice permit, nor will heaven allow them to go unpunished for their wickedness.'

'The proud pirate was infuriated on hearing such dreadful news the pupils of his eyes suddenly turned to fierce balls of fire; and convulsively seizing the handle of his sword, ordered all his forces to be got ready to sail for the Philippines, swearing by the infernal regions that he would crumble them to dust and sweep them off the surface of the sea. But God, who watched over and has always, with especial providence, watched over, the independance of these Spanish provinces, frustrated his designs, and upset in his councils that impious oath. This sudden burst of terrible anger so affected the robust constitution of the Pirate, that a few hours after he was attacked by an appalling and fearful madness. In his horrible frenzy he tore his flesh, bit through his lips and tongue, furiously attacked any one who went near him, passed sentence of death upon the King and Governors of Spain. Five days passed without any alteration of these terrible symptoms, until, suffocated by rage, he delivered up his perverted soul to the demons.

Thus died the Attila of the East, the 2nd July, 1662, in the 39th year of his age. (*Historia de los PP. Dominicos*, Tomo 3, p. 38.)

From accounts we have left of him, he appears to have been a man of proud and lofty bearing, in whose features was plainly visible the extraordinary force of character that he possessed.

There is no doubt that he was a perpetual source of terror to the newly-founded Manchow Empire, and a menacing spectre both to Tartary and China; and Father Ricci says of him:—

'This dreadful and formidable monster of the land and sea made the tyrant of his country tremble at his shadow, and his power would be a problem, if God had not laid him low in the very flower of his age. He who in his horrible impiety, did not fear God or man or even the powers of Hell, succumbed at the bare idea of seeing himself conquered and humiliated by the lofty dignity of the Spanish nation, before even

having recourse to the barbarous reason of arms.'

Further, says Ricci:—'By the death of the Pirate the Government of Formosa and of the islands of Amoy and Quemoy fell, on account of the minority of Kinsie, Koxinga's son, into the hands of the great mandarin Chu-ye. Notwithstanding that this valiant regent held the same ideas as the deceased Pirate, regarding the invasion of the Philippines, he, however, thought it imprudent just then to enter upon a campaign, from which he did not expect a speedy result.' In summing up Koxinga's character Spanish writers say of him, that he 'was proud and revengeful, and tyrannical, and utterly wanting in every principle of good government, without the slightest fear of God and without one Christian virtue. And though it may be true that the Emperors of that nation were as defective in godly fear and Christian virtues as he, yet many of them, as has been shewn, did the duty of their office through the means of the natural virtues they possessed and which Kue-sing wanted.'

The above opinions are the opinions of Spanish priests. Let us see in what estimation he was held by his own countrymen.

As a General he looked upon his soldiers as mere machines of his will. The minutest details of campaigns originated with himself, and he divulged none of his plans to his subordinates till he was ready to execute them.

In the cabinet and in the field he was unequalled.

He had spies in the offices and camps of the Tartars. He was kept well informed of every movement that concerned himself, and was accordingly prepared for any attack likely to be made against him. Ships were stationed and forts were built to guard any vantage point likely to be attacked.

Trousers were considered by him an unnecessary outfit for his soldiers; barefooted and bare-legged they were landed on the beach and led to victory.

He rewarded merit and took care of the

families of those who fell fighting in his cause.

As an administrator of justice he was stern and inflexible.

If his relations transgressed the law he strictly punished them, as the following example will shew:—

On hearing that his son Cheng King had had criminal intercourse with the wet nurse of a younger brother, Koxinga ordered the woman to be thrown into the sea. Cheng King prevented the sentence from being carried out, and it was kept from his father's knowledge for three years. At the expiration of this time the woman had a quarrel with Cheng King's wife, who wrote and informed Koxinga that the wet nurse was still alive. Koxinga was at this time in Formosa, his son in Amoy. Koxinga was furious on receiving the letter, and at once sent an officer to Amoy with orders to put his son to death and to bring back his head with him to Formosa. At the same time orders were sent to Cheng-king's mother to commit suicide. Koxinga's death, which took place shortly after, alone prevented the sentence from being carried out. He practised the most rigid economy in his household, and to keep his wives and servants from talking gossip and scandal he kept them busy weaving and spinning, and made them sell the product of their labour to supply their minor wants.

In his latter days he was fearful of being assassinated, and he never slept two consecutive nights in the same room. Wine and refreshments were placed on tables adjoining his sleeping apartments, and many of his nights were passed in going from one room to another or pacing up and down the corridors planning schemes for future conquests.

By means of his fleet he was enabled to provision and keep up a large army, and for twenty years he kept the Tartars at bay; provisions were collected from the neighbouring coasts and islands; the pay for his men was readily found in the profits

he derived from foreign trade. His vessels visited the neighbouring countries of Manila, Cochin-china, and the Islands of the Eastern Archipelago, bringing back from thence rich and costly wares (Taiwanfoo chih, 19 Pen, 祥 貨). Such are some of the most prominent facts of this remarkable man's life, who, when he died, left as an inheritance to his son the islands of Amoy and Quemoy and those parts of the island of Formosa which he had conquered from the Dutch.

It is not within the limits of this paper to go into minute details regarding his successor, his son Kin-sie. Suffice it to say, that through dissension among his followers, he did not long enjoy the possession of the islands of Amoy and Quemoy, as they were soon wrested from him by the Tartars, aided by his father's old enemies the Dutch. A large fleet had been sent from Holland for the purpose of reconquering Formosa, and its Commander thought by aiding the Tartars against the Koxingas, they in return would help them to recover their old settlement and fort of Zeelandia.

In this they were somewhat disappointed, for, notwithstanding the extraordinary help they afforded the Tartars in the great naval battle, fought at Quemoy in January 1664, they did not materially assist the Dutch in their expedition later on against Formosa. The service rendered by the Dutch Admiral Bort to the Tartars at Quemoy on this occasion was so great, that it seems quite improbable without such aid, they could have so readily overcome the fleet that Koxinga's son had brought against them.

There still exists at Amoy some ornamental gateways with figures of Dutchmen sculptured on them. I am inclined to think that the Dutch figures represented thereon refer to some incident connected with Admiral Bort, who while at Amoy made several overtures to the Tartars for permission to trade, and it is not improbable that the scene depicted on the gateways is that of an audience of some Dutch officers with the

Viceroy of the Province, probably introduced to him by the officials in whose memory the gateways are erected.

I cannot close this hasty sketch of Koxinga's life, without devoting a few lines to that worthy missionary, Vittorio Ricci, to whose narrative, as found in the History of the Dominicans, we are mainly indebted for all that is known concerning Koxinga's life and doings.

This zealous Dominican Father was a native of Florence, and was closely related to that famous Jesuit missionary, Mateo Ricci. He arrived in Manila in 1648, and was chosen to re-open the Japanese mission, but being frustrated in that he turned his attention to China, and went to Amoy, where he carried on his mission work during the time it was under Koxinga's rule. We have seen how he was honored by Koxinga, and how he was entrusted by him with a mission to Manila; but I have omitted, I find, to say anything connected with his return to China after executing that mission. When he left Manila to return to Formosa, he was ignorant of the death of the great pirate, and he trembled to think how he would be able to explain the unforeseen deaths of so many Chinese during the riot in the Parian.

The vessel in which he left Manila was unable to make Taiwan: storm-tossed and weary, he at length reached Amoy only to be thrown into prison and to be sentenced to death.

The Regent Chuye accused him of being the cause of the death of so many of his countrymen at Luzon. He drew up a brilliant defence of his action at Manila. How he, instead of being the cause of the death of so many Chinese, had been instrumental in stopping further bloodshed, and how he had pleaded the cause of the Chinese, and had prevented the Spanish Government from confiscating the property of all the Chinese traders, and how at his suggestion many of them had been allowed to return to China with their goods and possessions. In one word, he so thoroughly cleared his character from all blame, that he was honourably acquitted of the charges brought against him.

After this he resumed his mission work at Amoy, and during its siege by the Tartars, he went through much trouble and suffering, and on the port being taken he was sent to Peking, and after many privations, he at length found his way to Manila, where he died, Vicar of the Parian, at the good old age of 80 years.

G. P.

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS AND LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

自西徂東 *Civilization, Chinese and English.*—By REV. ERNST FABER. Hongkong, 1884.

The author tells us at the outset, that his object is to rouse the Chinese to a sense of their unreal and consequently dangerous position. It need cause no surprise then, that in a work, with this avowed purpose, we find few compliments paid to any Chinese institution, as such a course would only lull the nation into a more profound slumber, leaving it to the enjoyment of its dreams of realised perfection and vaunted superiority to all other na-

tions. On the other hand, the awakening attempted cannot be characterised as rough and rude; it is the skilled hand of the doctor or trained nurse that endeavours to rouse the patient from his lethargy.

The Chinese nation were so far stirred by the wars of 1841 and 1860, that they were obliged to admit the superiority of European weapons and muniments in war; and the extension of commercial intercourse enforced by these wars led further to the appreciation of foreign manufactures and scientific inventions. But all the improvements in war and peace, since adopted by

China, are to a large extent meretricious, and this is the main point of the Author's preface. European civilisation is, he says, a parasite creeping over the Chinese nation and sucking out its very life; it is not a graft becoming one with the tree, imparting fresh vigour and causing it to yield richer fruit. Europeans are conscious that this view is correct, and recent events in the present war with France have abundantly corroborated it; but the Chinese are still blind to the fact, they fail to see how with powerful ordnance, ironclad ships, erected telegraphs, and prospective railroads, they can be inferior to European nations. The fact is, with all these acquisitions China is clothed, but unfortunately she is not yet in her right mind; she has only the form not the power of Western civilisation.

One great cause of this is that the Chinese view the acquirement of knowledge from a purely mercantile standpoint; the nation looks to what increase will thereby be brought to the revenue, and the individual to his capital; as Mr. Faber says on the very first page, 'the Chinese study to master the intricacies of machinery for their own profit, so they cannot study widely for the benefit of mankind.'

Study for the benefit of mankind postulates love of mankind, and here our author naturally turns to allude to two of China's less world-famed philosophers,—to Yang Choo, a sort of Fichte, who preached a doctrine of apparent selfishness which probably meant that in the individual securing his own benefit, the benefit of the universe, an aggregate of individuals, would be secured,—and to Mih Teih, whose doctrines of Universal Love and Peace seem to anticipate Christian humanitarianism. These sages, emphasising one side of truth to the detriment or neglect of others, are stigmatised as heretics by Mencius and his followers; in this view our author seems to acquiesce.

The Preface concludes—as indeed does

every chapter, but not so fully—with the assertion, that the adoption of Christianity by the Chinese Empire is the only method by which the benefits of Western civilisation can be successfully enjoyed. It seems to us that if these remarks had been relegated to an Appendix, they would have come with greater weight after the reader's interest in and appreciation of the European social system had been awakened; whereas now the frequent occurrence of the characters 耶穌 might lead him to the erroneous inference, that the book was purely religious, and create a distaste for its perusal.

It would be impossible to criticise minutely a work of 795 English pages; it is not, moreover, the author's object to originate new ideas on social questions, but simply to describe what are the actual customs in Europe. It will suffice, therefore, to make a few remarks on the arrangement of the book.

The whole work is divided into five volumes, each treating of a separate subject, vol. I. Humanity, vol. II. Rights of Man, vol. III. Social Morality, vol. IV. Science, and vol. V. Religious Faith. The titles are suggested by the five virtues, essential, according to Confucius, to the character of the perfect man, and are very applicable with the exception of the second, for this volume treats of Rights, individual, national and international, rather than of Righteousness.

Each volume is divided into chapters varying in number from eleven to sixteen. His intimate acquaintance for many years with Chinese life, has enabled the author to illustrate the failings of Chinese systems by descriptions of particulars of imposture, extortion and misappropriation of charitable funds; while it has prevented his omitting the treatment of any serious defect.

Among other subjects, Volume I. treats of Humane Punishments, Prison Discipline, Lunacy Laws; and much needed

injunctions against cruelty to animals, and ill-treatment of foreigners are not wanting. In Volume II. National Vices, Gambling, Opium Smoking, Female Infanticide, and Slavery are exposed; but there are no less valuable articles on Publicity in Government, and the Right of discussing Public Measures, and also a practical one on Keeping Roads in Repair. Volume III. deprecates shams and superstitions, inculcates true moral obligations to the living and the dead, and concludes with exhortations to moral and physical purity. Volume IV. is eminently practical, for it recommends a thorough course of study, beginning with a thorough acquaintance with Chinese literature and history, and advancing to information on most branches of Western culture. We find essays on Best Methods of Farming, Military Manœuvres, Medical Education; nor does the Beauty of High Art fail to find a place. Volume V. treats of the advantages of Guilds and Societies, and is, if we may judge from titles such as Observance of Sunday, Temperance, and Young Women's Societies, far from being so practical and likely to benefit the Chinese as the rest of the work.

Mr. Faber's reputation as a sinologue, and the fact that he was assisted by two Canton graduates, are sufficient to ensure the Chinese scholarship; but if we may venture to remark on this portion of the work, the composition appears to oscillate between a difficult stilted style, and one that is simple and perspicuous, though the latter preponderates; the difficulties usually increase in direct ratio with the length of the sentences, but this refers only to argument or moral reflection, for the descriptive passages are chatty and interesting. At the commencement of each volume there is a short introduction in verse, in a higher style, usual to such compositions (箴銘), which is very pleasing. The type is excellent and misprints such as 諺 for 誘 on p. 8, and 窮 for 害 on p. 9 of Vol. I. are rare.

In conclusion of these brief remarks, we may state our confidence that this work, the fruit of five years' labour and of the author's loving interest in his subject, will receive a hearty welcome from all friends of China, who desire its social and moral development; for in no better way can the minds of a nation, like the Chinese, omnivorous of literature, be reached, than by the publication of works which set forth simple truth.

G. H. B. W.

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The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal.
Vol. XV, No. 3—6.

It will be of interest to many of our readers who do not see this Journal, if we record here from time to time the characteristic features or leading ideas of those articles of our missionary contemporary which treat questions directly connected with Chinese language, literature or history. Omitting, therefore, any reference to the purely missionary subjects treated in the periodical before us, we propose more or less briefly to characterize its successive contributions to sinology, such as they are. The second number of the *Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal*, Vol. XV., opens with an article from the pen of Mr E. H. Parker on 'the Chinese language.' Mr Parker throws out the bold suggestion, that the Chinese language, so far from having been unfortunately arrested in its growth by the absence of letters, may have been luckily preserved from that process of pruning and training into artificiality which is the curse of the possessors of those very letters, the absence of which they superciliously suppose to be such a misfortune to the Chinese. This is as revolutionary a notion in the domain of Chinese philology, as that entertained by one or two other sinologists that in the sphere of religion, morals and sociology the civilized missionaries and merchants of Europe and America may have nearly as much to learn from the Chinese as they practically bring with them

to China to teach the 'heathen Chinese.' Mr Parker proceeds to compare, by some examples, the application of living speech to written form, and *vice versa* in the case of the Chinese and several European languages, and endeavours to show that, even apart from inflection, in the mere handling of root sounds by means of pictorial signs as compared with alphabetical letters, China has been far more happy than Europe as regards the great practical subject of forming a written language comprehensible to all speakers. Then, as to that form of corruption or development, *yo lept* inflection, our revolutionary philologist argues that the mere existence of the pictorial character must have tended to discourage inflection, whilst, on the other hand, the mere existence of letters must have had the opposite effect, by at once giving practical shape to fleeting changes. In short, Mr Parker reasons that, as a spoken vehicle of thought, the Chinese language, which has followed and is following the same natural instincts as other languages, has been forcibly wrenched in one direction by its indivisible and pictorial scripture, whilst European languages have been gradually driven round to the opposite pole by the divisibility and purely phonographic nature of our scripture. On this basis, Mr Parker next proceeds to compare some of the laws governing the Hankow, Wenchow, Foochow, Cantonese and Hakka dialects with the corresponding laws discernible in the German, Italian, Russian, Dutch, Spanish, French and English languages, to show that modern Chinese and modern European, despite the forces which have parted and are parting them, follow, and presumably always followed, the same laws of change. This is all very original and very suggestive, and had Mr Parker stopped here and left it to his missionary readers to draw the conclusion themselves, he would probably have met with neither bark nor bite of critics. But Mr Parker loves not only to think straight but to hit straight. And so he proceeds, calmly and playfully, to de-

monstrate that Chalmers, Edkins, King-smill, Graves and others, who have for years past been torturing their brains and the patience of proof-readers in labouring to compare Chinese and Sanskrit roots or classes of words with each other to prove the connection between Chinese and Sanskrit or to establish the ancient sounds, not only misunderstood the proper mode of solving the great problem of etymology but misconceived the problem itself. This problem, Mr Parker thinks, is not to find how many words resemble the Sanskrit or other words in sound, but whether it can be shewn that words of both stocks do follow and have followed the same laws in modifying themselves during a number of ages. In this radical misconception Mr Parker sees the reason why competent philologists of Europe will not condescend to even look at the result of the labours of students in China. Mr. Parker concludes his essay with a doleful wail, regretting that, as regards the single point of etymology, nothing whatever has been satisfactorily accomplished by any one, himself included.

We have taken pains to analyse Mr Parker's article so fully, not only because we think the comparative study of the laws governing the various Chinese dialects, on which he takes his stand, to be the only path which is sure to lead to the eventual discovery of China's true place in philology, but also because this article is likely to stimulate his compeers in the field of etymology to review their position and to improve upon the new way indicated by Mr Parker.

There are, in this second number of our missionary contemporary, several other articles of considerable interest. In a paper entitled 'Steps in the growth of early Tauism,' Dr Edkins briefly characterizes the teachings of Lao Taze, Chwang Tsze and Lieh Tsze, enumerates the principal deities of the modern Tauist pantheon, and enlarges upon the features of Tauist fairy

mythology, adding a chapter on the Tauist teachings of the poet Chü-yuen, and, with special reference to the Shan Hai King, a chapter on Tauist folklore and sculptures. There is also a brief article, by the Rev. W. S. Ament, on Chinese temperance legislation. The Rev. A. H. Smith continues his useful collection of proverbs and common sayings of the Chinese, Hoinos gives a popular sketch of the principal features of the Mongolian language, and Dr. Blodget concludes this unusually good number of our contemporary by a sketch of the life and services of the late Dr. S. W. Williams.

The fourth number of the *Missionary journal* contains a brief notice, by Dr. Blodget, of the prayers offered by the Chinese Emperor for snow and for rain during the recent years of drought; a dry-as-dust but ethnographically important chronicle of historical facts, illustrating Chinese relations with the Tartar and Tibetan tribes, collected by the indefatigable Mr E. H. Parker; a further instalment of Mr Smith's proverbs and common sayings of the Chinese; and a needlessly irate 'bit of criticism' from the pen of Dr. Graves. The latter appears to consider that article of Mr Parker's on the Chinese language, which we took the trouble to analyse so fully, to be a contemptuous sneer at Aryan roots in Chinese instead of an argument. Dr. Graves complains of Mr Parker's alleged want of a scholarly spirit, and claims that every tyro in philology knows, what Mr Parker laboured to prove, viz., that a mere coincidence of sound in Chinese and Sanskrit amounts to nothing; whereupon Dr. Graves unconsciously illustrates once more that 'incorrigible inability to think straight,' which Mr Parker had, by implication, charged him with, by contentedly pouring once more a flood of mere coincidences of sound into the bottomless tub of his Danaide *confrères* in the pursuit of Chinese etymology, in blissful oblivion of Mr Parker's pitiful cry for a demonstration of the laws of change. A critical notice, from the pen of Mr Herbert

A. Giles, reviewing Mr Balfour's translation of *Tauist Texts* lately published, compares, with special reference to the *Tao Têh King*, Dr. Chalmers' old translation of this puzzling classic with Mr Balfour's recent rendering. Mr Giles sums up what he calls 'the truth about the *Tao Têh King*,' under the three following heads, viz., 1, It is not the work of Lao Tse, but belongs, in all probability, to the first and second centuries of our era; 2, it is one of the inspired works of the world; 3, it has not yet been rendered into the English tongue. We expect to hear more about this anon.

The fifth number of the *Missionary journal* opens with another batch of proverbs and common sayings by the Rev. A. H. Smith, followed by a most valuable article on 'Tauism in the Ts'in and Han dynasties' by Dr. Edkins. Although we are by no means prepared to follow Dr. Edkins in all his conclusions, we think they deserve the attention of all students of comparative mythology. Dr. Edkins thinks that the Persian empire, founded by Cyrus in the sixth century B.C., exercised an influence on Chinese Tauist literature, discoverable, among other things, by the monstrous combinations of snake, tiger, bull and man in Chinese mythical accounts of the first emperors, and that the silk trade by land and sea led, during the time of the Persian empire, to the formation of an increased Tauist mythology and a rude cosmography embracing the conception of a vast and boundless circumambient ocean ruled by demon gods. Dr. Edkins further argues that Babylonian legends of the mountain of the east, the abode of the divine hierarchy, were amalgamated with the Chinese accounts of the K'wên-lun mountains; that Si Wang-mu is the Chinese representative of Istar and Venus, and that Tung Wong-kung is the Chinese representative of Mardouk and Jupiter. The concluding remarks of Dr. Edkins on the influences which Greek and Babylonian cul-

ture had on Chinese art and religion are, in our opinion, of such importance, that we quote his conclusions here in full, although we do not consider them by any means established. 'While half of the interest of the Han dynasty grandees was given to historical subjects in their sculpture, another half was devoted to Taoist mythology. Greek influence is perceptible in such features as the vigorous representation of flying horses and chariots drawn through the clouds. Chinese historians complain that in the second century everything foreign was introduced at court with eager avidity, to the grief of the conservative spirit of the country. The Buddhist missionaries, residing in China at that time and later, were very numerous, and there existed every facility for translation. Trade with the west was greatly expanded by way of Cochin China, of which minute accounts exist in Ptolemy and other Greek authors of that time. This led to the adoption of a trinity of great gods by the Taoists based upon the Babylonian trinity. The Adam of Genesis became, through the spread of Babylonian legend, embellished with the latest polytheistic colouring of the time, the P'an Ku or first man of the Taoists, who made his entrance on the mythological stage of China not before this period. The legend of the celestial emperor, the terrestrial emperor and the human emperor, came in with him, accompanied by an extravagantly long period of mythic personages and events. All this was the natural effect of that peculiar genius for the romantic which in the religious region the Babylonians possessed.'

There is another very interesting article by Dr. Edkins in the same number of the *Recorder*. Under the heading 'The old Chinese Pronunciation,' Dr. Edkins defends the reputation of sinologic etymologists against Mr. Parker's assault. In a very calm and dignified manner, Dr. Edkins brings together an array of facts which impress the impartial onlooker with the notion

that Mr. Parker went too far in saying that he 'felt disheartened at the prospect of any one ever inducing students of Chinese philology to think straight,' and that this 'may well discourage competent philologists at home from condescending to even look at the results of the labours of students in China.' Taking the keynote of his article from this pessimist criticism, Dr. Edkins endeavours to demonstrate that Mohl, de Rosny, Conon von der Gabelentz and Pott accepted his views on the old Chinese language, and to explain why some European philologists refuse to entertain the question of the ultimate identity of the Chinese vocabulary with other vocabularies. As to Mr. Parker's charge that the researches of sinologists into the old Chinese pronunciation have so far been mere child's play and utterly fruitless, Dr. Edkins briefly states what he considers to be 'the safe results' of his researches into ancient Chinese sounds. As to Mr. Parker's radical argument, that the only sound basis upon which it is possible to build solid results in assigning to China a place in philology, is a comparative study of the Chinese dialects, it remains so far undemolished, and safely awaits further assaults and eventual victory. There is, finally, in this same number of the *Chinese Recorder* a brief summary of the characteristics and location belonging to a number of aboriginal tribes of Western Hunan, from the pen of Mr. G. W. Clarke.

The latest number (No. 6) of the *Missionary Journal* contains a moderate supply of interesting articles. Mr. Smith continues his collection of proverbs and common sayings of the Chinese, disarming criticism by entreating would-be critics to communicate to him corrections of errors in facts or in translations. Dr. Graves, undaunted by Mr. Parker's strictures on his search for Aryan roots, furnishes an inquiry into the real meaning of certain Chinese terms which, in translating synonyms of sin and guilt from English into Chinese, are often used in a sense differing from that which the

respective terms ordinarily have in their native environments. The results of this inquiry may be condensed as follows. The first term, 罪, signifies originally either remorse or the rejection of authority, and stands either for the offence as in 犯罪 or for the penalty as in 受罪. The second term 過, from the Aryan root *wak*, Teutonic *wah*, in modern English *vacillate*, signifies going astray. The third term, 惡, from the Aryan root *ak*, Sanskrit *agh*, modern English *ugly*, signifies sins of violence, pointing to deeds rather than to principle. The fifth term, 亂, signifies looseness (in a moral sense). The sixth term, 辜, signifies guilt. The seventh term, 孽, from the Aryan root *it* (to swell), signifies crime and guilt. The meaning of the eighth term, 犯, is to withstand, to overcome restraints, to violate. Dr. Edkins contributes a valuable sketch of the history of religious persecutions in China, detailing the persecutions to which Buddhists and Tauists were occasionally subjected in China, from 398 A.D., down to 1622 A.D. There are also two articles which may be considered useful contributions to the history of China's modern relations with foreign nations. One of these articles, entitled 'Religious Persecutions in Kwangtung,' is from the pen of Dr. Graves; whilst the other, written by Dr. Happer, bears the title 'A Retrospect.' Finally, referring to the above quoted strictures which Mr. Giles passed on Dr. Chalmers' translation of the Tao Têh King, Dr. Chalmers states, in a curt letter to the editor, that 'the Tao Têh King has not yet been rendered into the English tongue by Mr. Herbert A. Giles.'

Chinese Music. By J. A. van Aalst. Published by order of the Inspector General of Customs. China. Imperial Maritime Customs, II. Special Series, No. 6. Shanghai, 1884.

This is a very interesting popular account of the theory of Chinese music, with numerous wood-cuts illustrating the principal in-

struments and the mode of musical notation used by Chinese musicians. The author states his aim to have been 'to point out the contrasts or similarity between Western and Chinese music, to present abstruse theories in the least tiresome way, to add details never before published and to give a short yet concise account of Chinese music.' After an introductory chapter on ancient music in general or rather on the history of European music, which our author believes to have 'gradually risen and progressed with Christianity,' follows a chapter entitled, 'on Chinese music.' Here we are told that of the ancient music of China nothing remains now but a few abstruse theories, and that, at the rise of the Han dynasty the great music master Chi, whose ancestors had for generations held the same dignity, scarcely remembered anything about (ancient) music but the noise of tinkling bells and dancers' drums.' We venture to say, that the author would have modified his opinions regarding ancient Chinese music very considerably, if he had read Faber's essays on the subject. In the same chapter it is asserted, that ever since the Han dynasty nothing has been done of any value in the sphere of music, either practically or theoretically, that the attempt of Kanghi and Kienlung to revive the study of music in China failed, and that the Chinese people, erroneously supposed to be quite unchangeable in their predilections, have so radically changed in the course of ages, that the musical art, which anciently always occupied the place of honour, is now deemed the lowest calling a man can profess. Serious music, according to Mr. Van Aalst, has been totally abandoned, and the kind of music in which the populace of China now-a-days delights in, consisting of the deafening noise of gong or drum accompanied by the shrieking tones of the clarinet, requires no scientific study. But as Mr. van Aalst informs his readers at the same time, that 'Chinese music must be divided into two different kinds, ritual or

sacred music, which is passably sweet and generally of a minor character, and the theatrical or popular music,' and as he subsequently describes the ritual music now used at Court and at religious ceremonies in the temples of Confucius and elsewhere, we are constrained to assume, either that ritual music is not serious because it is passably sweet, or that his previous allegation, that 'serious music is totally abandoned in China,' goes for nothing. The next chapter treats the twelve Lü of ancient Chinese music, and we are told that they form 'a kind of semi-diatonic scale of 12 degrees, nearly identical with our chromatic gamut, the only difference being that our scale is tempered, while that of the Chinese is untouched.' Then follow five brief sentences on the pitch of Chinese music, and we learn that 'the present pitch approaches our D (601½ vibrations per second) as nearly as possible.' Next we have a chapter on the Chinese system of notation, illustrated by diagrams, a few words on the stave, the value of notes, the rests, the time, the signs of alteration of notes, the diatonic gamut, etc. Under the heading 'Of major and minor,' we are told that, among the Chinese, the pentatonic scale, in general use, contains neither E nor B, that there is consequently no major third and no leading note, and that the Chinese scale, being thus composed of irregular intervals, may be said to be neither major nor minor, but to participate of the two. We do not agree entirely with this statement, for, as we observed some years ago in reviewing Dr. Wagener's excellent statement of the characteristics of Chinese music, modern Chinese still use both the ancient five-tone scale, in which our fourth and seventh are entirely absent, while our third and sixth differ from the Chinese intervals by about 81/80 i.e. by a comma, and they use also the twelve-tone scale which indeed has no true semitones at all, but it has regular three quarter tones, the third and sixth being half flattened. In our opinion, it is this absence of the fourth and seventh in the

Chinese five-tone scale, and the half flattening of the third and sixth of the Chinese twelve-tone scale that gives that peculiar characteristic to Chinese music which may be described as a near relation to the basis of our minor tunes. Mr. van Aalst gives his readers also a very interesting account of modern ritual music with illustrations of the evolutions made by dancers, next he gives a chapter on modern popular music, including copious quotations from the late Mr. Stent's writings, and finally we have a very full description of Chinese musical instruments. The whole pamphlet occupies 84 quarto pages. It is much to be desired that this interesting study in Chinese music be enlarged and revised by the author (in which case we recommend to him to study both Faber's and Dr. Wagener's account of the theory of ancient Chinese music), and republished in ordinary book form, to make this charming volume accessible to the general reading public.

The Opening of China. Six letters reprinted from *The Times*, on the present condition and future prospects of China. By A. R. Colquhoun, Assoc. Mem. C. E., F. R. G. S., Author of 'Across Chrysê' etc., Special Correspondent of *The Times* in China. With an introduction by S. H. Louttit. London: Field and Tuer.

Mr. Colquhoun, the intrepid pioneer of commerce and independent explorer of Chrysê, steps here, once more, forward into the literary arena, but under the chaperonship of Mr. Louttit. Mr. Colquhoun's great merit is not only, that he, as his chaperon observes, had exceptional opportunities of observation, but he is, as his own letters show, possessed of exceptional powers of observation. We are satisfied, therefore, though we glean no information as to Chinese matters from Mr. Louttit's introduction beyond what he has gathered from Mr. Colquhoun's letters, that Mr. Colquhoun must have had some wise reason for having

himself thus ushered into the august presence of his readers. Mr. Louttit plainly states, that when he interests himself in the opening of China, in its present condition and future prospects, he simply looks upon China as an oyster specially provided by a kind providence for John Bull's delectation. The problem, therefore, is very simple. He eyes the oyster, said to have been opened long ago, and shrewdly observes that the so-called open ports are but insignificant indentures upon the edges, that the knife must be inserted into the heart of the oyster and a line of steel driven from north to south before this celestial exclusiveness will be at an end and the oyster ready to be sucked and swallowed to improve the future prospects of John Bull. At present, however, the oyster is not opened yet. Mr. Louttit and Mr. Colquhoun are certain about it, and the main point of the book and the *raison d'être* of Mr. Louttit's chaperonship is, to urge 'that English traders should open up China' and that English capitalists should provide the funds for a railway from Peking to Canton, for 'the railway must be the knife to open this Chinese oyster.'

The question, whether John Bull will be allowed by his crowned and titled compeers to open, suck and swallow this Chinese oyster without interference, is not alluded to either by Mr. Louttit or by Mr. Colquhoun. Nor do they trouble themselves much to consider whether the oyster will approve of or benefit by the operation. The whole purport of the book is intensely practical and the spirit which it breathes is strictly commercial. Mr. Louttit states, on the authority of Mr. Colquhoun, that the majority of English merchants in China are 'not working for posterity,' but simply strive to make money as quickly as possible, and the tendency of this book decidedly approves and fosters this low view of European life and commerce in China. We are not prepared to contest the correctness of Mr. Colquhoun's observation as to the views of the majority of English merchants, but we deplore that

he omitted to state the fact that among the leading English merchants of China there are also men who take a more serious view of life, who have higher aspirations than mere money grubbing, and who, in conducting their commercial operations, seek not merely to benefit themselves or their own country but humanity in general, who, in fine, do labour for posterity, aye for eternity. We credit Mr Colquhoun himself with a desire to labour for the benefit of the whole world and therefore with aspirations far higher than those represented by the tone of his letters and by his chaperon, and we regret the more seeing him here stooping to the lower level of the vulgar herd and pampering to the selfishness of national bias and of purely monetary prosperity. There is one more remark we have to make before leaving Mr Louttit's introduction. Seeing how intensely practical Mr Louttit is, one would hardly expect any cant from him. But when he talks of the 'reciprocal' relations of commerce with a third of the human race being worthy of the efforts of statesmen, of 'the hopes of the extension of commerce and the blessings of peace in China' and of 'victories in the interests of peace,' whilst the whole world is only his oyster, and whilst he knows perfectly well that the opening of China will cost streams of blood before it is effected, and that the consequent influx of foreign civilisation will expose China to the risk of internal demoralisation and political disintegration, he ought to know, that he is simply talking cant.

As to Mr. Colquhoun's own letters, we confine ourselves to a brief analysis of their contents. The first letter deals with the geography of China. The tributary States of China are excluded from consideration, as 'lying beyond the radius of profitable trade intercourse.' China proper, we are told, is naturally divided into a number of compartments, each of which is surrounded by impounding hills. With the exception of the Yangtze, the main artery for trade

from eastern to western China, and the Canton river, which connects Yunnan and Kwangsi with the seacoast of Kwangtung, none of the rivers of China are sufficiently practicable for navigation. Agriculture is confined in northern China to the alluvial places and the loess regions, and in southern China to the alluvial plains and the terraced hill sides. The population is dense only along and close to the seaboard and the main waterways of the interior.

From the second letter, which deals with the trade of China, we learn that England has absorbed four-fifths of the whole trade done by China with foreign countries, but that the trade in opium and piece goods has considerably decreased of late, the import of Indian opium into China being doomed and the sale of piece goods not likely to increase until the cost of production is reduced within the purchasing power of the consumer. We are also told that the tea export, which has been steadily falling off, will certainly continue to decrease, until free transit and European methods of cultivation and curing are introduced in China.

The third letter discusses the alleged impediments in the way of our pushing our manufactures into the heart of the country. The Chinaman is said to be conservative, but this is no impediment, for he will buy what he wants, provided it be the cheapest and best quality, wherever it may come from. China, it is said, has manufactures of her own, but the reply is, that she herself is not and cannot become a manufacturing country until coal, iron and other industries, with proper communications, are largely developed. The real obstacles are the absence of proper means of communication and the exactions of the inland customs which are so prohibitive that they shut in our commerce within a narrow area of the coast and one river. The authorities in China, with the rare exceptions of men like Li Hung-chang, are as anti-foreign, as ignorant of the outside world and as childish as they were in 1860. They want neither foreign

inventions, nor foreign goods or foreign men. So far it would seem, therefore, that, in Mr. Colquhoun's own opinion, our manufactures are not wanted in China and must remain excluded from the heart of the country, unless brute force be employed to make the Chinaman buy what he does not want and what makes him neither better nor more content. Mr. Colquhoun even admits that the mandarin, so unanimously opposed to everything foreign, is in China more than in any other country the servant of popular feeling. Nevertheless he believes that, 'we have the people with us, and the more we penetrate into the country, the more will they become habituated to western ways and civilization and the sooner also will the higher interests of humanity be served.' The question what these higher interests of humanity are, Mr. Colquhoun leaves carefully enveloped in the mist of obscurity. But we cannot refrain from saying that his conclusions are not only logically inconsistent but incorrect as to fact. The mandarin being the servant of popular feeling, it logically follows that it expresses the unanimous objection of all China against change of national wants and habits and against the introduction of anything foreign. We are perfectly aware that in the natural course of events China will be compelled to submit to the ordeal of being habituated to western ways and civilization, but we are also aware that this process will result in the general demoralisation and political disintegration of China.

In his fourth letter, Mr. Colquhoun discusses the advantages to be derived from the introduction of railways in China, to prevent famines, to improve provincial autonomy and to suppress rebellion. In his fifth and sixth letters, the same railway project is discussed, with reference to the practicability of establishing paying railways both in northern and southern China.

We have analysed Mr. Colquhoun's book with a view to enable our readers to grasp the exact position Mr. Colquhoun takes as

to the present condition of China. We think our analysis shows that the object of Mr. Colquhoun's book was really not the present condition of China, whether physical or social or political, nor is the future of China herself a matter of concern to him. The real object of the book is to show what chances there are to force English trade and English capital for railways upon the Chinese, whether they like it or not, under the specious pretext that, in some way or other, it ought to do them good in the long run. As to the prospects of China herself, Mr. Colquhoun's prophesy, dismal indeed and in our opinion quite true, is condensed in the following three sentences which we quote from his book without alteration, note or comment. 'The time has come when the foreigner must and will have extended freedom of intercourse with the interior of China. If the country is not opened up from within by the Chinese themselves, the spirit of the age, which demands progress, will be too much for her. What is not conceded will be wrung from her by the force of circumstances, ending in the dismemberment of the empire.'

Dictionnaire Français-Chinois, contenant les expressions les plus usitées de la langue mandarine. Par le P. Séraphin Couvreur, S. J., Missionnaire au Tchen Li, S. E. Ho-Kien Fou. Imprimerie de la mission Catholique. 1884.

This new Dictionary, which bears also the title 法漢常談, is another evidence of the modern revival of those sinologic studies among the Jesuit missionaries of China by which their predecessors, centuries ago, laid the literary world of Europe under lasting obligations. Father Couvreur, the editor of this new French-Chinese Dictionary, does not appear for the first time here, before the public, as a lexicographer. Some seven years ago he revised De Guignes' old Chinese-Latin-French Dictionary of the written language of China and published it

with considerable additions. Nevertheless, in coming now once more before the public with a more independent product of his literary labours, he does so without great pretensions. He states that the groundwork of this present French Dictionary of the mandarin dialect consists of a number of colloquial phrases collected by himself during a residence in China extending over fifteen years, and that he added to it a considerable collection of phrases contributed by a number of native Chinese scholars, some of whom knew French. To these phrases Father Couvreur added a French translation and inserted each phrase in its proper place. He also utilized Sir Thos. Wade's publications, but whatever he adopted was subjected, as he says, to a severe critique by native scholars, and nothing was admitted which they did not acknowledge as correct and current colloquial. Of course, with all this help which the learned editor acknowledges to have received, there was still an immense deal of work thrown upon his own shoulders, in preparing the whole compilation for the press. The work before us is a bulky volume of 1,006 pages, neatly got up, the typical arrangements being very satisfactory indeed. The vast majority of the native phrases collected in this volume will, we have no doubt, be found both idiomatically correct and practically useful. But we observed also a number of cases in which the editor attempts to give Chinese renderings of peculiarly French or European phrases, and here we find him less felicitous. Some of his definitions also we could not at all agree with. But these are but trifling flaws in a work of evident excellence, which will recommend itself by practical use for all ordinary requirements. The work claims to be a French dictionary of the Pekingese dialect, but the editor ought to have stated, when describing it thus in his preface, that he has shorn the Peking city dialect of its peculiarities, and aimed to give what he thought to be the average pronunciation of

the northern mandarin dialect, such as he heard it occasionally even at Peking. That the editor, instead of adopting either Wade's or Williams' system of romanisa-

tion, followed a system of his own, is natural enough, but nevertheless, in our opinion, a mistake to be deplored, as it adds to the confusion already existing.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

NOTES.

THE FIRST KING OF COREA.—According to the History of Corea, [朝鮮世記], when the Emperor Yao ruled the Empire for 25 years, the King 檀君 began to reign in Chosen with his capital at 平壤, but, as the fable which relates his origin makes out that he lived 1,080 years, we may reject this 始祖 of Corea as a mythical personage.

ZINC MINES IN YUNNAN.—According to the Yün Nan authorities, the 點錫 or zinc mines of Mung-tz district have already produced 3,300 loads, or, say, 200 tons: the Shanghai *taotai* therefore appeals to shareholders for new subscriptions.

OFFICIAL BARBARITIES.—The *Peking Gazette* gives another instance of Chinese official barbarity. A wretch, in the position of a district magistrate in Shan Si, blinded one of his prisoner's eyes with lime, and cut his hamstring, on the ground that he was so dangerous that he might escape. Amongst the illegal tortures practised by the prefect 董兆奎 of Kiang Si province, are the following, burning the back with joss-sticks, forcing to kneel on bricks set sideways, placing in the chair of torture 霸王椅, embracing the burning post 將軍柱.

CONSUMPTION OF SALT.—The Governor of Hu Nan incidentally mentions that over 100,000 warrants, 引, of salt are annually consumed in Hu Nan, 湘岸. This probably refers to Hwai salt alone.

SILK FOR THE IMPERIAL HOUSEHOLD.—For the year 1882, Ho Nan was ordered to find 300 pieces of 卞綢, 300 of 卞綾, 300 of 卞縐, 300 of undyed 綿綢 and 3,000 of 大布. This order was executed, and the goods handed over to the Household in September 1884. It is not stated who pays the cost. The Soochow Treasurer supplies the Silk Commissioner with Tls. 30,000 a year for their Majesties' 上用 silks: any balance unspent goes to the 造辦處 at Peking.

TUNGUSIAN TRIBES.—It appears that the Orunchun Tunguses, mentioned in a previous *Chinese Note*, are now organized in native banners, under 佐領, who appear to be selected for physical strength; 興安城 is where the headquarters of one *tso-ling* is. Where is this place?

THE CLASSIC OF FILIAL PIETY.—K'ang Hi says that, in the reign of 咸平, (about A.D. 1000), a Japanese bonze named 裔然 tendered to China a commentary on the 孝經 by 鄭元, [Mayers, No. 59].

THE LAOS OF CHINA.—Ch'u Sui-liang, [Mayers, No. 117], was ridiculed as a 獠, [pronounced 老], by the Empress Wu [Mayers, No. 862], because he came from Hang-chow. Now the Laos are said to be South-west barbarians, which would identify them with the Laos of Tonquin, or the Lolos of Yün Nan; and, as the Kiang is still inha-

bited by a strange race called the Zik'a, it is probable that all three are the inhabitants of ancient 越.

PRECEDENCE.—In the year 659 A.D. the T'ang Emperor Kao Tsung changed the 氏族志 into the 姓氏錄. The former publication had been made by T'ai Tsung, the imperial blood, 皇族, taking precedence; the connections by marriage, 外戚, coming next, and the 293 other surnames bringing up the rear. The family of the Empress Wu was now made to rank first, and military ranks were given a place in the official precedence lists under the name of 勳格.

KASHGARIA.—With reference to previous notes on Kashgaria, it is to be noted, that a new Governor has been appointed to 甘肅新疆 or 'Kan Suh and Tartary.' There are two Treasurers under him, one for Kan Suh and the other for Tartary. This is very important.

DESIGNATION OF BUDDHIST TEMPLES.—During the reign of Ming Ti [A.D. 58-76], the Buddhist classics were first brought on a white horse to China by 摩騰竺法蘭, who put up at the 鴻臚寺, which thus gave the name 白馬寺 to the earliest Buddhist temples.

KWANGTUNG v. CANTON.—For Mr. Playfair's information it may be stated that the *China Review* is guilty of a misprint, and that 來之不善去之亦易 is the correct form of 'Easy gotten easy gone.' Kwang Tung is certainly Canton, but Canton was an inconvenient modern foreign name to give to Kwang-chou Fu. Cantonese abroad often use 'Kwang Tung' in a general way as meaning either or both city and province.

LOOCHOO.—Loochoo first brought tribute to China at the beginning of the Ming dy-

nasty. The sunken eyes and long noses of the Loochooans attracted attention. Both men and women then wore turbans, but the rich or official classes wore a hat like that used by bonzes, but shallower.

CHINESE CASH.—In the year A.D. 497 the Wei dynasty coined the 太和五銖 cash. In the year 529 the Tobas coined the 永安五銖 cash. In the year 557 the Liang dynasty coined 四柱 cash, of which each one counted as 20. In the year 561 the Chou dynasty coined certain 布泉 cash of which each counted as 5: they circulated with the 五銖 cash coined next year, each one of which was worth 10 鵝眼 cash. The 'goose-eyed' were clandestine cash, in popular use after the Liang dynasty's cash became adulterated with iron. In the year 574 the Chou dynasty coined the 五行大布錢 cash, each one counting as 10 cash, and circulating with the above-named 布泉 or 布錢. In the year 579 the Ch'ên dynasty introduced the 大貨大銖 cash, of which each one counted as 10 of the 五銖. The same year the Tartar or Chou dynasty coined the 永通萬國錢, of which each counted as 1,000. In the year 581 the Sui dynasty coined 五銖 cash, of which 1,006 weighed 4 catties 2 ounces: it is said of them 背肉好, which appears to mean 'both faces, the body, and the hole had rims [周郭]. The use of the characters 通寶 on cash dates from the year 622, when the 開元 cash were introduced by the T'ang dynasty: towards the close of the Sui dynasty the currency [錢幣] had become so depreciated that people were driven to use bits of skin and cardboard. Each of the new cash was 8/10 of an inch in diameter, and 10 of them went to the ounce. In the year 666 the 乾封泉寶 cash, each representing ten ordinary cash, were coined by Kao Tsung.

Mr. Vissering's book on Chinese currency is useful, but the translations are in many instances grossly inaccurate.

MONETUS.

FINALS.—Dr. Hirth's researches discover the fact that many Chinese words with the modern final *an* become *ar* in the old Roman or Syrian words they are intended to represent. The Japanese final *aru*, e.g. *maru* for *wan* 丸, is possibly an analogous development, and the point should not be lost sight of.

THE TERM ARSACES.—The Parthian practice of calling all monarchs subsequent to Arsaces the 1st (the founder), whatever their own names, Arsaces the 2nd, 3rd, &c., is as yet unaccounted for by precedent, though it was imitated by the Roman Cæsars. Rawlinson suggests that the practice was derived from the Dahan Scyths. We would further suggest that the Scyths got it from 秦始皇, or from the same source that he did. The Government of Parthia was always like that of China, at least up to China of the Christian era,—a number of satraps paying tribute to a King of Kings. The character 皇 or 'white king' may turn out to be derived from, or connected with, the 白馬將 of the Huns: compare the 'White Czar' of Russia. The exploratory journeys of Tiri-dates, the second Arsagh, are quite as extensive and wonderful as those of Shun of China into Hu Nan.

That Parthia should be called Arsak by the Chinese is the more natural in that their own histories often call China simply 漢 i.e. the [Power of the] Han.

BACTRIA AND PARTHIA.—To identify 月氏 with Bactria may seem a difficult task: however the Greek word *Βακτρία* is, in modern Greek, pronounced *Vaktria*, and there is no reason why we should assume ancient Greek to be less like modern Greek than like other languages. In Foochow 月 is still pronounced *ngwək*, in Wénchow *ngüē*, and in parts of Shan Tung *yüäh*; and we have elsewhere shewn that *ü* and *u* (with their lower series forms *yü* and *ngu* or *wu*) are much confused in China. We have also already shewn in

careful detail how *chi*, *ti*, and *t'i* are perhaps represented in Arian tongues by *tri*. Thus *Waktri*, or *Vaktri* is simply (that is may be) Bactria. We know from Chinese sources this country was 1,000 *li* east of 安息, and we know from Rawlinson, that Bactria was about this distance East of Parthia. Dr. Hirth shews conclusively, apart from etymology, that *An-sih* was Parthia, and that Chinese *an* and Arian *ar* are often the same. *Sik* and *seik* are still the Canton and Foochow pronunciations of 息, and all the Parthian rulers were called Arsak, or Arsaces. Thus 安息 is probably Arsak, as has been suggested 40 years back, and Dr. Hirth's geographical conclusions are philologically supported. All this, however, is novel and speculative, as regards Bactria.

ERRATA.—On page 114 of Mr. Parker's article in No. 2, vol. xii., for *improved theory* read *unproved theory*, and on page 116 for *him himself* read *Grimm himself*. Page 115, for *flowing* read *blowing*, and before the words *with the guttural sibilant* add the word *which*.

A CHINESE RENDERING FOR 'FATHOM.'—On page 117 of Vol. XIII. of the *China Review*, Mr. F. H. objects to a translation into Chinese for the word *fathom*, as proposed by me in a recent note (*China Review*, Vol. XII., page 512). Mr. F. H. would be quite right in his criticism, if he had not laboured upon a misprint slipped into my note. I did not propose 一度 *yi-tu*, but 一廣 *yi-t'o* — a character which is not generally known, and is defined in K'ang-Hsi's Dictionary as *the length of both arms extended* (兩腕引長). My romanisation *yi-t'o* (though written *yi-to* by a printing or copying mistake) shows clearly that the character is not 度, but some other. By carelessness of the compositor, however, it has been misrepresented into 度, as the two characters are nearly resembling each other in form, there being only a slight difference in their lower

part, which in *tu* is a 又 and in *t'o* is a 尺.

As to the character 耗 *t'o* proposed by Mr. F. H., I beg to observe that, though sometimes used in the meaning of a *fathom*, it needs nevertheless classical authority, it being defined in the Chinese dictionaries as *to take or carry on the hand*. I would rather consider it in the meaning of *fathom*, as a 白字 for the character 廣; and it is just for this reason that, finding the right character, I thought it worth while to register it in a brief note, devoid of any pretension.

J. M.


REPLIES TO SOME QUERIES AND SUGGESTIONS.—The writer of *Chinese Notes* in No. 2 of Vol. XIII. of the *China Review* has kindly done me the honour of addressing to me some queries which I will now endeavour to answer in a few short notes.

1.—The writer of the note headed 'An Extensive Squeezing Ground' (page 118) observes parenthetically, that '日 is not, according to J. M., the same as 响.' I beg to propose a correction. I think it is the same, as it may be deduced from the text of my note (*China Review*, Vol. XII., page 435).

2.—As to the words 賀特哈, which the writer of *Chinese Notes* says is a Manchu term, I must avow that it is not known to me. It strikes me, however, from a philological point of view, that it is quite contrary to the rules of Manchu phonology. The Manchu language is not free of the general laws of vocal harmony which regulate the composition of the words in all the languages of the Ural-Altaic or Turanian family. It is a law of harmony in Manchu phonology, that a theme or radical, containing solely feeble vowels, can only be joined to a suffix containing a feeble vowel. In this case the radical would be *hete*, which contains only the feeble vowel *e*, while the suffix would be *ha*, which is formed by the strong vowel *a*. Should it be *hetehe*, I

would surmise it to be the perfect participle of *hetembi*, to roll (*ride* Ch. 捲), meaning rolled or wrapped round, as a piece of silk.

3.—The expression 達呼爾巴爾虎, I think, does not mean a Tonguse tribe called 'Targupargu.' The whole, I conjecture, ought to be divided into 達呼爾 and 巴爾虎. The former part is the name of a town in the Manchurian province of 黑龍江, being the transliteration of

 *Dahor*. The latter part seems

to contain a misprint of 虎 for 城, as 巴爾城 is a town in the Mongolian country of the Khalkhas tribes, called in Manchu

 *Bar hotun* (*hotun*=城).

Otherwise it may be perhaps a Chinese transcript for *Barkul*, though not the right one.

4.—The word 何貝 must be the appellation of a Manchu officer called *hebei* (or *hebe i*) *anban*, which is the designation of a Councillor to a Tartar-General (將軍之參謀官) with whom the General consults upon all matters concerning military plans.

5.—The phrase 牛隊, as presented by the writer of the note, must be wrongly written or printed, as it ought to be read *niu-hui*. It is generally written 牛彖 *niu-lu*, which, however, is a bad transliteration of the Manchu *niru*. It does not mean a 佐領, but a company of a hundred *chiksin* (read *chikshin*) *haha*, or 壯丁, as the Chinese call them, commanded by a centurion or captain called *nirui djanggin*, which term is rendered into Chinese by the expression 佐領. *Niru* constitutes, in the Manchu army organisation, a sub-division of a *djalan* (Chinese 甲喇), which is divided into five or eight *niru*, according to the strength of the corps. It may be correctly taken for a *company*, and a *djalan* as a *battalion*.

6.—The word 烏拉 is the Chinese transcript of the Manchu *ula*, which means a river, but a great one, such as may be called in Chinese by the name of 江.

while a small river is termed *bira* which is the equivalent of the Chinese 河. *Ula* is also the name of a town in the Manchurian province of Kirin, and also that of a Manchu tribe in former times when the nation was formed.—In the name *Saghalien* (or rather *Sahaliyan*) *ula*, it is used in the sense of river, the whole meaning the *Black River* (sc. the Amoor of the Europeans), which has been translated into Chinese by *Black Dragon River* (黑龍江 instead of 黑江 only), the river being compared with a dragon.—As to the expressions 烏拉草 and 烏拉鞋 the suggestion made in a note at page 434 of the Vol. XII. of the *Review* may perhaps be admissible.—Judging from the Manchu phrase *ula shusu*, which means the live stock and other eatables people carry with them when travelling beyond the Great Wall on public business, I may suggest that 烏拉駝馬 might indicate perhaps the camels and horses one brings

in a journey beyond the Great Wall.—It is not easy to guess, in the case of the isolated phrase 打挂烏拉 what the term *ula* may here mean.

7.—The phrase 撤其烏布 is not correctly translated, when it is made to signify to *deprive him of his trust*, as the right meaning is to *deprive him of his bannerman character*.

J. M.

The Governor of Kiang Si confirms our statement that female infanticide is commonest in Kiang Si [視他省爲甚]. The 'six cash clubs' there have been described in *Chinese Notes* as existing at Canton.

From the Honan Governor's expression 督銷蘆鹽 it would appear that Ho Nan consumes Tientsin salt,—at least in part.

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C. P.

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THE CHINA REVIEW.

THE HISTORICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF TAOISM.

A Review of 'Taoist Texts, Ethical, Political and Speculative,' by FREDERIC HENRY BALFOUR.

'The multitude have whereupon to employ their energies ;
I alone am doltish as a clown.
But I alone differ from all others in that
I reverence my Nursing Mother.'—*Tao-te King*, Chap. XX.

Many thorough scholars are occupied with the study of Chinese at the present day, many ably-written books and essays appear year after year, still our progress in the field of Sinology has been far from being satisfactory during the last decennium. There appears to be too much attention paid to elementary matters and light ephemeral literature, too much writing of desultory notes picked up by the way-side at leisure hours, and far too little of spirited and sustained effort to ascend the loftiest heights of Chinese thought and sentiment.

It is not my intention in the least to damp the ardour of so many interesting writers in their fondness for treating these lighter subjects, but my direct purpose is rather to encourage, if possible, those that occupy themselves with the deeper questions of life which have seriously agitated the Chinese mind at all times. The noblest Chinese authors, both ancient and modern, have endeavoured to grapple with those difficult problems which, imperious for solution, continue to force themselves upon the attention of every meditative person. We

may have weighty objections to the results they arrived at, we may discover that their methods are wrong or defective, still we may find striking traits of the same human nature welling up from among them as those we feel to agitate ourselves. We may even, if we personally have reached a higher standpoint, discover means to direct those who are yet below us and help them out of their dark valleys up to our sun-bathed heights. It is my sincere conviction that the Chinese mind can be influenced by foreigners only in so far as the Chinese perceive that their mind is understood in its deepest and most revered thoughts. Every effort in this direction must be welcome to us as a step in the right direction. For this reason alone, if for nothing else, Mr. Balfour's book deserves our sincere recommendation.

Taoism is a stupendous fact in Chinese history. Taoist influence has been powerful in speculative, in political, in ethical, in religious, in scientific, in social and in common practical life. Mr. Balfour's intention, however, was not to give an outline of Taoism; he confined himself, as the title of

his book puts it, to *Taoist Texts*, or more correctly, to English translations of Chinese texts, the Tao-te King being only accompanied with its original text. For the convenience of students it would have been better if the Chinese originals had been printed with the translations of all other texts except the first and last. Both the Tao-te King and the Kan-Ying Pien can be found almost in every bookshop all over China. It is different with the other texts. They are rarely to be met with in single editions, but are usually incorporated in collective works. To those, who take an interest in such studies, I recommend the collection of Taoist works under the title, *Tao shu tsuen tsah*, 道書全集, bound usually in forty vols. All of Mr. Balfour's texts are found there, except Huai-Nan Tszé, but it is not difficult to procure a good edition of the complete works of this philosopher. It is much to be desired that Mr. Balfour would continue his translation of this eminent writer, especially, as most of his other chapters are of more general interest than the first. I also venture the suggestion, that such long chapters should be broken up into a number of paragraphs, by which both reading and reference would be made easier.

Some of our readers will recognize most of Mr. Balfour's texts as reprints from the *China Review*. This is, however, no objection to a collection in one volume of papers naturally belonging together. I may also mention here that a German translation of the Ch'ing-ching King by Professor Neumann of Munich was published about forty years ago, but I have no copy at hand for comparison. Mr. Balfour's translation of the various texts is in excellent English, and keeps close to the original. Although passages can be found in which the wording may be improved upon, yet it would be difficult, if not impossible, for any Sinologue at present to produce a better translation. A feeling of disappointment may nevertheless prevail in the minds of those who have

perused this volume,—a feeling, for which Mr. Balfour is not to blame. He presents us merely with Taoist Texts, but we long for something more than this, we should like to see Taoism made easy or at least comprehensible to the generality of minds. I myself do not pretend to understand the full bearing of the darker passages of these texts, nor do I know of any living scholar, Native or Foreign, who may be said to have so exhaustive an understanding of Taoism. For this reason, I consider a discussion of minor points, about the correct explication of a sentence, or the exact rendering of a peculiar expression, as of little value at the present time. My own purpose in taking up this subject is to offer, what I consider

THE KEY TO TAOISM.

A key is an instrument by the use of which we are enabled to open in a natural way that which is locked up. In the metaphorical sense 'the key' means an exposition of that knowledge which is indispensable for solving a difficulty. In possession of the key it is possible for the student to arrive at the full understanding of all details connected with the subject. It discloses all essential features of the subject, and in such a way that it becomes a comparatively easy task to pass from the most general form to the most specific details.

Thus 'The Key to Taoism' means a concise outline of what may be considered *the proper method* of investigation applied to the subject of Taoism.

This method consists in a *historical treatment* of all the documents relating to Taoism. First of all, the real or probable age of each text, its authenticity and integrity, have to be determined. Then, when these are divided into sub-groups or periods, the texts belonging to one period will naturally throw light upon each other, and these, therefore, should be treated in connection with each other. To mix texts of different periods is, though common, a scientific mistake usually pregnant with wrong conceptions and leading to false conclusions. Nor must we

neglect to make reference to the antagonistic literature of each period and other similar works, that are able to throw light on doubtful points.

Next, but not less in importance, is the distinguishing between all the existing divisions of more or less heterogeneous *schools or parties* within the pale of Taoism itself. *Taoism* is a vague general term, like Protestantism. What is true of one sect cannot with justice be applied to every other, nor are we allowed to take any eccentricities of one party as characteristic features of Taoism itself.

The following lines are an attempt to illustrate this key to Taoism now given, although no completeness of detail can, of course, be expected in a short essay. Though acquainted with most that has been written on Taoism by Western savants, I abstain from repeating what has already been said.

A Short Characteristic of Ancient Taoism.

Taoism all through the Chow dynasty meant *Opposition*, neither more nor less. Confucianism was collecting all the tendencies of *Conservatism*, which then consisted in a Feudal legitimacy. Taoism was the antithesis to this, being the receptacle of all kinds of efforts against the authorities then in power. Confucianism, as conservatism, represented the force of stability in political and social life; Taoism was in itself the force of motion, change, revolution. Confucius proclaimed a fixed order of things, even to the minutest details of social life; Taoism was against all such artificial and inelastic arrangements, as being both abnormal and unnatural. *Tao*, *nature*, with its meaning of *everchanging life*, became the standard of *Taoist liberalism* against the statutory forms of absolutism. Confucianism, as a political system, was absolutism pure and simple, for the Emperor is restricted by no law whatsoever; moral and religious considerations might be brought before him, it is true, but no legal pressure could be brought to bear upon him at all. The only modification of,

though by no means a protection against, the tyrannical abuse of absolute power was found in *ancient custom*, and this is why Confucius laid so much stress on ancient forms. He found in them the only safeguard against the exercise of what was otherwise an unlimited, irresponsible power. Thus a sort of a constitutional check upon arbitrary misrule was discovered, but, alas! lacking the necessary power to enforce it.

Taoists were liberals in so far as they questioned and *denied the right of absolute authority*; in their protesting, as they did, *against interference* of any kind, and in their *rejecting ancient forms* as unsuitable for the changed times.

Readers well versed in the study of Chinese history will notice some difference between the view outlined above and that of the venerable historian *Pan Ku*, but, though fairly impartial, Pan Ku is not infallible. The student will do well to consult, whenever it is possible, the originals on which the statements of Chinese historians depend. This I have done to a great extent. My views are, moreover, confirmed by the authority of the most comprehensive collection of Taoist texts, the *道藏全書*; and I would here suggest, that whosoever intends to pursue a scientific investigation of Taoism, he should procure this invaluable thesaurus. I am not in possession of a copy, as otherwise my present article would have assumed a more scholarly character. An abridged edition of this thesaurus, in about eighty octavo vols., I know from personal inspection, but have no opportunity of consulting it now. A few short notes must suffice for the present.

Pan Ku puts first on his list of Taoist writers *I-Yen*, 伊尹, the famous premier of T'ang, 湯, founder of the Shang dynasty. It was I-Yen who stirred up T'ang and advised plans for the overthrow of the Hia tyrant. *T'ai Kung*, 太公, and *Fuh Hiung*, 馮衡, two other prominent Taoist writers, were advisers to king *Wan*, a feudal prince, who then was planning rebellion

against the cruel rule of Shang. King Wan failed in his Taoist enterprise, but his son Wu carried out his father's plan to a glorious success.

Kwan I-wu, 管夷吾, another of Pan Ku's Taoist authors, was made chief minister of the state of Ts'i, B.C. 685; he was the first who made one of the Feudal states assume the leadership of the other states (霸, hegemony), though recognizing a nominal imperial authority of the rulers of Chow.

The *Mihists* form a separate section in the *Han shu*, but the 'Taoist thesaurus' includes *Mih Teh's* works among its Taoist texts. Mih Teh was an opponent to the government of Chow. Though he acknowledged and frequently quoted, ancient Canons, yet his quotations differ from the words of the text in the Confucian edition. Mih attempted a reform of social life and advocated *utilitarian principles*. Some prominent leaders of his school pushed Mih's principles into extreme *Communism*. This class of men were called *Nung kia*, agriculturists; they were a species of *socialistic land-leaguers* who claimed that all land-owners should in person till their soil, and that the poor should have a share in the privileges of the rich. Labour and enjoyment, they taught, ought to be the same among all men, kings and peasants should live on the same level. It is recorded, that the philosopher Mencius happened to meet some followers of this creed, and an interesting account of the interview is given in the works of that sage. (Mencius, III. a IV.)

With these communists must have been in connection the famous agitator *T'ien P'in*, 田駢, who is often mentioned in the literature of this period. Of him it is said that, with other radicals, he discoursed on governmental affairs in opposition to the hereditary lords, 晉治亂之事以干世主者.

The adepts of the *Medical profession* of this period seem also, like the agriculturists, to have belonged to the class of disappointed

politicians. *Pien Ts'ioh* 扁鵲, the Hippocrates of China, was a Taoist. Taoist priests are even at the present day famous as physicians, druggists, exorcists, astrologers and fortune-tellers. The most ancient literary monuments of the Medical profession in China are of highest interest to the student of Taoism. In no other works we find a better explanation of much that appears obscure in Taoist texts. Both the notions of *fairies* and of the *elixir of life* are derived from Medical writers. The medical treatises of ancient China are in four parts, the fourth being on *Shin sin*, 神仙, or the method of changing this mortal body into an immortal one. A strict conformity to these rules of *everlasting health* enables any person with both soul and body to enter Fairy-land. Interesting in many respects is the, perhaps most ancient, work of this kind under the title 黃帝丙經素問, which pretends to be a dialogue between *Hwang-ti* and his minister *K'i Peh*, 岐伯, 'the reputed founder of the art of healing,' B.C. 2700.

That this class of ancient Taoist practitioners were at the same time and from the same motives both physicians and politicians will not appear surprising to the student, for even Confucianists regard the art of state government as analogous, in a certain degree, to the art of healing. In the bodily organism as well as in external nature there are the five elements, which are either in harmony or in discord, thus producing health and prosperity, or sickness and decay.

Another Taoist party of this period were the *Yin Yang Kia* who were determinists or *fatalists*. They looked to the stars, and believed that every event on earth was predestinated and regulated by the motion of the heavenly bodies. But even in these ancient times the Taoists had already discovered means to influence the Star-gods and to compel the courses of the stars to agree with their political wishes. The *Tso Chuen* relates many such stories.

There was also a *peace party*, to which

Lao Tan belonged, and another *party for war*. Several interesting works of eminent partisans of this section of Taoism have been preserved to the present day. One is among Mr. Balfour's texts, the 'Book of Plain Words.' The authors of this kind of works are commonly called '*Military writers*,' which is correct in the modified sense given above. Mr. Balfour, in a foot-note, p. 96, remarks correctly: 'It must be observed that the whole bent of this treatise is political; the maxims are supposed to be addressed to rulers and sovereigns, to aid them in the proper government of their States.' Most of these writers, however, had lost all hope of a peaceful solution of the troubles of their time. They, consequently, recommended as unavoidable 'blood and iron,' not only in defence, but, when opportune, in the offensive.

The most ancient and perhaps best known writer of this class is *Suen Tsze Wu*, 孫子武, of the State of Ts'i, about B.C. 600. His remaining work contains a complete theory of warfare remarkable for China at so early a period. Among many good tenets Suen Tsze maintained, that, though only the prince has the power of declaring war and making peace, he should not intermeddle with military operations, that being the business of the commander-in-chief. A reference the author makes, at the end of his work, to *I-Yen* of the Hsia, who caused the rise of the Yen or Shang dynasty and to *T'ai Kung*, called 呂牙, of the Yen, who was the originator of the rise of the Chow dynasty, appears rather ominous.

Although the Confucianists make objection to some heterodox views expressed in the book, it still retains its position as a standard work of its kind to the present day. An excellent edition has lately been published with copious commentary taken from the works of ten different authors, under the title, 孫子十家註.

Another party was called *Tsiah Kia*, 雜家, which designation is commonly trans-

lated 'Miscellaneous Writers.' This is, however, wrong in its application to this ancient period. Those persons were properly *Eclectics*. Some of them, however, in their generous endeavours to avoid exclusiveness and to appreciate what was good in the different parties, became too loose in their own principles. One of the most respected of this class of Taoists was *Huai Nan Tsze*, who is the author of one of Mr. Balfour's texts. Older than he are the famous *Lü Pu-wei*, 呂不韋, who died B.C. 237, and *Shi Tsze*, 尸子, about B.C. 280.

Confucius firmly believed in the possibility of a political reform, or of a re-establishment of ancient forms, and by this a renewed period of power and glory to China through the house of Chow. Mencius, his renowned follower, has not only given up such hope as far as Chow is concerned, but calls upon any one of the then almost sovereign princes to assume the Imperial away. Mencius and Confucius were, however, alike in this, that they did not wish a change in the constitution of the Empire, nor an abrogation of Imperial prerogatives. In this view Mencius was vehemently opposed by another party which seems, for a time at least, to have been more successful. The policy of this party was a *Confederation* of the contending States, or at least among some of them, in order to create a balance of power among the larger States. These advocates of federation were called the *Tsung-wang Kia*, 縱橫家. Their principal and most famous leaders were the two *Su*, 蘇, and *Chang I*, 張儀, in the time of Mencius. These three politicians were the pupils of the famous Taoist philosopher *Kwei-kuh Tsze*, 鬼谷子.

That the followers of Confucius and Mencius should treat this class of politicians with considerable scorn we can easily understand. Upholders of confederation are *particularists*, jealous of the integral rights of individual States. A dismemberment of

China would have been the inevitable result, if this party had ultimately been successful. Confucianists are universalists, one Chinese Empire for all the Mongolian race—*Pan-mongolians*.

Questions and divisions arose as to the administration of the law in the time of Confucius. The majority of the Feudal princes of that period ruled as they pleased. The mere whim and pleasure of princes, and of their favourites, was the supreme law. The opposition succeeded in some States to obtain a *written law*, and a school sprang up, called *Fat Kia*, 法家, the adherents of which not only made the statute law of former rulers a special study, but, some of them at least, paid also attention to the *customary law* of their own times. Some of these men even attained to the sublime idea, that the law of the heavenly nature is the supreme law, and that all Imperial or positive law must be the *reflex of natural law*.

Confucianists also agreed to the latter proposition (comp. Mencius), but opposed vehemently the introduction of 'written law' as being productive of strife among the people and of *unprincipled* subtleties on the part of lawyers. They urged that the officers of government should be embodiments of benevolence and righteousness, and that they should decide, on its own merits, every case brought before their tribunals according to an unquestionable sense of justice.

Confucius and his followers were not less unfavourably disposed towards having any legal matters discussed before the public. That some of the opponents dared to take such a step shows unmistakably that liberalism had no lack of courage in ancient China. Confucius, naturally timid and of a servile disposition, felt his heart beating at his boldness in publishing the '*Annals of Loo*,' thus bringing before the public the villainy and disgrace of the ruling classes of that period. Confucius did not speak himself; he made the facts of history speak, and they spoke in no undecided tone.

'Rebellious ministers and villainous sons were struck with terror.'

Confucius, as a rule, abstained from discussing questions of politics or of law, though in his teaching he laid down the principles of both. He regarded every animadversion on government matters as an unwarranted intrusion on the legitimate rights of those in authority.

One of the best known liberals of that period, and probably contemporary with Confucius, was *Tang Sieh*, 鄧析子, who caused a good deal of trouble to the Chief-minister of the State of Ch'ing. He was the author of a code of law written on bamboo-tablets, which perhaps means *codified law*. This was adopted in Ch'ing.

A branch of these writers on legislation, in fact the most rigorous section of them, were the *Writers on Criminal Law*, 刑名之學, or 名家. They demanded the strict execution of the law to the very letter. Hence the many discussions regarding the literal meaning or verbal sense of terms found in their writings. Confucianists never felt or feel themselves bound to the very letter of a law or document. They take the general meaning or scope and allow modification according to circumstances. Thus they frequently fall under the charge of unprincipled expediency.

The Leader of the rigorists was *Shang Yang*, 商鞅, circa B.C. 361, minister to the duke of Ts'in. 'The blood of those that suffered reddened the waters of the river Wei.' *Shen Pu-hai*, 申不害, circa B.C. 351, minister of Han, 韓, became his disciple. This *Shen* was in his day one of the best known promulgators of the doctrines of Lao Tan. The same principles were adopted by *Han Fi Tsze*, 韓非子, circa B.C. 229, minister of T'in. Han Fi is, in consequence, often called a disciple of Shang Yang. The influence of these three prominent authors extended even to eminent orthodox scholars of the Han period, such as *Kia Yi*, 賈誼, and *Chao Ts'o*, 晁

錯, the latter being counsellor of Han Wan-ti circa B.C. 165.

There was yet another Taoist school, called the *Puritan*, **清**, of which the friend of Lao Tan, *Yen Hi*, **尹喜** commonly called *Kwan Yen Tsze*, **關尹子**, was the leader. This school was devoted to pure idealistic views. Its adherents kept themselves clear from the strife of political parties. Kwan Yen is counted among the Taoist Saints. The work under his name, though apparently revised in subsequent centuries, was later on admitted into the Taoist Canons under the title **文始經**. There are several editions of it in existence with different commentaries, but they are all extremely rare. One edition, however, forms part of the collection already mentioned, the **道書全集**. One of Mr. Balfour's texts, the Ching-ching King, belongs to this school.

Another school, equally averse to participation in political strife, though from diametrically opposed motives, was the *Sensualistic* school, whose notorious head, was *Yang Chu*, an immediate disciple of Lao Tan, if tradition can be trusted. This school had many adherents in the time of Mencius. The club of the 'Seven Worthies of the Bamboo-grove,' in A.D. 275, was in tendency of a similar nature. Some remnants of Yang Chu's teaching are incorporated in Lie Taz's work.

Famous in Chinese history as a clever counsellor to his prince and very ingenious in amassing immense wealth for himself is *Fan Li*, **范蠡**. It is recorded, that Sin Yen, a grandson of the duke of Tsin, **晉公孫辛鉞**, styled Ki-yen, **計然**, who was an immediate disciple of Lao Tan, had given this Fan Li a book in twelve chapters entitled **文子**. This work is yet among the Taoist canons, though its present text is the work of later hands. Ki-yen retired and finished his life on a mountain, but Fan Li adopted at least some sentences of his teacher's book. He used a

disgraceful device, **陰謀**, to destroy the State of *U*, in which he succeeded, B.C. 474.

Chang Liang, **張良**, one of the patriarchs of Taoism, chief counsellor of the first Han emperors, destroyed Hang **項**, B.C. 189, by similar means. The Premier Ts'ao Ts'an, **曹參**, who lived at the same time, also acted on Taoist principles. The emperor Wen Ti, B.C. 179-157, is famous as having adopted and carried out Taoist views in his imperial government. During his time there lived a man on the bank of the river, called **河上丈人**, 'Master on the River,' for nobody knew his name, nor where he came from. He transmitted his doctrines to Ngan-k'i Shang **安期生**, also one of the Taoist patriarchs, **道家之宗**. Ngan-k'i is said to have bodily ascended to heaven from the White Cloud hills at Canton.

The literature of *belles lettres*, **小說**, of ancient (and of modern) China is also principally cultivated by Taoist writers; Taoist sentiment being adopted even by Confucianist writers who venture into this field. In the Han catalogue it is stated that these writers reproduced the talk of common people, **街談巷說**, and depicted their peculiar customs, **風俗**. Thus they wrote histories of the life of common people; this may be termed 'Culturgeschichte' though limited by time and space.

Confucianists are generally accustomed to treat this kind of literature with ostensible contempt. According to Confucius, a superior man may learn from the common people, yet he must do so privately. Teaching the lower classes has to be done officially in setting forth before them the patterns of the ancient Sages. Whatever belongs to the lower classes, even if it should be good, has first to be accepted and authorized by those in high authority before it can be employed. The Taoists had more liberal and popular views on this subject.

One discouraging fact, however, is beyond dispute, i.e. that the greater portion of this popular literature did not keep off vulgarity

of the worst description. It is poison to the reader when vice, which he abhors wherever and in what shape it appears, is made pleasing and desirable by all the allurements of a fascinating style by writers of genius. What is vulgar we should endeavour to elevate by good patterns, but what belongs to the noblest in human nature, should never be allowed to become vulgar and contemptible.

The poetry of the common people, even Confucius considered worthy of his consideration. He selected his Canonical Book of Odes from among a great number of popular songs, the greater mass of which he rejected and thus left them to perdition. Of the Ballads and other poems of the period, collectively called *fu*, 賦, the best known are by K'ü Yuan 屈原, of which an English translation is desirable. Many poems of this class can be found stored up in the Imperial histories of the different dynasties. A few from high antiquity have been collected in works, as the 文選 and other similar collections.

These brief notes suffice to show the great mental, social and political activity of ancient Taoism. Of its literature a valuable portion has survived to later generations and well deserves good translation. A vast amount of valuable information can be gleaned from their pages which are known but to few Foreign students.

This much is beyond dispute. Taoist thought and literature have produced a thorough fermentation of mind in ancient China. What Confucianism attempted, Taoism accomplished, though in a way altogether unexpected.

THE TAOIST REVOLUTION.

There can be no doubt about the fact that the only great revolution which ever convulsed China was caused by Taoist teaching. *She Hwang-ti* of *Ts'in* was under the influence of Taoist doctrine, and his great ministers belonged to different Taoist schools. I have already alluded to Shang Yang-pai,

商鞅輩, Lü Pu-wei, 呂不韋, and Han Fi Tze 韓非子. His prime minister *Li Sze*, 李斯, was certainly the most inveterate adversary of the Confucian school of his time.

Many rebellions have passed over China, sweeping away the corrupt governments of rotten dynasties, but none of them ever attempted any changes in the system of government, except to proceed from late innovations backwards to ancient forms. *She Hwang-ti* was not a man of such a type. Though he was a detestable tyrant, full of fierce cruelty, yet he possessed genius of no mean order. He was convinced that the ancient form of government had outlived itself, and he felt in his own person the energy necessary to inaugurate a new era. He lacked, however, the calmness and patient perseverance of a wise statesman. He was martial and vehement in spirit, passionate in temper, easily infuriated by opposition of any kind. His great military success so elated his mind, that the imperiousness of his self-will became perfectly uncontrollable, and he showed himself to be one of the worst, if not the worst, tyrant that ever sat on the throne of China. Now, as the Confucian Canons, the text books of the legitimists, appeared to him to be the principal obstacle in his path of innovation, he ordered them to be burnt forthwith, and those that obstinately adhered to them to be put to death. The result being that he really succeeded in overturning the ancient systems of Chinese government never to rise again.

It is a mere fiction of the modern Chinese to believe, that their government is Confucian. The politics of Confucius himself never transcended Feudalism. Another fiction is, that the government of China is patriarchal. This is only true of the village communities of China. The state government of modern China is *bureaucratic*, a complicated system (machine) of officials. This is the yet lasting great work, not of

their worshipped Saint and Sage, Confucius, but, according to Chinese views, of that most detested of monsters, *She Hwang-ti*. The great Revolution accomplished by this ruler of Ts'in is the turning point between ancient and modern China.

But, though dogmatic forms are destroyed, or die a natural death when worn out, principles are endowed with everlasting life. Thus the principles of legitimacy cannot die, they ever assume other forms. If *She Hwang-ti* had not by his tyrannical despotism and wanton cruelty injured his own cause, moreover, if he had found valiant successors, Taoism could have become the standard of the partisans of legitimacy, and Confucianism would have had no choice left but to occupy the empty benches of the opposition. With the sudden and complete downfall of the shortlived Ts'in dynasty Confucianism arose again from its deep humiliation gradually to assume the highest authority China can bestow. This, however, was principally the effect of another cause in operation at this period, which we will now discuss.

THE CLASSICS OR CANONICAL WRITINGS OF ANCIENT CHINA.

Confucius displayed his superior genius nowhere to more advantage than in his collecting and editing the ancient literary monuments of China in such a form that they became the ultimate standards of appeal to his party. Confucius was more successful as teacher than as politician. Hundreds of pupils gathered at his feet. They received with reverence the works of antiquity from the hands of their great master and admired the very shape into which he had cast them. Confucius, however, was the leader of a political school as well, and he never for a moment forgot his character as such. The texts he selected from among the great number transmitted from antiquity were only such as accorded with his political bias and purpose, and he pruned these texts without mercy in order to produce in

them something of uniformity and consistency.

The Confucian Classics are the *Canons of the Conservative party* of ancient China; they are, however, not reliable historical documents, but bear unmistakably the hall mark of Confucius and his party. All those ancient documents with Taoist tendencies would naturally find no place in this Canonical Collection. Even those texts Confucius approved of, he carefully purged of all Taoist, i.e. antagonistic and nonconformistic doctrines, and even the slightest allusions to them, as far as he possibly could. Both *Tso Yeu-ming* and *Sze-ma Ts'ien* are superior to Confucius with regard to historical truth. This is the reason why the earlier Taoist writers, almost without exception, never or rarely quote any of the Confucian Canons, though most of them readily acknowledge the merit of Confucius in editing them. Those Taoist writers refer to other authorities, but, unfortunately, they have neglected to hand down to posterity authentic editions of that Taoist literature of an earlier period, which was fundamental to their own. Proofs of this are numerous and striking enough; for example; the Mihists quote the 'Books of the Shang' dynasty, some of which are included in the *Shu King* of Confucius, but there appear considerable discrepancies between the two texts. We meet with Odes quoted by Taoists, and a few even in the *Tso Chuen*, which are not contained in the *She King* of Confucius. Most of the Taoist writers, on the other hand, quote authorities from the mythological period of Chinese history, refer to honored masters of other periods, nearer their own day, and finally reach their Ideal Sage in Lao Tan.

None, however, of the great Taoist leaders undertook to imitate Confucius in collecting and publishing ancient classical writings as Canons acceptable to all parties of Taoism. Such a thing at this time was, besides, impracticable, for Taoism was too much split up into rival sections, and, above all, could

not boast of a teacher who could stand comparison with Confucius in uniting all into oneness of aim. Thus it was that the Taoists never possessed a definite Canon of sacred books like the Confucianists.

Confucius gave his cause great weight through his once and for ever fixing the five canonical books, although none of the material contained in them was originated by him. The value, immediate and authoritative, of these Canons consisted in their being received from remoter or nearer antiquity, but notwithstanding this value, the commanding genius of Confucius stands out in thus making antiquity serviceable to his own political purpose. We can thus understand that the wrath of the revolutionary party, when in power, turned especially against the Confucian Canons.

It may appear rather strange, that Confucius should have been against a written law and still considered it his most important political mission to collect and edit works of antiquity as canons or normative texts not only for his time, but, according to his intentions, for all time. The Taoists on the other hand favoured a written law, but were rather against any written dogmatic authority or canon. 'The Tao cannot be expressed in words.' Criminal law they wished in a definite form to be protected against the abuse of authority and for a safe-guard against the arbitrary caprice of rulers. The Tao needs no protection, it will care for itself.

Confucius felt the necessity of teaching right principles and how to regulate private and public conduct in accordance with them. He considered a righteous administration of justice their natural consequence. Nevertheless the Confucianists in the time of their own persecution, during the Ts'in period, learned to understand the great value of a written law as a protection against bloody tyranny. The Taoists felt on their part, when Confucianism began to flourish again in the Han dynasty, the importance of a solid canonical basis amidst the conflicting

parties of their own adherents. Any vague individual, i.e. subjective, opinion of Confucianists could find its speedy correction by means of their Canons. But some Taoists ventured to carry their subjective theories into the extreme of absurdity. Thus the Taoists began to create Canons. They, however, like Buddhists, when once in motion, forgot to stop again. New canons are brought forward even in our days, and the number of their canonical writings amounts already to hundreds of different works, nobody knowing their exact number. The Confucianists became somewhat alarmed at this fecundity and also increased the number of their Canons from five to thirteen. In our days they even follow the Buddhist and Taoist precedents in issuing tracts as Canons or Revelations from their popular idols Kwan-ti, Wen-chang-ti, etc.

THE TAOIST CANON.

The most complete collection of Taoist Canons is the above already mentioned *Tao ts'ang tsuen shu*.

In modern times a distinction is made between *esoteric* and *exoteric* canons. The meaning of these expressions is, however, somewhat different from the established use in Western countries. *Esoteric* is applied to the cultivation of the inner life, *exoteric* to the management of external business. *Esoteric* in the Taoist sense means 'mystical,' *exoteric* is equivalent to 'magical.' Both the mystic and the magic canons are honoured each with five *king* and four books, in Confucian fashion, as basis, there being a number of other canons and other texts in addition.

Of the mystical canons, 內修, the five *king* are: the 陰符, the 道德, the 清靜, (these three are No. 2, 1 and 7 of Mr. Balfour's texts) the 龍虎, and the 黃庭. Its four books are: the 養真, 修圖契, the 悟真篇, the 三皇玉訣, and the 青華秘文, beyond these the study of 道書全集 is recommended.

Of the magical canons, 外修, the five *king* are: the 度人經, the 皇 |, the 玉經 |, the 三官 |, the 北斗 |. Its four books are: the 生神章, the 濟煉科, the 祈禱儀 and the 千金方, then all sorts of canons and incantations are recommended 諸品經懺.

Most of the canons of the later period are filled with gross superstition and repulsive idolatry.

THE TAO TE KING.

The first of Taoist Texts which received 'canonization' is the Tao-te King. The book was known under the name of 'Lao Taze' during the last two centuries of the Chow dynasty, B.C. 450-250. Emperor King of the Han, between B.C. 156-141, gave the book the title of *king*. Hüan Tsung of the T'ang dynasty, A.D. 713-755, gave this canon its present name *Tao-te King*. He also determined again its chapters and sentences and wrote a commentary on it, the Text and a eulogium on its author were cut in stone in the Wo-heu temple, 渦口. According to the best Chinese authority on the subject Lao Tan, in the year 488 B.C., wrote his book, in 5000 words. Thus, there are only three hundred years intervening between its composition and its receiving highest success, viz., 'canonization' by Imperial mandate.

Regarding the authenticity of this text there are, however, some authorities older than the Han period. Han Fi Taze not only mentions Lao Taze's work, but largely comments on it. He quotes at least twenty-two chapters of the Tao-te King, most of them complete chapters. As Han Fi died B.C. 230, we are forced to the conclusion, that Lao Tan's book must have been largely in circulation at the end of the Chow dynasty, B.C. 300-250. To the same period with Han Fi belong the 'Annals by Mr. Lü' 呂氏春秋. In this work passages of the Tao-te King are quoted as Lao Tan's sayings. In the writings of Lie Taze there occur at least sixteen passages of li-

teral correspondence with the Tao-te King. Lie Taze brings us up to about 350 B.C. As Lie's parallels with this Canon have only three in common with those found in Han Fi, we thus gather from these two authors, belonging to a period before the Han dynasty and before the second century B.C., not less than 35 different chapters of the Tao-te King or nearly one half of its whole text. Huai Nan Taze is a little later, about B.C. 180. The 12th chapter of his work is as much a commentary to the Tao-te King as Han-fi's sixth and seventh. Huai Nan quotes this canon under the name of Lao Taze—not less than 41 different chapters. Of these 22 are not quoted by Lie or Han. Thus references of these three authors give us a total of 57 different chapters from the Tao-te King. It is much to be regretted that none of the writers on the Tao-te King availed himself of the invaluable assistance of these ancient writers. There is now little room left for doubts regarding the authenticity of our Canon. It is true that neither Tso Ch'uen nor Mencius mention Lao Tan, *why* I do not know. Mencius, however, does also not mention the *I King*, or Book of Changes, and the She-king of Confucius never refers to Yao and Shun. Are these arguments against their existence before the authors' time? There is another Confucian author of a work of undoubted authenticity, contemporary with Mencius. This is Suen Taze, 荀子. We find in chapter XI. of his work a critique on Lao Taze, which certainly proves the existence of a person bearing this name as the originator of the doctrines under review. Thus we have sufficient proof that the Tao-te King originated early in the fourth, but perhaps in the fifth century B.C. We can, of course, never demonstrate that Lao Taze and nobody else wrote this book, but I cannot see the least advantage gained by doubting Chinese tradition which is unanimous on the point. It would, farther, be difficult to discover another person of that remote period better qualified to write a

Tao-te King than Lao Tan. No one fulfils all the requirements so completely as Lao Tan: he was a man of profound thought and comprehensive learning; he had, besides, sufficient experience of political life to convince him that there was no more help for the world, and that for himself at least he should have nothing more to do with the honours of laborious vanity. Thus convinced he retired from active life, hopeless, yet calm, satisfied with himself and his pantheistic philosophy.

The great number of commentaries on the Tao-te King are by Chinese writers summarized under four heads, i.e.:—

1st, Political, 明理國之道, to this class belong 河上公 and 嚴君平.

2nd, Ethical, 明理身之道, to this class belong 孫登 of Wei, 陶宏景 of Liang, and 顧歡 of South Ts'ü.

3rd, Speculative, 明虛極無爲理家理國之道, to this class belong 何晏 of Nan Yang, 王弼 and others.

4th, Retributional, 明事理因果之道, to this class belong the Buddhistic commentators.

Mr. Balfour has reproduced Lü Ts'ü's commentary in his translation. Lü lived in the 8th century A.D. He is one of the later patriarchs of Taoism. There are many temples dedicated to his worship about Canton. These temples are frequented for Spiritistic purposes. There the oracles are not obtained in the common Chinese fashion used in other temples, but through the medium of Spirit-writing. As other works of Lü Ts'ü have been collected and published in good print as 呂祖傳書, Mr. Balfour might oblige the students of Taoism by publishing an exhaustive Analysis of them.

I may mention here that another ancient Taoist work is also known under the appellation of *King* or Canon long before the work of Lao Tan received that title; I mean the *Shan Hai King* 山海經, a record of ancient Taoist Mythology, but with a

geographical background. It is mentioned in the Han catalogue. The contents of the book appear to be the most ancient folk-lore of China. The present form of the book may be the work of later hands. Besides this 'Hill and Sea Canon' there exists one on the water-courses 水經. A number of medical treatises, especially of anatomical and physiological contents, have also been called *King*. This shows that the word 'King' at this early period did not mean 'Sacred Scripture' or 'Revelation,' but denoted a Standard work giving a description *seriatim* of the subjects treated therein. Though a number of Taoist Canons were written during the Chow period, i.e. the works of Lie, Chwang, K'ang Tsong, Kwan-yen, Wan, etc., they were all called *Tsze*, 子, at the time and most of them received the name of *King* only during the T'ang dynasty about one thousand years after their first appearance.

One of the Confucian Canons was also adopted by the Taoists already in the time of the Book-burner. This is

THE YI KING OR BOOK OF CHANGES.

Its very name indicates that this canon agrees better with liberal Taoist tenets than with those of the conservative Confucianists. Liberals are ever eager for change, conservatives never like to admit the necessity of any change.

The Yi King, as it now is, was not the Yi King of Confucius. Some of the appendices are later additions, probably disciples of Confucius. What Confucius found were the 64 diagrams with their respective names and with short sentences attached to them by King Wan. The only explanation then in existence, is ascribed to the duke of Chow. That the 64 diagrams are formed by doubling the eight original ones is unquestionable. These eight original diagrams bear *foreign* names, it may be of Western (Central Asiatic) or perhaps Accadian (?) origin. It is true all these names are monosyllabic and thus analagous to Chinese, but I cannot discover a connection

between the word *k'wan* (kwun) and any genuine Chinese designation for 'Earth,' and so it is with all the eight names. The characters now in use for them are later additions, perhaps added in the Chow period. They seem phonetic. Originally the mere figure of the diagram was its only representation in writing. The names of the 56 additional diagrams are all genuine Chinese. The primary elements of the eight diagrams are two lines, one broken and one whole, indicating the *yin* and *yang* principles of nature. In the eight original diagrams the Chinese see a picture of the universe, and in the 64 a complete outline of human affairs. Thus they had only to determine to which diagram, or general order, their object of inquiry belonged, and they were sure to find a deal of information about it. The very best information, however, on the state of things would be of little help if this state the next moment gives place to another form. But it is too frequently overlooked that the Yi King is the 'Book of Changes.' The ancient Chinese inquired what kind of a change in a particular event they had to expect and how they had to prepare for it. The calculation of these changes is the stumbling block to all the commentators on the Yi King. Yet we know from the quotations in the Tao Ch'uen, that these changes form the most important feature in divination from the Yi King.

Some modern commentators say that each diagram can change into all the 63 besides itself. This is true, the system has 63 possibilities for change and only so much, every 64th is a return to the original, or it may be a repetition of another diagram. The totality of changes gives thus a sum of 4,042. The ancient system however did not go so far. In the Chow Yi the upper, or sixth line remained always unchangeable. The change began from the lower or first line, went up to the fifth and then back to the first, leaving only the fifth in its changed form. Thus they counted 9 (nine) changes

to each diagram, or a total of 576 changes. Other writers confine the changes to seven of each diagram, as they on the return change the three lowest lines in one turn, with a total of 448 to which *one* is added and 449 considered as the typical number of all changes.

That there is a constant fluctuation in the affairs of life, changes in everything, this important truth Confucius, the valiant champion of stability, met staring him in the face after a life spent in political failure. Confucius, the most prominent man of his time, who had devoted all his talents and energies to the great cause of Legitimacy, found himself rejected by those very princes for whom he laboured. He met with opposition or with indifference, with contempt or with polite excuses at every Court of the many States he visited during his wandering life. Although he never dreamt of assuming in person an opposition to any one in authority, yet at length even Confucius himself became convinced that he and his principles were *really in opposition* to the tendencies of a corrupt age. Then the idea of change flashed upon his mind. Not that it was the first time he had heard of it, but hitherto he had always rejected it as a heterodox phantom. In his old age he allowed this idea to enter his mind and found it worthy of consideration. What form this unavoidable change was to assume Confucius found himself unable to prognosticate. He wished for a prolongation of his life to be enabled to devote fifty years to the study of 'Change.'

As we have to take the statement of Confucius' admiration of Change (Anal. vii, 16) as a fact, and also his editorial labour on the Yi King and the notes added to those of the duke of Chow's as written by his own hand, I find no difficulty in receiving the reports of his visit to the old Lao Tan as a fact, though legendary details may have been added in later years. This certainly remains: Confucius in his old age was influenced by Taoism, and the Yi King, in the

edition of the Confucian school, is the result of this influence. Confucius in his state of mind, at the time we speak of, could well sympathise with the feelings and sentiment of the first writer on the diagrams, King Wan, who too had failed against corruption and tyranny and found himself at leisure for meditation behind the walls of a prison. The immediate disciples of Confucius, and the adherents to his school in general, down to the beginning of the Han dynasty were apparently very little influenced by the Yi King. The *She* and *Shu* are quoted by Confucianists hundreds of times when the Yi King is not mentioned at all, or quoted merely as giving oracles or only in short allusions. She Hwang-ti of Ts'in produced a change in China even with regard to the Book of Changes. He left this canon, of all Confucian canons alone, unburnt. This fact must be taken as a strong argument, that neither the Emperor nor his clever and learned advisers found anything of a political nature in this canon disagreeing with their views. It was the *book of changes*, it set forth and explained *change*, and *change* the rulers of Ts'in intended to inaugurate in China. But soon enough another change set in, in form of re-action. The Confucianists recovered their lost ground and restored their own literature. General attention, however, had been called to the Yi King, and the result was that both Confucianists and Taoists became very active in their labors on the Yi King. Most of the Han emperors continued to favour Taoism and many of the best scholars of the time had a leaning towards it. *Liu Hsiang*, 劉向, B.C. 80-9, is one of the most famous among them (his writings also deserve translation). Thus the time was favourable for a union between the two creeds, and the Yi King became the connecting link. *Wei Peh-yang*, 魏伯陽, a genuine Taoist, wrote his book on the Yi King, 參同契. Since that time the Yi King has remained most prominent in Taoist literature. None of the other Con-

fucian Canons has ever been adopted by the Taoists in general, although some strict Confucianists discover in one of the four Books, the 'Golden Mean,' a somewhat Taoistic savour.

BUDDHISTIC INFLUENCE ON TAOISM.

A few features of similarity between Taoist views and Buddhistic notions, as are common to most philosophical systems, are conspicuous even in ancient times, but a vital difference in the very foundation of these two systems is evident to the careful student, notwithstanding all superficial coincidences. Taoism presupposes a reality underlying all the changes of nature. Every existing thing has in itself an ideal form of existence (comp. the 5th and 6th of Mr. Balfour's texts). This may be developed or destroyed. The ideal form is not material, neither is it abstract idealistic in the sense of Western philosophy—it is ethereal. This ethereal essence is inherent in the material form and may be separated from it. The material element may even be transformed into the ethereal, and this may again be sublimated into higher purity and perfection, into the constituents of light and spirit. When the higher state of existence is reached by a mortal being, then everlasting life and the enjoyment of heavenly blessing are secured. This state of immortality is not a return into the all-embracing *Tao*, or course of nature, but a continuance of individual existence with all its characteristic features of personal life, only freed from all gross-material frailty and imperfection.

Every creature is good in its essence. In this fundamental doctrine both Taoism and Confucianism agree, and in this, too, both are equally opposed to Buddhism. Buddhism maintains that existence, at least individual existence, in itself is an evil and the source of all the misery in the world. Not any mode or transaction of individual life is sin, but life itself in its individual forms. While Confucianists and Taoists

gain strong motives from their creeds to purify themselves and transform the world, Buddhists cannot be animated by such motives, their purification means return into nothingness, spiritual death is their ultimate aim.

But Confucianists and Taoists are separated in their aims and methods of higher education. The Confucianist cultivates his superior faculties and strives to govern his lower desires by rules of etiquette and propriety, but all aspirations and hopes are strictly confined to this world and more especially to service in the employ of the State government. The Taoist looks beyond this world. He strives to refine his material nature until it reaches a state of immortality. No good quality of human nature is to be annihilated, but everyone must be purified. Thus the Taoist strives to purify his heart by special methods and he endeavours to etherealize his body by means of etherealized matter (the *tinctura rerum* of Western Alchemists) which assists the ethereal body in man to absorb the grosser parts of this body. Buddhists seek to exterminate body and soul, at least the individual, if not the personal, side of the soul, all affections and even the very desire of living itself. Thus Buddhism and Taoism, in their consistent developments, necessarily exclude each other. Consistency, however, is seldom attained to in practical life. External circumstances are too often of greater consequence than philosophical considerations. It is, moreover, altogether inconceivable that two forces, physical or mental, should be in operation in one spot without acting on, and modifying each other in inverse ratio to their active energy. Buddhist canonical literature in China, to judge from the little I know of it, has, however, not been influenced by Taoism to any remarkable degree. There is sufficient reason to account for this incident in the incontrovertible fact that all Buddhistic Canons are mere translations, not original productions by Chinese authors. In

the secondary Buddhistic literature marks of Taoist influence are visible enough; for example, the prominence of exorcism, the great confidence put in the magical power of formulas, charms, rites, etc. Though the supposed power of enchanter over demons and spirits may be as much genuinely Buddhistic as Taoistic, their presumed magical superiority above and power over the laws of physical nature is certainly of early Taoist origin and is a natural outgrowth of Taoist fundamental tenets.

Taoism, on the other hand, has allowed a great deal of Buddhistic lore to enter its later Canons, especially during the T'ang and Sung dynasties, when Buddhism was flourishing for a time (compare the 3rd and 4th of Mr. Balfour's texts). Confucianism had by this time achieved its final victory. The Confucian Canons had been proclaimed by Imperial authority as the only text-books for schools and examinations and have retained this position ever since. Though some emperors favoured Taoism, and others encouraged Buddhism, yet none have dared to interfere with the formidable phalanx of book-readers, all of whose hopes for success in life, in many cases only a bare existence, depended on their acquaintance with the Confucian Classics alone. Both Taoism and Buddhism thus shared a common lot of exclusion from any share in the government. But as both these bodies had in consequence to struggle for the favour of the multitude, they became rivals to each other among the common people. They had to work a deal for money, or for a living, and did it in a way to please best their customers. Any ceremony etc. the Buddhists had invented, which proved imposing to the masses of the people and increased the influence and income of the monks, was quickly adopted by the Taoists and *vice versa*. This explains the modern aspect of the confused mixture of Taoism and Buddhism as popular religions.

TAOISM AS A RELIGION.

So much is certain that neither Lao Tan

nor Confucius were founders of new religions, nor did they teach on religious subjects. Nor were they, on the other hand, infidels or sceptics. Both were *politicians*. What they wanted to deal with particularly and emphatically was politics and nothing but politics. With their respective political standards was intimately connected a moral system which was constructed so as to form the foundation which was to support and give prominence to their political tenets. Religion had originally no place either in the system of Taoism or of Confucianism, nor were they in themselves destitute of religious sentiment or feeling. Religion was in both of them the primitive ground into which the foundations of both their buildings were sunk. Religion also formed their environment and background. We cannot construe Taoist Religion from the philosophy of the Tao Te King, nor Confucian Religion from the discussions on Morals in the Four Books. Any such attempts must be failures. There are plenteous materials scattered in other Chinese works of antiquity, which may help us to a clear insight into the religious life of Taoism and of Confucianism. As I am about to write a book on the subject I shall simply content myself at present with a brief statement of the leading features. The Confucian religion has preserved traces of the worship of nature from primitive ages. But the same conservative Imperial government appears in the Confucian invisible world as in its Middle Kingdom. The gods of nature were, moreover, in ancient times, worshipped only by the emperor, the princes of state and their officers. The common people directed their devotion to their household gods and communal gods. The worship of ancestors was common to all classes. In the ancestral cultus the Confucian idea of reverence to authority, subordination to superiors, almost unconditioned submission to command, has found its consummate realization. Nature in general is regarded as subservient to human affairs and similarly were the spirits or gods of na-

ture. The cultus to the dead grew more and more in importance, till finally living men seemed only to live for the dead; the welfare of the living being sacrificed to promote the supposed welfare of the dead.

No stress whatever seems to have been laid on the worship of ancestors by ancient Taoism. We know nothing of Lao Tan's ancestors. Human relationship was considered as unimportant. A number of Taoist Saints appear as childless, and some of them seem never to have been married. The individual state predominates in Taoism as the social in Confucianism. Taoism worshipped nature, but not as a whole. Tao had no altars, nor have any been raised to it. The powers of nature were personified and individualized. Confucianists marry their gods, and the god-wife has her place in the temple of her god-husband. The parents of the god must have their special shrines as well. This practice is to some extent adopted by modern idolators, but this is not genuine Taoism. The powers of nature are considered as above mortal men. Especially the stars are regarded as residences of gods, who govern the destinies of those on earth. Hence Taoists have in all ages been absorbed in observations of the heavenly bodies for *astrological purposes*. Confucianists have been the docile disciples of Taoism in this respect. Taoists were ever inclined to believe more in the power of Fate; Confucianists in their morbid endeavours to give peace to the dead developed *geomancy* (*feng shui*), Taoists in their search for the elixir of life promoted *Alchemy*. Taoism has been as productive in Mythology, as Confucianism has been in rules of propriety and etiquette. Stories of genii and of fairy lands belong to the most ancient period of Taoism and have been multiplied in later times. A trinity of uncreated Beings was formed, and another trinity in time and space. The creation of the world is described and especially the formation of the first human pair. Incarnations of different deities are related. Many revelations of

gods to mankind are recorded. A number of heavens are peopled with males and females from earth, who obtained immortality by means of a Taoist life. A hell, with many apartments for multifarious tortures, has been adopted from the Buddhists, as also many means, derived from the same source, for escape from the torments there. A system of merit and demerit and of retribution through spiritual agents in this life and hereafter was developed.

The last of Mr. Balfour's Taoist texts, the *Kan Ying Pien* (comp. another translation in Doolittle's Vocabulary, etc. Vol. II) is one of the most popular and instruc-

tive examples of this latest phase of Taoistic development.

Finally, how grand in their simplicity are the fundamental teachings of our Christian Canon when compared with these complicated Chinese Religious systems! We know of one God, our Heavenly Father, to be worshipped in spirit and in truth,—of life and immortality by simple faith in Christ, the Mediator between man and his Creator,—of a Holy Spirit who enlightens the mind, purifies the heart and prepares soul and body to become the only true temple of the Almighty!

ERNST FABER.

THE RESTORATION OF THE JADESTONE RING.*

A TALE OF UNLAWFUL LOVE.

In the city of 揚州 Yang-chow, near Pacific Bridge, there dwelt a young man, whose name was 唐甫臣 T'ang Fu-ch'ên. He was about twenty years of age, and had a complexion as pure as jadestone, with lips as red as carmine; indeed, his looks far surpassed those of the most beautiful maiden. One day he happened to pay a visit to the city of 淮安 Huai-an, towards the approach of the Chinese New Year, when he met the Prefect, conducting the celebration of the vernal festival. While T'ang Fu-ch'ên was standing amidst the crowd, gazing at the various attractions of the procession, as it passed by, he suddenly noticed a little maid-servant leaning against him, who whispered to him that her mistress was most anxious to tender him her warmest sentiments, and begged that he would come to her mansion, and spend the evening there, as she had something very important to communicate to him verbally. During the conversation, the maiden presented him with a handkerchief,

in which some articles had been wrapped up by her mistress. Fu-ch'ên immediately opened it, and found therein a gilt fan, and two little gold hair-pins. With feelings mingled of astonishment and joy, he at once complied with her request, and, when it was dusk, he beheld a most lovely woman, dressed with great elegance and in perfect style, who smilingly opened the conversation. Now the name of this exquisite beauty was 賽西施 Sai Hsi-shih, and she was the second wife of the Prefect Yüan; but as in her youth her feet had never been bandaged, she still possessed a pair of uncompressed feet. This Mr. Yüan Kung had formerly served as Deputy Prefect, and, being very covetous, had amassed great wealth, and by a liberal outlay of money he had affianced himself to this damsel, and introduced her into his house as his concubine. For several years she was much favoured by her master, who gave her many pre-

* 還玉珮 from the 家寶四集.

sents to win her smiles. As a natural consequence, his first wife, Mrs. Yüan Kung, was very jealous; so when her husband was appointed to a certain distant Prefecture, she determined not to allow his concubine to accompany them, saying, that she would send for her when they had settled down at their destination. So she only left an old servant and her uncle to take care of the house with her. Now the sight of handsome T'ang Fu-ch'ên on the day she witnessed the procession, to welcome spring, caused this beauty to hanker after him as inordinately as a thirsty person craves for drink, or a fish for water. Accordingly on meeting now, they made an assignation, and agreed that they should pass themselves off as sister and brother to avoid suspicion. These secret meetings were frequent, and in the course of them they indulged in the most affectionate embraces. After the lapse of more than a couple of months, the lovely and loving Sai confided to her paramour, that she had small private means of her own, and that, as they were both united in heart and mind, she would willingly bestow all she possessed on him, if he would only avail himself of her little fortune to set up in business or to purchase some land and houses, from which to derive an income, so as to enable them to live close together and hold frequent intercourse. The deceitful lover made no objection whatever to this proposal, and finally cheerfully acquiesced. Eventually, however, grave misgivings began to weigh upon his mind. Reflecting for a moment upon the part he was playing, he concluded that there were many drawbacks and dangers to the proposed arrangement. In the first place, though she was unquestionably a handsome woman, her nature was of such a desperately amorous character, that, if she took a fancy to another lover, he, as the first one on whom she had cast her eyes, would of course be forsaken. Secondly, she possessed large feet; her age was upwards of thirty, about ten years his senior, which would make an ill-suited

match. Thirdly, should her master or husband, who was in fact a Prefect, return home, their present relationship would most likely be disclosed, and possibly his life be endangered. Fu-ch'ên, therefore, came to the conclusion, that, by employing a few honeyed words, he might swindle her out of a considerable portion of her means, and, once in possession of her money, he would return to Yangchow, set up in business for himself with the proceeds, and marry a chaste young maiden. Such a step he fancied could be taken in perfect safety; so he decided to act at once. Accordingly, under the pretext, that he was returning to Yangchow to transact certain private family affairs, he told his sweetheart that he would not be absent more than a month, when he would return to Huai-an, and there set up his place of residence. The woman was overjoyed on hearing this, and, without hesitation, emptied her purse for him, to the amount of about four hundred taels, and, besides, presented him with a love-token, consisting of a very precious double-dragon white jade-stone ring, which had been handed down for generations as a family relic, and was therefore not to be replaced in all the world. Amidst a flood of tears, she gave him this souvenir. 'Whenever you glance at this jadestone ring,' she said, 'imagine that you have me in your presence; don't, my darling, don't forget me!' So they wept and departed. T'ang Fu-ch'ên, having by this device cheated Sai Hsi-shih of a considerable sum, hastened to return home to Yangchow. It so happened, that there was a vacancy of a writership in the magistracy of the locality, of rather a profitable kind, and from which a good income might be derived. So he made up his mind to purchase the vacancy with an outlay of one hundred odd dollars, and with a similar sum married a beautiful virgin of seventeen years of age, with whom he dwelt in perfect harmony, quite unmindful of Sai Hsi-shih's loving kindness and assistance. He carried on his official duties uninterruptedly day after day, feeling quite

happy and satisfied with his position; while the Magistrate himself was greatly pleased with the conduct of this handsome young fellow. Poor Sai Hsi-shih, who had anxiously awaited her truant lover's return for over six months, without hearing a word from him, had now no other resource left but to send him a letter to Yangchow, which reached his hands in due time, but the churl refused absolutely to recognise the writer of the letter. The messenger told the distressed woman of the reply he had received, which pained and vexed her so deeply, that she became seriously ill in consequence. After a lapse of two months, and being at a loss for any other plan, she disguised herself in male attire, using the clothing of her lord for the purpose, her large feet, luckily for her, being an advantage in wearing men's shoes. Accompanied by a lad, she engaged a boat to proceed to Yangchow to make inquiries about the residence of the T'ang family in Pacific Street. Thus, the two lovers met once more; but Fu-ch'ên seeing at a glance his *belle* Hélène had become sallow and thin from illness, and had lost all her former beauty, was now inspired with a feeling of dislike for her, and denied any acquaintance with her whatever. Sai Hsi-shih, being of a hot and hasty temper and moved by his cruelty, began to wrangle with and to abuse him, whereupon, in the presence of all the people, he denounced her as a notorious strumpet, given to swindling people, adding that she had come from Huai-an to Yangchow, and perceiving him to be an ingenuous young man, was trying to practise her artful wiles upon him. Her feelings being no longer able to endure such base ingratitude, she turned upon him excitedly and exclaimed aloud, 'If *you* are forgetful of kindness, and are so utterly insensible to justice and honour, bear in mind, that the spirits will not tolerate it.' So, without waiting to change her disguise, the disappointed woman went straight to the Magistrate's office, and brought a suit against Fu-ch'ên, her old lover, charging him with

intent to defraud her of her money under false pretences, and with breach of promise of marriage. So soon as Fu-ch'ên heard of this case, he immediately lodged a counter charge against her before the same Magistrate, falsely stating that her accusation against him was unfounded, as she was given to employing such devices to swindle money out of others. The Magistrate, on taking the bench, considering Fu-ch'ên's charge to be really true, immediately ordered the disguised female to be arrested, and, before hearing the case, directed his underlings to give her thirty blows with the bamboo. The unfortunate woman, already suffering from illness and worried by anxiety of mind, was, of course, unable to bear this unmerciful punishment, and consequently, as she was borne out of the court, she expired. On the day of the trial there were, as the case excited much interest, thousands of visitors present, who crowded into the court to hear the judgment. The Magistrate immediately ordered that the deceased should be wrapped up in a straw mat, and interred in a waste place. When hard-hearted T'ang Fu-ch'ên learned that Sai Hsi-shih was dead, he rejoiced exceedingly. After the lapse of half a year, however, retributive justice overtook him, for there suddenly came an official despatch from Huai-an, ordering the arrest of a gang of robbers, guilty of the crime of murder, and, to his amazement, the name of T'ang Fu-ch'ên appeared among the list of persons specified in the warrant. So, whilst he was still discharging the duties as writer in the Magistracy, he was arrested, placed in irons and brought before the Judge for trial. The secret of Fu-ch'ên's case was strangely brought to light, in consequence of these robbers, who were subsequently arrested in Huai-an, happening to pass by Yangchow, prior to their committal, where they chanced to witness the trial of Sai Hsi-shih and her death from flagellation. The robbers, knowing it to be a case of gross miscarriage of jus-

tice, were moved with indignation at the treatment of this woman, and vowed to avenge the death of poor Sai, whenever an occasion should offer. As soon as the robbers were arrested and brought to trial, they availed themselves of this opportunity, to carry out their plan of revenge, by firmly maintaining that T'ang Fu-ch'ên was one of their party, acting in the capacity of a receiver of their spoils,—the jadestone relic among other things. A warrant was at once issued for his apprehension; and even his employer the Magistrate, though discrediting the charge, could not but obey the orders of his superiors, it being impossible to accord him any favour, even though his conduct in office had pleased him exceedingly. The Magistrate, however, prepared and forwarded, with his despatches, a separate petition on behalf of the accused, to the effect that this case seemed to be one of false accusation. After an interval of a couple of days, the Judge tried the case of T'ang Fu-ch'ên and the robbers, but, to guard against the possibility of its being a false charge brought against the accused, he insisted upon the double-dragon white jadestone ring being delivered within three days for his inspection, before he pronounced final judgment; T'ang Fu-ch'ên confessed that he had the ring, and sent for it at his earliest opportunity, but, pending its arrival and the resumption of the trial, he was lodged in prison. Ere long, the said article was brought and handed to the Judge, who, on seeing it was greatly enraged and exclaimed that T'ang was unmistakably a thief, incapable of any defence whatever, where-

upon, further without hesitation, he passed sentence, ordering the lictors to punish him with thirty blows, and to take him to prison; but, while being carried out of court, he fainted and expired. The Judge ordered his body to be wrapped up in a straw mat, and to be buried in a waste place, exactly in the same way as Sai Hsi-shih, whose cruel death he had accomplished, had been buried, and richly he deserved it. He likewise ordered that a strict search be made at his residence in the Chiang-tu district, for the balance of the four hundred taels, which sum was confiscated and donated to a famine fund. Meantime, Yüan Kung, being deprived of his office on account of his rapacity, returned home, where he learned of his concubine having disguised herself in male attire, and of her having been flogged to death. When the details of her shocking end were made known to Yüan Kung by one of the robbers, he was greatly ashamed and nearly succumbed; but, to show his gratitude to the high-principled robber in avenging her death, he succeeded, by a liberal expenditure of money, in getting his sentence of execution commuted to banishment as a convict. After due consideration, the Judge accepted the ransom, and returned the double-dragon jadestone ring to Yüan Kung, as being the property of his late concubine. Well may we sigh at the dreadful fate of T'ang Fu-ch'ên! His good looks but evil mind brought him to a miserable and cruel death; his property was confiscated; and his wife wedded to another man. May the reward of his unprincipled conduct be a warning to all men.

NAMES OF WESTERN COUNTRIES IN THE SHIKI.

Ta wan, 大宛, Bactria,—The great Yon. To the Chinese the Bactrians were Greeks because the Greeks ruled them. In Sanscrit the Greeks are Yavan.* Probably *wan* or *yuen* is this word. The letter *v* is in Sanscrit words rendered into Chinese uniformly by a vowel or rather *w*. Ya wan was 12,550 *li* from Chang-an, as stated by Pan-ku. Ya is the Sanscrit Maha which the Greeks rendered Massa. In Persia the Sanscrit *h* became *s*.

Yue ti, Yue shi, 大月氏, Massagetae,—‘The great Getae.’ In the time of the Shiki, B.C. 100, 月 was called *yet*.

Usun, 烏孫, perhaps the Edones of Pliny. The ancient Chinese *s* was commonly *t*, so that *Oton* would be the sound. Northeast of Ta-wan, at a distance of 2,000 *li*. The Edones were pastoral people.

Komku, 康居,—A nation 2,000 *li* northwest of Ta wan. They had eighty to ninety thousand bowmen. Perhaps the Camacae of Pliny. Pliny says the most notable nations beyond the Caspian to the east are first Tapyri, Anariaci, Staures, Hyrcani. Then Margiana occurs, a fruitful, vine-bearing, sunny land, on all sides surrounded by pleasant mountains, fifteen hundred stadia in circuit, but difficult of access on account of sandy solitudes 120 miles wide. Here Alexander built Alexan-

dria which was destroyed, but rebuilt by the son of Seleucus who called it Antioch. The Parthian general Orodes, after his victory over Crassus, led the captive Romans to this city, which is 70 stadia in circuit. Next come the Mardi, Oroiani, Commori, Berdri-gae, Harmatotropi, Citomarae, Comani, Murrasarae, and Mandruani by the rivers Mandrus and Chindrus. Beyond these reside the Chorasmi, Gandari, Paricani, Sarangae, Arasmi, Marotiani, Arsi, Gaeli, (these last are called Cadusioi by the Greeks), and the Matiani. After these the Derbices occur whose central boundaries are cut by the Oxus which rises in the lake Oaxus. Then there are the Syrmatae, Oxyttagae, Moci, Bateni, Saraparae, and the Bactrians whose city is called Zariastes and was named subsequently from the river Baotrus. The river Ochus bounds this race. Beyond are the Sogdiani, the city Panda, and on their most distant limits the city Alexandria, erected by Alexander. Cyrus, Semiramis and Alexander, all raised altars there, following the example of Hercules and Father Bacchus. Here we come to the Yaxartes, which the Scythians call Silis* and the soldiers of Alexander took to be the Tanais (Don). In this account we follow particularly the narrative of Demodamas, the general sent by Seleucus and Alexander. He crossed that river and built altars to Apollo Didymaeus.

* Max Müller's Ancient Sanscrit Literature. He quotes it from Vyasa, author of the Mahabharata. But in p. 521 he adds that Lassen has proved that Yavana sometimes embraces Semitic nations with Greeks.

* Silis. The modern Turkish name is Sir Darya. Darya is river.

Beyond these, Pliny continues, are the Scythian nations, called by the Persians Sagae from the name of the nearest. The Scythians themselves call the Persians Chorsari and the Caucasus they know by the name Croucasia, that is 'white snow.' The most celebrated nations here are the Sacae, Massagetae, Dahae, Essedones, Asatacae, Rumnici, Pestici, Homodoti, Histi, Medones, Camae, Camacae, Euchatae, Cotieri, Anthusiani, Psacae, Arimaspi, Antacati, Chroasai, Oetaei. The chief rivers are Mandragaeus and Caspasus. In no other part of the world is there a greater uncertainty in authors than here, on account, I (Pliny) believe, of the great number and habits of the races.

Pliny's view of the nations east of the Caspian is partly based, as he says, on the historical accounts of the Syrian Kingdom and therefore represents to a large extent the geography and ethnology of two or three centuries before Christ. He was not able to correct his statements and adapt them to his own time, in the later part of the first century, for want of materials. Further, Demodamas, whom he follows, appears to have given in his narrative the names of small tribes. This is confusing. His nations may be only tribes belonging to a few great races. On the whole we cannot do better than follow the clue afforded by proper names and the knowledge we have of the changes in the sounds of the Chinese characters. By this process we may identify Komku with the Camacae. My proofs for the change of *m* to *ng* are given in Chinese Characters, p. 204 to 209.

Let us return to the Getae. They are north of the river Kwei shui, which was perhaps the Oxus. As to Pliny's account we find, he first gives the nations bordering on the Caspian. Then the region Margiana is the city Merve with its plain and the river Mourgh (Margus) running through it. It is the southern-most part of Khiva and has Bokhara on the east and Khorasan, the north-eastern province of Persia, on the

west. Pliny then proceeds to the upper Oxus valley in the region of Balkh. Here we must place the rivers Mandrus and Chindrus and the nations clustering in their vicinity. He goes on to Kunduz and Badakshan on the east, both embraced in the upper watershed of the Oxus and bounded by the Hindoo Coosh (the Paropamisus range) on the south. He then follows the chief stream of the Oxus down to Zariastes, the capital of the Bactrians, and goes on subsequently to the Yaxartes. At each step he mentions the names of several nations. It is after arriving at the Yaxartes that he speaks of the authority from which he had taken his information. Then, in a new paragraph, he introduces the Scythian nations generally. He mentions the Sacae (in Chinese 塞 *sak* and later *sai*), the Massagetae, the Dahae, the Camacae and so on. He speaks without regard to the courses of rivers. He has all Scythia before him and the names follow in irregular order. In identifying the names of Chinese history with those of Pliny, we can only judge by the descriptions given and the names themselves. The Massagetae, according to the Chinese accounts, went to reside on the Kwei shui in the second century before Christ, and on the south they then had the Dahae as a subject race conquered by them in arms. On the north were the Camacae, on the west the Parthians. On the east was Bactria, about 2,000 or 3,000 *li* away. Probably there is error in some of these distances and the relative positions of the countries are generally understood to have been somewhat erroneous also.

I will here give Panku's views on the relative position of these countries as stated in the Ts'ien Han Shu, 前漢書. Stated briefly the account given is as follows. Ta Yue-ti. Capital Lam-ti. Distance from Chang-an, 11600 *li*. West to Parthia 49 days. South, Kopin. North-east, 690 *li*, Bactria.

It seems to be not difficult to find Kopin. Near the modern Girdshak pass through the

Hindoo Koosh chain, on the way from Kunduz to Cabool, there are some names in Hiuen Chwang's narrative which betray it. In the map by Vivien de Saint Martin occur the names Kapicha and Hupkin. They have the plain of Udyana on the East lying between the Himalaya chain in the South and the Tsung-ling on the North. We may then place Kopin here, with Cabul to the South, that name being also a possible survival. Hence the Yue-ti also may be located with confidence in the country South-east of Balkh with the Hindoo Koosh as a southern boundary.

Ta Hia, 大夏, Dahae. Capital Lamji, afterwards occupied by the Yue-ti. They are placed South of the Oxus and of the Massagetae and occupy the region, we may suppose, North of the Hindoo Koosh. The character 夏 in Fukien is called *he*. It may be concluded that the Dahae became absorbed in that part of the nation of the Massagetae which, from their afterwards conquering Cashmere and other Indian regions, are called the Indo-Scythians, while Kopin or Cophene sprang up after the time of the Shi Ki on the South of the mountains. The Dahae were still a nation in B.C. 140, the age of Chang Chien the traveller. In Panku's days, in the first century after Christ, they were no longer in existence. In the Heu Han Shu, History of the Later Han by Fan Ye, we find the Indo-Scythians have conquered the Kaupu country which is in fact Cabul. They wrested it from the hands of the Parthians at about the same time they also absorbed Kopin. The period in which this expansion in military power of the Indo-Scythians took place, was probably in the first century before Christ. It is not mentioned indeed by Pan Ku who speaks of Kopin as independent. But he may have been unacquainted with this southern conquering movement of the Yue-ti beyond the Hindoo Coosh. Fan Ye says it took place more than a century after the subjugation of the Dahae. This seems to fix the time to the first century before Christ.

Amtu, 奄蔡. This nation is placed in the Shiki 2,000 *li* North-west of the Kamku. In Fan Ye's History it is said to have changed its name to 阿蘭陀 A-lan-lu and was subject to Kamku. If we do not find it among Pliny's names, it appears later in European history as the Alan nation.

Shindok, 身毒, India. The river Indus gave the name India to the Hindoos, and Shindo was by the Chinese adopted as the name of that nation on account of the same river being named Scinde. India is placed to the South-east of the Dahae. Chang Chien, when gathering this information, would be residing in the city Lamji, the capital of the Dahae. It is written 藍市. Formerly *sh* was pronounced *t* aspirated, just as *s* was called *t*. In consequence 天 *lien* was often written for 身, in the name of India. Thus 天竺 came to be the name of India and is called T'intok because the *s* in the name of the river Scinde was called *t*. In the names Hindostan and Hindoo we have the proper India sound. The Greeks dropped the *h* and said Indo, Indoi, etc. The Persians changed *h* to *s* and hence the name Scinde for the Indus. The ancient Chinese changed *s* to *t*.

Ansik, for Arsak, 安息, Parthia.* It is said to have Tiau Chi 條枝 or Syria on the West and the Alans on the North, as also the 黎軒 Laiken or Greeks. The *r* occurring for final *n* is found in the Shanghai and some other dialects.

Diochi, 條枝. This must be Syria. It is known to Panku as a tributary neighbour of Parthia on the West. He does not write a separate article on it.† We might then suppose that the kingdom intended disappeared between B.C. 100 and A.D. 50. But there is a new article on this kingdom in the Heu Han Shu, differently worded in most points, except that all accounts say that

* Mr. Kingmill published this identification some years since, but it has long been familiar to scholars.

† Pan Ku describes it in his article on the Wu-ik-shan-li kingdom, and in that on Ansik.

large ostrich eggs, like water jars in shape, are produced.

The Diochi of the Shi Ki 是 several thousand 里 West of Parthia. That of the Heu Han Shu is distant 60 days from Parthia and in direction West and then South. The city, which was its capital in the time of the Heu Han dynasty, lay on the western sea and was surrounded by water except on the North-west. This seems to some readers to be perhaps Egypt, and the city may have been, as has been suggested, Alexandria.

Laiken, 黎軒, Greeks, a nation North of the Parthians. It was about the year B.C. 140, that Chang Chien was residing on the Oxus and there inquiring about commercial routes and western countries. The kingdom of Syria was overthrown by Pompey, B.C. 65. Hence the Laiken nation should be not a Roman but a Greek power. After the time of Han Wu-ti, the Laiken were known as a nation that produced excellent jugglers, for some of them played before that Emperor. Panku says little besides about them, and when we come to the time of the Heu Han Shu, and the Christian era has commenced, Rome absorbs all attention and the new name is 大秦 Ta-ts'in. This continued in use till the term Folin came to be employed, about the time when, A.D. 643, the Emperor Patalik sent an embassy to the T'ang Emperor Tai-tsung. Dr. Hirth has suggested Regem, the port of Petra in the Red Sea, as Lai-kan, but the *m* is an objection, and the Lai-kan nation is placed in the North, so that Greece suits the niche better.

Kotior Koshi, 姑師. A city and kingdom in Tartary, near Lake Lob, distant 5,000 里 from the capital Chang-an. This may be the Cotleri of Pliny. Later it was written 車師.

Lulan, 樓蘭. The king of this tribe lived in the city Uni, says Panku. It was distant 5,100 里 from Chang-an. Perhaps it is the Rumnici of Pliny. It came afterwards to have the name 善鄯. This and the preceding kingdom both caused

trouble to Han Wu-ti in his military expedition to chastise the Bactrians.

Honno, 匈奴. This powerful Turkish race was so called from its own race name. The characters 'fierce alaves' were selected by the Chinese, because they did not like the people and despised them, while they feared them. Earlier they called them Komon 猃狁, B.C. 1,000. Before this we meet with 畎夷 Kon-yi, B.C. 1,130, and 葷粥 Kon-tok, B.C. 2000. About the year B.C. 127, the Hiung-nu came year by year into North-China to plunder and massacre the inhabitants. The Chinese sent out an army of 1,000,000 men to punish them and beheaded more than 19,000 of their enemies. The next year they did the same and beheaded more than 18,000. On this occasion, B.C. 123, they attacked the chief seat of the religious worship of the Hiung-nu nation and captured the golden image used in the worship of heaven by the Hien-t'u King on behalf, as it would appear, of the Hiung-nu Emperor.

Hudu, 休屠, name of a King, a feudal inferior of the Hiung-nu empire. The meaning of this Turkish word is not known. It appears to be the name of the region north of Shensi and Kansu. In the time of Han Wu-ti, upon the assassination of the Hien-t'u-wang of that time, his son became a prisoner of the Chinese with his mother and brother. He was then a boy of 14. He became a favourite of the emperor and rose to high employment in the public service. The Chinese ministers rebuked the emperor for promoting a Turkish prince. But the emperor saw that he was capable and faithful and continued to use him in confidential posts.* The notices of the worship of the Hiung-nu say that it was the worship of the Lord of Heaven and that the image was

* The biography of Kin-jī-ti in the Ts'ien-han-shu contains this account. For the geography see the Ti-li-chi in the same history. For several more Turkish words, proving that the Hiung-nu were a Turkish race, see Hiung-nu-chwen in the same work.

gilt. The place was to the north of Shensi at Yün-yang in Feng-siang-fu. There were at the same place three temples to the gods of roads, and one other to a sorcerer of the people of South-China, 越人, Yue-jen. When Buddhism was brought into China,

the golden image was taken to be a Buddhist idol, and was so explained by Chinese critics, but this is a mistake. It was the Hiung-nu worship of heaven and the use of statues was borrowed from the West.

J. EDKINS.

THE SIX GREAT CHANCELLORS OF TS'IN,

OR THE CONQUEST OF CHINA BY THE HOUSE OF TS'IN.

9. CHANG I, GUEST-MINISTER IN TS'IN.

Let us now turn to Chang I as the advocate of imperialism in China. We have seen above that he had become so, not from personal conviction, but from sheer opposition to his former fellow-disciple Su Ts'in, but, having once espoused the cause of Ts'in, he devoted to the service of this cause all the remarkable gifts which nature had endowed him with.

It has already been mentioned above, that the Ruler of Ts'in, styled Hwei 惠 by the Sze-ki and Hwei-wên 惠文 by the Annals, had appointed him his 'Guest-minister.' A capable man as he was, he must in this position before long have exercised a preponderating influence in the affairs of the State; his management indeed betrayed soon the masterly hand which had taken hold of the helm of the State.

Immediately after the collapse of Su Ts'in's scheme, the State of Ts'in hastened to avail itself of the confusion which that unexpected turn of affairs must necessarily have produced at the courts of the six States, first to prevail on Wei, probably by means of threats, gratuitously to offer the city of Yin-tsin 陰晉 (now Hwa-yin, dep. of T'ung chow, Shensi), B.C. 332, and, two years later, to wrest from Wei, by force of arms, what remained to it between the Loh river and the

Hwang Ho, with the important city of Shao-liang 少梁 (now Han-ching, Shensi).

The following year Ts'in returned to the charge, attacking Wei simultaneously North and South of the Yellow River, capturing on both sides a number of important places.

But Chang I considered that the time had not yet come, for making lasting conquests in that direction. The North of the present province of Shensi, called Shang-kiün 上郡, was still in possession of Wei and it seemed to him more important to come into undivided possession of the whole West of the Yellow River, before starting for the conquest of the countries lying East of it.

He therefore prevailed on his master to play the magnanimous, by simply returning all the lately captured cities to the Ruler of Wei, and, as a further pledge of his peaceable disposition towards his eastern neighbour, to send his son Yew 轅 to the latter, to remain as an hostage at the court of his eastern neighbour.

The Prince of Wei readily entered the trap thus laid for him. He felt so overpowered by the pretended magnanimity of the sovereign of Ts'in, that, on the suggestion of Chang I, he hastened to show his gratitude by offering to his western neighbour that very tract of country, called Shang-kiün, which it was so important for Ts'in to possess, B.C. 328.

It needed therefore but a few bold movements now, combined with some clever negotiations, to put Ts'in in undivided possession of the whole country situated West of the Hwang Ho, whilst heretofore it was quite unfitted to undertake the conquest of the States lying South and East of it.

This was then the answer, and a most significant one, which Ts'in gave to the States, which had just been so busy conspiring against it.

Under these circumstances there is also no cause to be surprised if we learn that the Ruler of Ts'in was so much pleased at the result of Chang I's diplomatic feat, that he nominated him his Chancellor, while, at the same time, he considered himself justified, by the accession of territory which his State had thereby gained, to assume the title of King, which example was followed also, about the same epoch, though with less apparent reason, by their western neighbour.

10. CHANG I, CHANCELLOR OF WEI.

Though the military operations of Ts'in had hitherto been crowned with the desired success, still the way of conquest by the mere force of arms seemed too tedious for Ts'in. The want of a helpmate in the enemy's camp was felt, just as Su Ts'in had formerly wished to have one in Ts'in. But while Chang I had then refused to play that part as Minister of the Western Power, he did not shrink now from playing it against his native country.

In secret connivance with the King of Ts'in, Chang I laid down his office of Chancellor of Ts'in and entered in the same capacity into the service of Wei, with the object, as the Sze-ki (section 張儀傳) puts it plainly, 以爲秦欲 'to further the desires of Ts'in.'

'How could the King of Wei not remember,' exclaims an annotator to the Annals, 'who it was that had repeatedly attacked him? Chang I had personally led different campaigns against him, had been engaged

in close fight with his next relatives, and thus proved to be his staunch foe, while now he comes over to assist him as his Minister! Anyone in future ages reading this must be shocked and feel angry at such treasonable conduct. For the State of Wei, being once in his hands, could not possibly escape utter ruin!'

Chang I's object, in taking office in Wei, was in the first place to prevail upon its Ruler to acknowledge the supremacy of Ts'in and so to set an example to the other States. Besides he concerted with the King of Wei a plan for the conquest of the sister-State of Hân. Wei was to attack it from one side and Ts'in from the other, and both would then divide the spoils among themselves. But this conspiracy was thwarted by Chang I's old rival, Kung-sun Yen.* As to alluring the King of Wei willingly to renounce his independence in favour of his western neighbour, it proved not as easy an undertaking as the latter had perhaps supposed. The King of Wei used so many tergiversations, that the King of Ts'in considered it necessary to back his emissary's diplomacy by a military demonstration, and, to encourage the latter to persevere in his efforts, he secretly heaped on him tokens of his favour, B.C. 322.

It was just during Chang I's tenure of office in Wei, that Kung-sun Yen—whom we have formerly met with in the service of Ts'in, but who, out of sheer opposition to Chang I, had now become the champion of Federalism—had succeeded in bringing about an alliance between all the Eastern States, with the sole exception of Ts'i, which latter State for some unmentioned reason kept aloof from the undertaking. This time matters seemed likely to prosper even better than when Su Ts'in was conducting a similar undertaking. For the efforts of Kung-sun Yen resulted in a attack being made by the allied armies on the Han-kuh pass, though it

* This conspiracy is mentioned in the article on 張軫 appended to the 張儀傳 where one would certainly not have looked for it.

proved a complete failure, the federal troops being repulsed by an army of Ts'in, when the alliance came to nought again, B.C. 318.

The following year Ts'in retaliated by inflicting a severe defeat on Hân at Siu-wu 備魚 (?), with an alleged loss on the part of that State of 80,000 men, 'which caused all the Princes to tremble with fear,' B.C. 314.

Availing himself of the impression which these repeated disasters were likely to make upon the mind of the King of Wei, Chang I returned to the charge, to urge him to submit to Ts'in. He addressed him in the following words.* 'The State of Liang (the then name of Wei), he said, extends not over 1000 square *li* and the number of its soldiers exceed not 30,000. The country is level on all sides, without any important mountain or river to protect it, so that not less than 10,000 men are necessary to guard its frontiers. The State constitutes in fact but one large battle-field. Formerly the Princes had formed a federation to strengthen each other in a brotherly way. But look at natural brothers! They are born from the same parents and still they are disputing together over riches and even doing each other bodily harm; how much less can you rely on the wavering remnants of Su Ts'in's federation! It is clear that it can never be carried out. If your Majesty refuse to submit to Ts'in, then Ts'in will certainly attack your possessions South of the (Yellow) River and advancing as far as Yang-tsin in Wei 衛陽晉 (in Tsao Chow, Shantung) out you off from Chao. It is evident, then, that even if your Majesty's State wished to avoid troubles, it would not be possible to do so.'

This time Chang I succeeded in winning the King of Wei, who now formally seceded from the federation and begged Ts'in for peace. As this was all that Chang I had aimed at, when he entered the service of

Wei, he now left it again and resumed his former post in Ts'in, B.C. 317.

Nevertheless we find the King of Wei a few years later wavering again in his allegiance to Ts'in, when a new expedition was undertaken against him, which resulted in the renewed submission of the refractory neighbour, B.C. 313. At that time Ts'in had also on the one hand inflicted a new defeat on Hân at Guan-mên 岸門 (in present Hû Chow, Honan) with a loss to the latter of 10,000 men and on the other hand led a successful attack against Chao.

11. CHANG I IN TS'U.

These successes having gained over three of the States which opposed Ts'in, allowed the latter to think of taking a further stride towards the realisation of its ambitious aspirations. The turn of Ts'i was now to come. But there was the difficulty that this State was intimately united with that of Ts'u 楚 and, as a preparatory measure, this friendship was to be made an end to.

Of course it fell to the lot of Chang I to realize this object and he proved again to be the right man in the right place.

He laid down his office of Chancellor in Ts'in and proceeded to Ts'u, under the pretence of there seeking similar employment. It sounds incredible enough, but is none the less true, that the King of the latter State on hearing of his arrival, was so much overcome by the thought of getting the renowned diplomatist into his service, that he ordered the best hotel to be made ready for him and went himself to do the honours of the house, receiving him with the words: 'what instructions will you deign, Sir, to impart to my barbarous State?'

Chang I answered, without circumlocution. 'If your Majesty is indeed ready to grant me a hearing, he said, well then close the barriers and renounce the alliance with Ts'i, when I will ask to be allowed to offer you the 600 square *li* of the territory of Shang-yü 商於 (the present Shang Chow in Shensi) and to send daughters of Ts'in

* These harangues of Chang I are like those of Su Ts'in taken from the shorter accounts of the Annals.

to become your Majesty's concubines.' The King of Ts'u felt much pleased with these overtures and gave readily his assent, when the mass of his courtiers congratulated him upon his resolution. There was only one of them Ch'en Clên, 陳 諫 who ventured to make objections. 'The reason for which Ts'in attaches any importance to Ts'u, he said, is because it enjoys the friendship of Ts'i. Let Ts'i be given up, then Ts'u will stand isolated, and do you think that Ts'in will sufficiently care for an isolated State, to give it the 600 square *li* of the territory of Shang-yü? Be sure that, as soon as Chang I has returned to Ts'in, he will turn his back on your Majesty, when you will have given up the friendship of Ts'i and in the West come to grief with Ts'in. The armies of both States will then march upon you.' 'Hold your tongue,' peremptorily replied the displeased monarch, 'and do not venture to speak again until I have received the promised territory.'

The King of Ts'u immediately broke up his connection with Ts'i and, having invested Chang I with the seal of Chancellor and made him valuable presents, he sent a military officer to accompany him to Ts'in. On arriving there, Chang I feigned to fall from the car, and, under the pretence of having met with some injury, he refused, for three months, to receive any visitor.

The King of Ts'u, on hearing it, understood easily the meaning of that trick and exclaimed: 'Does Chang I fear that my rupture with Ts'i may not be complete enough?' He at once sent an officer publicly to offer a gratuitous insult to the King of Ts'i, who became greatly incensed at his former ally's conduct and at once went over to the side of Ts'in.

Chang I became now suddenly restored to health and able again to transact business. The Ts'u officer who had come with him from Ts'u, to effect the transfer of the promised 600 square *li* of territory, called at once at the Chancellor's office. Chang I, on seeing him, feigned some difficulty to re-

member the object for which he had come. 'Did I not offer a city of 6 square *li* to Ts'u?' he asked, after a moment's reflection, 'well, let us then at once make it over to you!' The officer refused of course to take over less than 600 *li*, and as he saw that his protestations were of no avail, he returned to Ts'u, to make his report to his sovereign. The latter got enraged at the faithlessness of his neighbour and at once ordered an army to be got ready to attack him.

Here again Ch'en Chên stepped in. 'May I be allowed to open my mouth,' he said, 'in my opinion it would be better anyhow to gain the friendship of Ts'in, even should it be by the cession of some territory and then conjointly to attack Ts'i. In that way we could obtain from Ts'i some compensation for what we would have given up to Ts'in, and Your Majesty's State would be safe.' But the King was still less inclined to hearken to a wise counsel than formerly, and dispatched K'üh Kiai 屈 丐,* at the head of an army to attack Ts'in, but only to suffer a severe defeat at the hands of the allied forces of Ts'in and Ts'i. Its commander was killed, together with 80,000 men, and Han-chung (S. of Shensi) conquered by Ts'in. This battle was fought on the northern bank of the Yangtze, at Tan-yang 丹 陽 (7 *li* E. of present Kwei-chow, I-chang fu, Hu-peh). Curiously enough, a second army of Ts'u seems meanwhile to have succeeded in passing through the Wu-kwan pass (which leads from the Tan Ho valley over the Ts'in-ling mountains into the valley of the Wei Ho) and advanced as far as Lan-t'ien 藍 田 (still the name of a district in Si-ngan fu) in the very neighbourhood of Hien-yang, the capital of Ts'in. But there it was likewise defeated by an army of Ts'in, and the King of Ts'u compelled to cede two additional cities as a condition of peace, B.C. 312.†

* Also written 丐.

† The march of events was probably this. While Ts'u, which was the attacking party, was

The following year, the King of Ts'in offered again the territory of Shang-yü to Ts'u, but this time in exchange for a tract of land known under the name of K'ien-chung 黔中,* when the King of Ts'u sent him the following answer:—'To get K'ien-chung,' he wrote, 'you need not give any territory in exchange, but deliver over to me the person of Chang I, and it is yours.' Of course he intended to wreak his vengeance upon the faithless diplomatist. Curiously enough, the King of Ts'in felt not at all disinclined to entertain the proposal,—proving thereby that he did not care very much for his Chancellor—only he dared not say so, when Chang I anticipated his desires, spontaneously asking for permission to go. For the sake of appearances, the King remarked to him: 'But are you aware that the King of Ts'u is angry with you on account of your having cheated him lately about the territory of Shang-yü, and that on that account he can scarcely be friendly towards you now?' 'No fear,' answered Chang I, 'Ts'in is strong and Ts'u is weak. Besides I am on good terms with the eunuch Kin-shang 靳尚, who is an attendant on the Queen of Ts'u and possesses great influence over her. Moreover I have received your Majesty's credentials to go to Ts'u, how could its King dare do me any harm? And even if he should risk killing me, Ts'in would thereby come in possession of K'ien-chung, so that my highest wish would then be fulfilled!'

marching an army in a N.W. direction to invade Ts'in, the latter Power attacked Ts'u from the W. with an army which had descended the Min River or some other northern tributary of the Yang-tsze and could therefore operate in the rear of the army of Ts'u. Such a movement was the more possible as the States of Pa and Shieh were then tributaries of Ts'in.

* K'ien-chung was under Ts'in Shi Hwang-ti, the name of a province which, according to the 廣輿記, embraced the N.E. of the present province of Kweichow, the neighbouring parts of Hunan and the S.W. corner of Hupeh, but what extent of territory was meant under that name at the epoch treated of in that article, I have not been able to ascertain.

The bold negotiator proceeded then on his foolhardy errand. Scarcely had he arrived in Ts'u, when its King indeed put him in prison with the intent to have him executed. But as soon as Kin-shang heard of it, he hastened to see the Queen and said to her: 'Does Your Majesty know that the King begins to think lightly of you?' 'How do you mean that?' asked the Queen. Kin-shang answered: 'The King of Ts'in is very fond of Chang I and intends now to ransom him at the price of six districts and a pretty girl. The latter will not fail then to gain the King's affection, when you will certainly be turned out!'

This put the Queen in great alarm; she at once called on the King and ceased not weeping day nor night, saying: 'Every Minister is used by his own Master; even before the territory is surrendered, the King of Ts'in sends Chang I here, showing hereby the high esteem he holds you in; if now you are going to discard the rules of propriety and to kill him, Ts'in will certainly get incensed and attack Ts'u. In view of this eventuality, I beg you to remove me with my son to the South of the (Yang-tsze) River, lest Ts'in may eat me up as the flesh of fish.'

The King of Ts'u was moved by these representations to put Chang I at liberty and to treat him with the same high consideration as formerly. It was just at that time that the diplomatist heard of the death of Su Ts'in.* This event left the field open to Chang I to canvas the Princes in favour of Imperialism, just as Su Ts'in had formerly done in favour of Federalism. He began immediately with the King of Ts'u, whom he addressed in the following manner: 'The advocates of Federalism,' he said, 'are just like him who drives a flock of sheep to attack a fierce tiger, although it is evident that sheep are no match for a tiger. Now

* It had happened about B.C. 317, while our narrative has reached the year B.C. 311. The news had therefore taken a long time to reach Chang I's ears.

Your Majesty refuses to submit to Ts'in, but once that Ts'in has seized Han and driven to straits Liang* and afterwards turns to attack Ts'u, then Ts'u will be in great danger. You know, moreover, that Ts'in is in possession of Pa and Shuh; if it descends the Min River, 岷江, on boats loaded with grain, it is able to make over 300 *li* in one day, so that ere ten days have elapsed, the enemy will have reached the frontier pass of Ts'u. Its guard will flee in terror, when K'ien-chung and Wu-k'iun 巫郡† will no longer be yours. Should, on the other hand, an army of Ts'in break out from the Wu-kwan Pass, your State will be cut off from the northern territories. Now if Ts'in attacks Ts'u, the danger will reach you within three months, while, if you rely on the relief which the other princes could afford you, you would be obliged to wait for it more than six months. This is what I consider as constituting Your Majesty's great drawback, but if you heartily follow my advice, I will bring about a lasting brotherly alliance between Ts'in and Ts'u.

The King of Ts'u set such store on the acquisition of Chang I and the territory of K'ien-chung, which he had given in exchange for him to Ts'in, that, in spite of the warnings of one of his Ministers, he acceded to the proposals of Chang I and entered upon an alliance with Ts'in.

12. CHANG I IN HAN.

Chang I proceeded thereupon to Hân and addressed its King as follows: 'The territory of Han,' he said, 'is of a most mountainous nature, and produces not enough to nourish its people for a term of two years. Its army amounts to no more than 200,000 men, while that of Ts'in has over a million of them. The warriors East of the Mountains are wont to wear their armour to meet the enemy, while the people of Ts'in throw them off and encounter their foe in a naked

* Another name for Wei.

† The N.E. corner of present Szechuen.

state. A fight under such conditions is like throwing a thousand stones' weight on an egg. Mischief must necessarily result therefrom. If your Majesty does not submit to Ts'in, Ts'in will despatch an army and seize upon I-yang, 宜陽, and cut the communication with Cheng-kao, 成皋, when Your Majesty's State will be cut in two. The best advice I could therefore give you is to submit to Ts'in and conjointly with it to attack Ts'u. In this way the calamity will be averted from your State and the favour of Ts'in obtained.'

The King of Hân having acquiesced in the proposal, Chang I went first to Ts'in to make a report to his Master, who rewarded him with five cities and the dignity of 'Prince of Wu-sin' 武信君.

13. CHANG I IN TS'I.

Chang I continued thereupon his game, and proceeded to Ts'i, the King of which he addressed in the following manner: 'The advocates of Federalism,' he said, 'in their endeavour to win Your Majesty for their views, will certainly say: Ts'i is protected by the "three Tsin;"* its territory is large, its population numerous, and its soldiers are brave. Though there be a hundred Ts'in, they would be no match for Ts'i. Your Majesty has heretofore been pleased with their discourses, but without caring for their truth. Now the royal Houses of Ts'in and Ts'u are going to intermarry; Hân is offering I-yang to Ts'in, Wei is doing the same with Ho-wai 河外, Chao is ceding Ho-kien 河間. If Your Majesty still refuses to submit to Ts'in, Ts'in will force Hân and Wei to attack you from the South, the whole of the Chao army will march towards the Poh Pass 博關, when Lin-tze 臨菑 and Chih-mih 即墨 will no longer be yours.† The King of Ts'i

* That is, the three States of Hân, Wei and Chao that had emerged from that of Tsin.

† Chang I is here evidently making a fool of the King of Ts'i. All these concessions which he mentions as having been made by the States

let himself be fooled by the falsehoods reported by Chang I, and readily entered into his views.

14. CHANG I IN CHAO.

Chang I then retraced his steps in a westerly direction and came to Chao, to whose King he addressed the following speech:—‘Since Your Majesty had united the hosts of the Empire to resist Ts’in,’ he said, ‘the armies of that State have not dared, for fifteen years, to break out from the Han-kuh Pass.* During all this time, you have been wielding the power East of the mountains, while Ts’in was making preparations for a future struggle; even this Your Majesty found fault with (?). Nevertheless we have meanwhile come into possession of Pa and Shuh,† annexed Han-chung, swept away the two Chow, removed the Nine Tripods‡ and are guarding now the ford of Peh-ma 白馬. Though Ts’in is a barbarous country, its sovereign has a long time ago been restraining his anger. But now, even with our rusty armour and defective weapons, we intend to march on your State and advance as far as Han-tan, 邯

to Ts’in, were only existing in his own brain. The term Ho-wai designates usually the South of the Yellow River and Ho-kien, the country still so called in Pehchihli. The Poh Pass must be sought for somewhere in the South of the State of Ts’i. As for Lin-tsze and Chih-mih, they exist up to this day under the same name, the first in Tsing Chow, the other in Lai Chow, both in Shantung.

* Allusion to the ephemeral federation brought about by Su Ts’in, B.C. 333. The difficulty concerning the ‘fifteen years’ has been touched upon in a foot-note to § 7.

† Here the text adds ‘through Your Majesty’s power,’ which I am unable to understand.

‡ The sweeping away of the two Chow and the removal of the Tripods cannot be understood otherwise than as bare lies calculated to frighten the King of Chao. The two Chow 两周 are the Western Chow and Eastern Chow, into which the little that was left of the imperial domain of the House of Chow had been divided since B.C. 426. Ts’in came into possession of the Tripods not before B.C. 255.—(Vide ‘The end of the Chow dynasty,’ Vol. X, p. 408 of this Review).

鄆,* with the object of joining in battle at some early day and so to rectify the affairs of Chow of Yin 殷紂.† Still my sovereign wanted me respectfully to make his design known at your court. Ts’in and Ts’u have now become brothers, Han and Wei call themselves tributaries of Ts’in, Ts’i condescends to be its fish-and-salt-furnishing country. Your right shoulder is therefore cut off. Now having one’s right shoulder cut off to engage in a fight, having lost one’s allies and having to stand isolated—I ask you if, under such circumstances, it is still possible to avoid danger? Now Ts’in has despatched its three armies, it has made a covenant with the above four States to unite their forces with its own to attack Chao. Chao once conquered, it will be sure to become divided into four parts. If, therefore, I might venture to give your Majesty good advice, it is to enter into a brotherly alliance with Ts’in.’ The bold harangue had full effect on the King of Chao; he made the excuse that, on account of his youth, he did not previously perceive the necessity to join Ts’in.’ But of late he had come to the conviction that this was the best policy, and he was just hastening to start for Ts’in to make his submission, when Chang I arrived.

15.—CHANG I IN YEN.

After having received from Chao the promise of its adherence, the negotiator proceeded in a northerly direction to Yen, the King of which he addressed as follows: ‘Chao has now resolved,’ he said, ‘to submit to Ts’in. If your Majesty refuses to follow its example, Ts’in will attack you from the North and drive Chao to do so from the South, when the Yih

* The capital of Chow, still existing as a district city of the same name, Kwang-ping-fu, Chihli.

† It required a great amount of audacity on the part of Chang I, to compare the King of Chao, to his face, with the notorious tyrant of that name.

River, 易水,* and the "Great Wall" ** will no longer be yours.' As could be expected, the King of Yen hastened to give his adhesion too, offering even the cession of five cities as a token of his sincerity.

16.—CHANG I'S DISAPPOINTMENT.

Chang I's task seemed now to be accomplished. Overawed by the threats preferred by the crafty negotiator, the Rulers of the Six States had, one and all, and mostly with undignified readiness, declared their willingness to submit to Ts'in. The policy of Imperialism was about to achieve a brilliant and bloodless victory over Federalism, and Chang I may already have comforted himself with the prospect of being shortly invested with the dignity of an Imperial Chancellor, when suddenly the whole scheme collapsed again, just as it had happened with that concocted twenty-two years before by Su Ts'in, for the furtherance of the opposite cause of Federalism.

Chang I was just about returning to Ts'in to report to his master the success of his mission, when King Hwei-wên 惠文王 died and was succeeded by his son, known as King Wu 武王, B.C. 311. The latter had an old grudge against Chang I, and a number of courtiers, who long ago had been jealous of his growing influence, now availed themselves of the unfavourable disposition of the new Sovereign towards him, to slander him before King Wu, who lent only a too ready ear to their insinuations, while the Rulers of the Six States had scarcely got wind of the altered position of the negotiator at the court of Ts'in, when they one and all renounced again the allegiance they had been bullied into by him and threw themselves anew into the arms of the advocates of Federalism!

17.—CHANG I'S LAST TRICK.

Chang I began now to fear for his life, and sought therefore for some pretext to get

* A small river which was probably forming then the boundary between Chao and Yen.

** It was then constituting the northern frontier of Yen.

out of the clutches of the King of Ts'in. Just about this time, B.C. 310, he heard of the King of Ts'i being greatly incensed against him. This was probably on account of the impudent lies Chang I had been telling, on his recent visit at his court. It was this circumstance that the chancellor availed himself of to leave Ts'in. He went to see the King of Ts'in and addressed him in the following way: 'It is of the utmost importance to your State,' he said, 'that the East be kept in as great a confusion as possible. For only then can your Majesty hope for territorial aggrandisement. Now I hear that the King of Ts'i is angry with me, that, in whichever State I may happen to be, he will levy an army to attack it. For this reason I would ask for your permission to bring my worthless person to Wei, when Ts'i will not fail to order an expedition against it. As soon as the two armies will, under the walls of the capital, be engaged in fight, so that they cannot leave each other, your Majesty will then take advantage of these circumstances, to attack Hân, invade the country of the 'three streams' 三川,* and break out from the Han-kuh Pass, when without attacking Chow it will come into your possession. The sacrificial vessels will then certainly come forth so that you need only secure the person of the Emperor, and take possession of the registers of population to attain the imperial dignity.

The King of Ts'in acquiesced in the plan of Chang I. He ordered thirty cars to be made ready to convey him to Wei, where he was received with open arms and at once invested again with the Chancellorship of that State. But as soon as the King of Ts'i heard it, he indeed dispatched an army to attack Wei. When the King of that State became aware of the danger he was running on account of Chang I, he took fright, but the latter calmed him saying: 'Your Majesty need not be afraid, for, with your

* Vide Mayers' *Manual*, II., No. 13.

permission, I will cause the Ts'i army to retreat.'

He at once ordered one of his retainers, called Fung Hi 馮喜 to go to Ts'u, to let himself be sent by the King of the latter State to that of Ts'i.* Having arrived, he addressed the latter in the following words: 'Your Majesty is very angry with Chang I; nevertheless you have entrusted him with a mission to Ts'in and thereby shown him a great favour.' The King said: 'I hate Chang I, indeed; in whatever State he may live, I will certainly send an army to attack it; how could I have entrusted him with a mission?' Fung Hi answered: 'And yet your Majesty has done so! For Chang I, in leaving Ts'in, did so after having concerted with the King of Ts'in; he told him the following: 'It is in the interest of your State,' he said, 'that the eastern country be brought into great confusion. Only then can Your Majesty hope for important territorial aggrandisement. Now the King of Ts'i is very angry with me, so that, in whatever State I may happen to be, he will levy an army to attack it. For this reason I would ask for your permission to bring my worthless person to Wei, when Ts'i will not fail to order an expedition against it. As soon as the two armies will, under the walls of the capital, be engaged in fight, so that they cannot leave each other, your Majesty will

* As Fung Hi came as a messenger from Ts'u, he need not fear that the King of Ts'i would do any harm to him. Even at this remote period the notions of the inviolability of a messenger dispatched by a friendly State were known in China, though not always acted upon.

then take advantage of these circumstances, to attack Hân, invade the country of the three streams and break out from the Hankuh Pass, when, without attacking Chow, it will come into your possession. The sacrificial vessels will then certainly come forth, so that you need only to secure the person of the Emperor and take possession of the registers of population to attain the imperial dignity. The King of Ts'in acquiesced in the plan and therefore he ordered thirty cars to be made ready to escort Chang I to Wei. Now Chang I has indeed come to Liang and Your Majesty forthwith came to attack it. Thus you are damaging your own State and making war on that of an ally. You are helping towards the aggrandisement of a neighbouring enemy and helping Chang I to gain the confidence of the King of Ts'in. This is what I call "intrusting Chang I with a mission?"'

The King of Ts'i could not but approve of Fung Hi's view and withdrew immediately his army, but Chang I died the same year as Chancellor of Wei, B.C. 310.

Like Su Ts'in, he was not spared long enough to witness the triumph of the cause to the service of which he had devoted the best part of his life, neither did that cause, after his death, obtain the victory so easily and so soon as he may have hoped it would. The triumph of Imperialism over Federalism, could not be obtained either by diplomacy or by treason, it was to be bitterly fought for nearly a whole century longer.

CH. PITON.

A CHIP FROM CHINESE HISTORY, OR THE LAST TWO EMPERORS OF THE GREAT SUNG DYNASTY, 1101-1126.

(Continued from Vol. XIII., page 101.)

Hsuan Ho 2nd year, 1120.—In the first moon, the Taoist school is abolished, Liu Leng-so is then disgraced and sent back into the country. Liu was rivalled in magic and superstition by Wang Yun-sheng, 王允生, and poisoned him out of envy, in order to gain sole power. At the time of the floods at the capital, Liu was sent to keep down the waters, but could only stride useless along the wall, provoking the workmen to strike him with their sticks. He then fled. This first excited the Emperor's disgust. Liu then grew more reckless and extravagant than ever, and at last, on meeting the Heir-apparent, refused to yield the road. His Imperial Highness complained to the Emperor, who angrily degraded Liu to the rank of Tai-hsu-ta-fu, and sent him back to his native place, under the surveillance of the sub-prefect of Wen-chow. His habitation and mode of life were then found to be in excess of the regulations. Liu was then further banished to Chu-chow. On Liu's death being reported, an edict ordered him to be buried with the ceremonies due to a courtier. Shameful, indeed, was Hui Tsung's fondness for this petty lover of falsehood, and his bestowal upon him of the title of diviner of spiritual truth; but after the behaviour to

the Heir-apparent it was time to degrade him. History, to blame Hui Tsung, does not state that he punished Liu but that he sent him back to the country. Had the whole sect been treated like Liu and Wang Tsao-hsi, it would have been better still, while best of all would have been similar punishment meted out to Ts'ai Ching and Wang Foo. The success of sectarian doctrines in influencing men's minds depends chiefly on the virtue of the reigning Prince. Liu's dismissal was disgraceful to him, but execution would have been barely sufficient punishment for his gross system of imposture; and to grant him a ceremonious burial was certainly misplaced.

In the second moon Chao Lang-su is sent as envoy to the Kin. On Hu Ching's return from the Kin, he mentioned the Kin Lord's words and that he held his note that no envoy should be sent. Tung Kuan then received the order to scheme for the recovery of Yen, and he accordingly secretly despatched the Selector of the Hall of Learning, Chao, nominally to purchase horses, really to negotiate an attack on Liao, and the recovery of Yen and Yun.

In the third moon Liao despatched another mission to Kin to discuss the 'patent' cere-

monial. Kin refused. When the Liao envoy, Hsiao Shih-ha-mo, arrived Kin sent Wu Ling-a-tsan-mo back with a reply, but when Liao raised a discussion concerning the two characters 'Great Sage' added to the Kin Lord's title, and sent back Shih-ha-mo, the Kin Lord waxed angry and said, 'Liao, having been repeatedly defeated, sued for a settlement and now sets up a number of vain verbal disputes to gain time and to delay my army.' He agreed to advance his men and told the commandant of Hsien Chou-lu to prepare his clansmen and to keep them under arms ready for an advance.

In the fourth moon, leaving Se-ho with 1,000 men as garrison, the rest of the men started to meet at the Hun Ho. Peace negotiations were then broken off. The Kin request for a patent had always been feigned, as is seen by the failure of the negotiations.

In the fifth moon, Kin invades Liao, and the Government of the Upper Capital of the Liao, Yeh-li To Hu-chia, yields the town. The Kin Lord, in his attack on Liao, has with him Shih-ha-po, his envoy to the Liao, and Chao Lang-su the Sung envoy. The Liao city is summoned to surrender. The Liao Lord was hunting when he heard of the Kin invasion, and immediately sent Yeh-Li Pai-chan-pa with 3,000 picked men to collect an army. The Kin Lord, addressing the envoy, said, 'see how I can handle troops,' and he drew up his men against the town. An advance is made with drums beating and the outer wall is scaled after four hours' fighting. The commandant then yields the town. Chao Lang-su presented the Kin Lord with a cup of congratulation and styled him 'Wan Sui.' The Kin Lord returned. To yield is always disgraceful, still more so to yield a city. To Puchia, in receipt of Liao pay, and belonging to the royal kindred, should have died rather than yield, as his walls were strong and his men numerous; but he yielded the city from a base desire for life. It is the duty of History to hold up such men as a warning to posterity.

In the sixth moon Ts'ai Ching is ordered to retire. Ts'ai Ching had monopolized power for many days and public opinion was not with him, so the Emperor mistrusted and disliked him. His son You's power equalled his own, and each sought to upset the other. They then lived apart and became bitter enemies. You was granted a separate residence by the Emperor, and, on visiting Ts'ai Ching one day, was treated by him as a guest and avoided. You then took his father's hand to feel his pulse and said, 'Your Excellency's pulse is very slow, your bodily health is not good?' Ts'ai Ching replied, 'Not so.' You continued, 'There is business in the palace,' and left. The bystanders asked an explanation. Ts'ai Ching said, 'Do you not see that my son wishes to dismiss me on the plea of sickness?' Ts'ai Ching in a few days retired as T'ai Shih and Duke of Lu, but is allowed at Court on the first day of each month. To retire is an honourable word and shows a man has reached his limit; but Ts'ai Ching was ordered to retire, showing how he still clung to dignity and emolument. Here Prince and Minister are at discord, as well as father and son, whilst for disregard of right and disobedience to Heaven none exceeds Ts'ai Ching and You. Confucius in answer to the Duke of Ching's question about Government said, 'let the duties of prince, minister, father, and son be reciprocally performed.' The Duke replied, 'In the absence of such can I even eat grain?' Thus he gained a great name as a believer in the holy words, and in a fundamental point of politics. Ts'ai Ching directed evil government for years but could not prevent his own son rebelling; could he then act as minister? Hui Tsung failed to discover this, and was deceived, placing himself in the position of one living with a fierce wolf and expecting submission when to be eaten would be the most probable result. The tablets were restored to the Buddhist temples and designation of the term the priest 僧 changed back to the former.

one 僧 Seng. The suspicion of Hui Tsung having been aroused against the Taoists, Liu was disgraced; but the fact that the Buddhists were also reinstated shewed that not principle, but only desire of change guided His Majesty. No heterodoxies are so pernicious as those of those two sects; and during the Wei and after-Chow dynasties they were very severely dealt with. The philosopher Cheng has stated that in old times men entered sects because they were stupid or wrong-headed; but in modern times it was only the most intellectual that were attracted. In this case Hui Tsung only escapes from one robber to fall into the hands of another, from whom he will hardly save his goods.

In the eighth moon, the Kin envoy arrived to negotiate the terms of the allied attack on Liao, and the amount of the yearly present. When Ma-cheng reported himself, Chao Lang-su said to the Kin Lord, 'Yen is old Chinese territory; if an allied attack is to be made on Liao, you can take the central capital, 中京, Ta-ting-fu, 大定府, and we the Sung, Yen-ching 燕京 and Hse-chen-fu, 析津府.' The Kin Lord assented. The amount of the subsidy was then discussed and the Kin Lord gave Lang-su a letter, negotiating, as an essential preliminary, that the Kin should advance by the plain of Snug-lin on to Ku-pei-lion, but the Sung by way of Pai-hou. A prince was then sent to accompany Lang-su. The Emperor entrusted his reply to Ma-cheng. It ran thus:—'The Great Sung Huang-Te to the Great Kin Huang-Te. Your notice has been received relative to punishing Liao, and, in accordance with the treaty, Tung Kuan shall lead troops to support you; neither armies must, however, cross the boundary; the annual subsidy shall be equal to that given to Liao.' The insatiable greed of Kin is here evident. In the first negotiations a subsidy is required and how was it possible in their subsequent designs to restrain them? An intelligent prince ma-

turing his ideas with care, would have enquired the meaning of this arrival of Kin, and would have stopped it at once and prevented future deceits. Alas, Hui Tsung hankered after territory and encroached recklessly, regardless of right, demeaning himself to gain his convention. Sagacious government consists in carefulness at the outset and anxiety for the result; but, in his negotiations with Kin, Hui Tsung neglected this. In high antiquity Duke of Sung, unable to correct Wei, allied himself with the State, and attacked the innocent Chen, and is blamed by the Spring and Autumn Annals. Liao was an ally of Sung and had committed no offence; Kin was then tributary, its prince a rebel; was Liao then worthy of punishment? But Hui Tsung turned round and assisted Kin to attack Liao, fearing the power of the latter; and with bent head listening to its orders. The founder of his dynasty said, 'I neither deceive the good nor fear the bad and he was eminently successful; but his descendant does the opposite and perishes. The subsidy shows, too, a truckling spirit worthy of a petty State. The tribute to the Huns paid by the Han excited their contempt and caused much future misfortune. Kin relied on tribute to increase its demands and to require afterwards the taxes of Yen and Yun. Liao was weak but could not attack them; Kin was strong and not punishable. Hui Tsung should never have used the style Huang-Te, nor given tribute to a neighbour; he should have cared for good government at home, and abroad guarded his frontiers; have well treated scholars and sages and employed able generals; and when Kin offended summoned the troops of the Empire to demand satisfaction. Should Kin also be ready, then, as Mencius says, 'build up your walls and bank up your ditches.' Hui Tsung here erred thrice. He lacked benevolence, for he assisted a rebel and punished an innocent nation. He made an agreement with a foe, which was unpatriotic; and he lacked sagacity for agree-

ing to grant a subsidy to a barbarian. Yu-shen is made junior assistant.

In the tenth month; on the first day, occurs an eclipse of the sun. The inner servant (eunuch) Liang Shih-oh'eng, 梁師成, is granted the additional rank of T'ai-wei, generalissimo. Shih-oh'eng was very quick and wrote a good style. He was originally leader of the outer documentary treasury in the Gui Su Teen and superintended the issue of edicts. During the period Cheng-Ho, he came into favour and his name was smuggled in among the list of Chin-shih. He was then rapidly promoted to the post of Lieutenant Governor of Ho-Tung, followed by a further title. The Emperor was then paying special attention to ceremony and auspicious marvels, and Shih gained special favour by meeting the royal wishes and was granted a dwelling in the inner palace. All notices from the Emperor were written by him, and he had under him a large staff of excellent clerks, who succeeded so well in imitating the Imperial hand, that persons outside the court could with difficulty distinguish them. Shih was not really learned, but he placed himself on a pedestal, and gave himself out as coming from Soo, the poet. Now Soo's collected writings had been all destroyed. Shih, accordingly, said to His Imperial Majesty, 'What was his crime?' Soo's remains then slowly reappeared and Shih was turned into a patron of learning. Scholars all over the Empire waited on him and many of indifferent reputation brought him writings, pictures, rolls, &c., which he invited his guests to see, and when the subjects were appropriate, he secretly introduced the names of the owner into his list and rapidly promoted them. Wang Foo served Shih as father and called him Mr. 'Gracious city' and the Tsais assiduously flattered him. The populace in the capital styled him the secret premier. After undertaking the management of the duties of 100 different posts, he was made K'ai-fu with ceremonial due to a chief minister. An ordinary man,

one Chu 朱, remonstrated at a eunuch possessing such power, and Shih was registered as under surveillance in Chih-chow 池. To promote a miserable eunuch to so high a position was improper. Whilst one eunuch was causing confusion, another was at the same time set up, and the confusion brought on the Sung by these men seems an ineradicable evil. It resembles the appointment by the T'ang, as master of the horse, of Ch'eng-yuan-chen. Shih was quick but not really learned; he could not write well, but he undertook the responsibility of directing Imperial drafts. He was not learned, yet he looked up Soo's essays to gain repute. Fang-ta rebelled at Mu-chou, 睦州; he was a native of that Chou, lived at Ching Hei, 清溪, where he exercised much influence by magic. A woman and son had formerly rebelled there and styled themselves Emperor. The place seemed worthy to produce one. This influenced Fang-la. His home was amidst mysterious gloomy caves in the mountains, swarming with people, rich in varnish trees, bamboos, &c. and rich merchants often passed through. Fang possessed a varnish tree garden which was repeatedly plundered by a neighbouring government curio office, exciting his ire. Still he dared not move. All Keang-nan suffered from Choo-meen's museums, and every home had its wrongs. Whilst the great scholar Teng Hsiao 鄧 肅 vainly remonstrated in satirical verse with the Emperor, Choo grew more reckless, till, seeing the people would endure no longer, Fang collected a number of needy stout vagabonds and raised a rebellion directed against Choo-meen, styling himself Holy Duke, giving the year a name, setting up officials and generals, and marking gradations of rank with cloth, red being the lowest of the six ranks. Destitute of bows and slings he excited men's fears by magic, burnt down houses and plundered them of gold, silk, and children, enticed or forced away good and worthy folk to be his soldiers, whom the long peace had

made unaccustomed to sound of the gong and the drum and pliant to his hand. In ten days he had collected several thousands, and defeated and slain two provincial Intendants sent against him. The troubles of the Sung begin with Fang-La, though the evil had been growing up for years. Fang-la, though annihilated, was succeeded first by Sung-chiang, and then by the Kin invasion, and the failure of the Sung was due to the vices and foolishness of Hui Tsung and his successor. Fang-La's rebellion really began in the first year of Chung Ho, when Hui Tsung first lapsed from virtue, when calamity began to take form, and when magic and superstition were added. The ease with which great cities were subsequently taken by Fang, show how widely the abuses of the museums were spread abroad. Alas, a Prince without his people is defenceless, and a people without their prince has no one to hold them together; each is the necessary counter-part of the other. Seekers after thrones arise in times when the patience of the people is exhausted. For this Hon-I was opposed by T'ai K'ang in Ho Pei (2170 B.C.) and the song of the five sons was made. For this King Chieh was banished by Tang the successful, 1818 B.C.; for this King Chou was slain at Mu-Yeh and Wu Wang arose; for this Han-kao-ti put an end to Ying; for this Han Kuang Wu annihilated Wang-Mang; for this Yang-chien put down the extravagance of Ch'en Hon-choo; for this the T'ang arose against the pride of Sui Yang-Ti. This time Fang-La rises against Choo Meen but lacked ability to succeed. Remonstrance is the chief thing for a monarch. The holy Yao, Shun, and Yü were always warned by advice. When Tang and Wu attended to advice, the Shang and Chou dynasties flourished; and when King Chieh and Chow refused it, the Hsia and the Shang perished. Teng's poem was in accord with the sages, and advice is given by ministers out of love for their

sovereign, but he is sent away home proving Hui Tsung's dislike to all reproof.

In the eleventh Moon Yu-shen was dismissed. He alluded to the sufferings of the people of Fuh-keen from the flower tax. The Emperor, in displeasure, dismissed him to be Goa of Fuh-chow. Wang Foo is made junior Guardian and Senior Sacrificer. After Ts'ai Ching's resignation, Foo apparently followed men's wishes and turned from his evil ways, till men began to style him the sage premier. After being made Senior Sacrificer, however, he took advantage of his high position to present to the Court boys, girls, jade and silk and generally followed in Ts'ai Ching's footsteps.

In the twelfth moon Fang-la takes Mu-I, 睦欽 and Hong-chow 杭, whereupon Tung Kuan is made Controller-General of the Chiang, Huai, Ching, and Che provinces, and despatches troops to punish the rebels. Fang-la first attacked and took Ching-Hai and then Mu-chow and I-chow. The commander in the south-east, Kuo-shih-chung, 郭師中, was defeated by him and slain, and he then marched north, plundering Tung, Lu, 桐廬 and Fu-Yang 富陽 Hsiens. He then advanced against Hang-chow. The prefect Chao Yun 趙雲 fled, when the city fell. The Military Governor and the judge were slain, and a conflagration, lasting six days, destroyed an immense number of people. All clerks and officials, when taken, were flayed alive, or pulled to pieces between cars, their intestines were either taken out, or oiled and set fire to, or they were shot at with arrows; in order to eradicate a pest and avenge the wrongs of the people. The news reached the capital, where men were being collected to invade the north. Wang Foo concealed the affair. The conflagration, however, spread daily; the rebellion became a subject of general remark, and the south-east was in consternation. The Transport Commissioner of Huai-han then memorialized the Throne on the numbers of La's

adherents, on the weakness of the forces in the south-east, and requested that the troops in the capital might be ordered to come with forced marches, otherwise the crop of evils would be large. His Imperial Majesty, greatly alarmed, was obliged to stop his preparations for the invasion of the north, appointed Tung Kuan Controller-General, and Tan Chen, 譚稔, Military Governor of the two Che. Chinese and barbarians composing the army amounted to 150,000 men. The country of Chen La (真臘) brought tribute. It is south-east of Chan Ch'eng (占城) and extends over 7000 li of country. During the period Cheng-Ho it first entered into communication with China and an officer was sent to the Imperial Court, when the Lord of the country, Chin-La-Pen-shen 金衷賓深, was invested with the title of Prince, as counterpart to the same favour granted to Chan Ch'eng.

Hsuan-Ho, third year (1121). In the first moon, in spring, Teng-Hsun-Wu died. His family since 緝 had assisted in the wickednesses of their age. He flattered Ts'ai Ching grossly, and was the cause of many of the disorders and calamities of the Empire. Tung Kuan received an order to stop the presents and museums of Soo and Hang-chow. Tung Kuan was told privately before leaving by the Emperor that, if urgency demanded it, he might use the Imperial Pencil. Tung Kuan, on reaching Woo 吳, noticed the trouble the people suffered from the museums and was told generally, there could be no peace while these remained. He then had an Imperial self-accusing edict drawn up and issued as from the Emperor, abolishing the system of presents and the manufacturing bureaux, and the transport of rare woods, stones, and marbles for the museums. The Emperor, to the huge delight of the people, then removed Choo-Meen and all his family from office. Robbery never arises without due cause, nor can magic succeed unless men's minds are duly prepared to receive it. Deep were the troubles of the people from these bureaux.

The old and weak perished in ditches; the strong, scattered abroad and deprived of a fixed income, wavered and were ready to commit any extravagant crime. Tung Kuan's action delighted the people and the rebels were pacified, thus showing how the hearts of the people and heaven's decrees were in accord and how the one cannot be lost without the other. Had Hui Tsung now really reformed, economized his expenses, dismissed mean men, and in his search for a sound policy employed men of worth and talents, the Sung might have reigned long. Alas, no sooner are the rebels pacified than the bureaux are re-established; daily and monthly do the troubles of the people accumulate, till their wrongs become deeper than ever. Immersed in danger Hui Tsung yet fails to perceive this. Fang-La takes Li Chou 黎 and then Ch'u Chou 衢. When the prefect of the latter place was taken, he ceased not abusing the rebels till he died. He and all his retinue were butchered on the spot.

In the second moon the square field method is abolished. The three degrees of learning in Hsiens and Chows are abolished. Fang-La takes Ch'u Chow, 處. Sung-chiang, 宋江, the robber of Huai-han, plunders Cheng Tung 京東, province and its cities. The prefect of Hai Chow, Chang-show-yeh, 張叔夜, attacks and makes him surrender. Sung originally ravaged Ho-Pei with but 36 followers, then plundered two prefectures, without the Imperial troops daring to meet him. Hou-Meng, prefect of Po-chow, reported that Sung-chiang must be an extraordinary man and should be amnestied and sent against Fang-La and so earn a pardon. Meng was then ordered to be prefect of Tung-ping, but died before starting. Chang-show-yeh was then made prefect of Hai-chow. Chiang had just arrived there when Show-yeh spied out his intentions. Chiang hurried to the seashore, and plundered some large junks of their cargoes of arms. Show-yeh enrolled a thousand desperate fellows and ambuscaded them

near the city. Some light troops then engaged Sung-chiang in a combat away from the sea, whilst some strong fellows in ambush near the seashore burnt the ships. The rebels heard this, lost all further desire for fighting, the ambushed men then seized the opportunity to attack them, and Sung-chiang yielded. Before Fang-La is put down, Sung-chiang rises up, proving how great was the accumulation of evils; but the disregard of virtue and order displayed by Hui Tsung made disorder meritable. Fang-La plunders Hsui Chow, 秀, but is defeated by the troops. One of La's captains led 60,000 men to attack the city, but the commandant held the city, which was well walled, till the main army came up, engaged and defeated the rebels and decapitated 9000 of them. The rebels retire into Hang-chow. The Tu Tung of Liao, Yeh-li-I-tu, revolts and goes over to Kin. The Liao Lord possessed four sons, viz. prince Chao, 超 prince Chin, 晉 prince Ch'in, 秦 and prince Hsu, 許. Prince Chin was the son of the concubine Wen and attracted the wishes of all. She, during the first troubles with the Kin, when the Liao King insisted on dismissing honest Ministers, and when more than half his cities were lost, composed a satirical poem. The king hated her for it. The controller of the Board of War, Hsiao Feng-Hsien, 蕭鳳先, was brother of the Royal concubine Yuan and uncle of prince Chin and prince Hsu. Noticing the popularity of prince Ch'in, he feared his nephew Chin would never succeed to the throne, and plotted a usurpation. Lady Wen had two brothers-in-law, Yeh-li-ta-a-ta and Yeh-li-I-tu. One day the three met in front of the army and Feng-Hsien induced men to (falsely) accuse Lady Wen, I-tu, Ta-a-ta, and others of plotting to raise prince Ch'in to the throne; granting the Liao Lord the higher honorary title of Great Supreme Master. The Liao Lord then executed Ta-a-ta, and the others, and requested Lady Wen to die. I-tu in the centre division

heard this and in great fear went over to the Kin with over 1000 cavalry. Hsiao-tsu-mo was sent in pursuit. He however disliked the business saying, our lord confides in Hsiao Feng-Hsien, who is much inferior to a gallant warrior of royal stock like I-tu; if we take I-tu, we shall one day suffer a similar fate. We will let him go and report we were unable to overtake him. On reaching Kin, the lord, on seeing I-tu, made him Tu-Tung of Hsien-chow 咸. He determined on a campaign in person. Subjects and ministers, in serving their prince, should be patriotic, in prosperity they should reprove him for his faults; in adversity they should not grudge him their life. The Philosopher Cheng says, 'Completeness is necessary.' I-tu, though a tu-tung, was the lowest of the low; not fit to have any surname. His country was in a cycle of revolt, and upright ministers should have rallied round the throne; though intrigued against, he should have obeyed orders and attacked the enemy; have separated right from wrong and if necessary have died; but he forgets his prince and shamelessly serves a foe, an unparalleled and unpardonable crime. The Liao Lord, by giving credit to slanders, kills his concubine Lady Wen and wishes to treat his illustrious son, Ch'in, in the same way. I-tu, his relation, he drives into flight, thus proving himself cruel and tyrannical as well as lascivious and dissipated, and is fast reaching the condition of being outside the nine degrees of relationship, like the ancient Chung-hui. 'When virtue is daily renewed, the sovereign is cherished through the myriad States; when he is full of his own will, he is abandoned by the nine degrees of kinship.' I-tu's 'office' is written over the fact of his 'revolt'; this is done to show that the rebel against his prince was also his minister.

In the fourth moon, Tung Kuan gains the command of all the forces and attacks and defeats La who is taken.

In the second moon, Tung Kuan and

his front division reached Ching-Ho dyke and advanced by land and water. La, who had burnt yamens, treasuries, cities, villages and cottages, had to retire to Pang-Yuan caves at Cheng-Hsi, followed by the Sung generals restoring the various cities he had taken.

In the fourth moon, Tung Kuan attacked La with all his forces, and La's army of 200,000 was defeated after a severe struggle. His home was deep amidst the precipitous hills and had three holes, but which was the entrance none knew. A subordinate officer, Han-shih-chung, started up the valley and found out the way from the information of an old woman. Erect and grasping his spear, he fought his way straight into the cave, slew some score who opposed him, and seized La when he came out. The credit however was appropriated by the general who blocked the cave entrance and then captured La's family, his so-called minister, and others, in all 52 persons. Some 70,000 rebels were slain among the caves, and thereby the rebellion was suppressed. La had destroyed 6 Chous, and 52 Hsiens, and slain 2 million persons. The captured women fled naked from the caves and hanged themselves on trees in the woods far a distance extending over 30 miles.

In the fifth moon, Chen-chu-chung is made director of the Council of War. A great flight of locusts took place. Locusts come under the head of calamitous portents according to the Spring and Autumn Annals. Hui Tsung was weak, Tung Kuan and Ts'ai Ching were avaricious and unprincipled, and brought every kind of calamity on the people. Why then does Heaven send this pest to them? The people are the foundation of a State, but calamities are human, portents heavenly. The prince, the cause of calamities, stops the decree of heaven; he thus injures the basis of the nation; the foundation being injured, can the kingdom remain? The censor Chen Kuo-ting, 陳過庭, is removed to Huan-chow, 蕆. Chen, after the revolt and plunderings at Un-chow,

accused Ts'ai Ching and Wang Foo of being the chief cause, and said their dismissal would restore peace: also that Choo Meen, father and son, were mean criminals allied together to gain authority, and to appropriate rare articles. The cup of their iniquity was overflowing and their execution alone would suffice to gratify the Empire. The three accused men hated Chen, involved him in fault, and had him dismissed to Chi-chou, and when half way there he was sent on to Huan-chow. Yang and Shun loved reproof and exalted a reprover. Tang Kao-tsu followed advice, and T'ai Tsung sought it out; but Hui Tsung glossed over his own faults and declined reproof. Ts'ai Ching and Foo So cajoled and flattered him so that the remonstrances of an honest man earned Imperial hatred, and loyal speech became like thorns. Chen, an innocent man, is involved in punishment for bringing forward upright advice; but the Prince and his Ministers, greedy, dissipated, and happy amidst calamity, gloss over the troubles in the Empire with the name of peace. To perform only one's proper work is selfish, to exceed one's proper work is public-spirited. Chen noticing the ruin which Ts'ai Ching, Tung Kuan and Choo Meen were bringing on the Empire, and the Lord of men was impelled to speak out. His Majesty was moved, yet Ts'ai Ching got Chen sent to a deadly climate.

In the intercalary moon the presents bureaux were re-established. After the execution of Fang-La, Wang-Foo declared to the Emperor that scholars and ministers had plotted against, and basely calumniated, the bureaux. Restore them, with a superintendent to restrain abuses. The request is granted, and Liang-shuh-oh'eng appointed superintendent. Men of the grain tribute transport are employed, but the Board of Revenue dares not remonstrate. Rare and precious articles overflow into the houses of Liang and Wang. Fang-la's rebellion was due, not to scholars, but to the manifold abuses, exceeding popular endurance, of the bureaux. Wang Foo, aware of his master's

love of trifles, made his proposal, and his crime exceeds those of Ts'ai Ching. Had His Majesty followed his scholars, he might have been saved much misfortune, but he loved smooth words like a fish does water.

In the seventh moon, the new administration, introduced into the newly annexed territory in Kuang-han, is found to be on an extravagant scale; so twelve Chows are reduced to fastnesses or walled villages, and two military districts to Hsiens.

A monstrous black shape is seen in the Imperial city. A similar one had been seen in 1085, before the death of Shen Tsung, and in 1100 before Cheh Tsung died. In 1107 it was visible in day time, and by 1111 it had increased, and made a noise like a room falling when it moved. It was over ten feet long and assumed the shape, now of a tortoise, now of a man, now of a donkey, hidden in mist. It then became so common that none feared it. At Lo Yang a thing, deep black, with eyes indistinguishable, like a dog and a man, was seen. At night it stole and ate children, and in day time it caused riots in houses. It was called the black Han. Strong men at first resisted but then took advantage of the scare to commit crimes. In two years it ceased. Heaven loves the Prince, the Sages reverence Heaven. Heaven, when vexed, grants Princes auspicious omens to increase their pride: when favourable sends portents and calamities, when angry grants fierce prosperity, when considerate calamities to warn. Hui Tsung, grossly extravagant, ignoring rites and law, and degrading men of virtue, heaps up his woods; recklessly employs his armies; collects flowers, stones, and beasts; and centres in his capital all beauty, merchandize, and profit. Portents and calamities, the one heavenly the other human, show destruction. Such are the locusts complained of by the people; and now this monster in the inner palace is the warning from heaven. Hui Tsung, punishing reprovers and following sycophants, neither fears Heaven's portents nor pities

the people. To him apply Mencius' words, 'In danger to be tranquil and to regard gain; in trouble to think only of pleasure,—this indeed is fatal.'

In the eighth moon, Tung Kuan is granted further rank of Great Guardian and created Duke of Choo. Fang La submits and is executed. Muchow is changed to Yen 嚴 Chow and I to Hui (徽) Chow. Rank, during the Han dynasty, was only granted for military renown; and when after generations such was conferred on eunuchs, superior men were offended. Hui Tsung first grants Tung Kuan the highest offices and none the highest ranks in the State. Fang should have been handed up and executed in the fourth moon when captured. But Tung Kuan, plotting to extort honours, refrained from giving him up till he was confirmed in his rank. Tung Kuan is thus placed too near the Throne, where power can easily be usurped, and, further rank being unattainable, he can treat the Emperor as his pupil.

A clerk now presents a plan to the head eunuch, whereby people were compelled to prove their title deeds requiring them to go back often 200 years and more. If, as was often the case, proofs were not forthcoming, the land was confiscated; if they were, additional taxation was demanded. This began at Ju (汝) Chow and spread thence all over E. and W. Cheng Loo. In W. Huai, men were forced to cultivate worthless dykes, abandoned lands, barren hills, and half-day sand flats, on which a heavy grain tax was levied. No remissions were allowed for floods or droughts. In one Hsien the additional taxation was tenfold, amounting to 100,000 min. On the clerk's death, he was succeeded by Li Yen, (李彦), a severe and obstinate man in league with Wang-foo, who stationed his yamen at Ju-chow. Persons known to possess good land were involved in lawsuits by Li's agents, when their land was declared barren and forced cultivators sent to take it. Stamped documentary proofs were disregarded. In one Hsien the whole land became public property; com-

plaints involved terrible punishment. Revenue collectors and magistrates assisted in the work; and to the intense anger of the people, presents, as in times of Choo Meen, had again to be made, the public having to provide the means. This went on till fields ceased to be cultivated, oxen could not plough, corn and money were exhausted; till at last numbers died of hunger, or men hung themselves at their own doors, which they covered as a dragon is with scales. A million oash was often expended in moving one Pi-li (薛荔). By his anger Li could depress, or by his praise raise, a man in a moment. He was received with abject ceremony, lived where he pleased, took the chief seats, and was received with honour by Taotais and Prefects. The matter reaches the ears of His Majesty, but Liang Shih-ch'eng interposing says, 'Li may be small before the Lord of Men, but he ranks above nobles: can he be wrong?' None dared reply. All within the four seas are comprised in the family of the Prince, who should be the standard of law for the Empire. Heaven establishes the Prince for the people and with their support he can secure the State. Let the people be rich and the Prince cannot alone be poor; let the people be poor and the Prince should not alone be rich. He should then abate punishment, lessen his expenses, give his people sufficiency of food, and increase their vigour. Heaven he should hold in highest dread, and his people should be his chief jewel. Hui Tsung failed to understand this; he disregarded portents and so showed no awe of Heaven. He, by a constant succession of tyrannical measures, proved the people were not precious. With a people hostile, and Heaven's decrees lost, could his dynasty continue? Land for the people is clothes and food; its seizure proves a contest with the people for profit, and an immense legacy of ills; can then a great dynasty strive for land with its people? Or is such a prince fitted to be a father to the people? Li by his oppression reduced the

people to the extreme of poverty. But it is said, 'Shall the people have a sufficiency and not the Prince, or the Prince and not the people? They constitute the foundation of the State; and that firm, the State is stable. It is also said, 'Wealth is the people's heart; injure the heart and the trunk withers and the root may be dug out.' Chow amassed the wealth of the people in his tower at Lu-tai, and his root was then torn up before he perished on the plains of Mu-yeh. Hui Tsung amasses wealth from the lands of his people, his root is being dug up before the Kin complete the work.

In the ninth moon, Wang Too is made assistant and Chen-chu-chung junior Shuai.

In the tenth moon, Tung Kuan is ordered to resume his post of Controller General of Shen Hsi and the two Ho provinces.

In the eleventh moon, Feng Hsi-tai is dismissed. Chang Pang-chang is made Vice-President and Wang An-chung and Li Pang-yen right and left Presidents. Pang-yen was the son of a silver worker, handsome, flexible, and quick at repartee. He was a brilliant scholar, but fell into low habits as he grew up. He loved wit, railery and foot-ball, and often composed short street ditties which he sung himself. He served officials who recommended him as a Han-Lin. The Emperor, after violating economical laws by oppressing the people's land, now again errs in his choice of ministers; and the ruin of the Sung is close at hand.

The Kin invade the central capital of the Liao. After Yeh-Li's and I-tu's defection Hima-a said to the Kin Lord, 'lack of virtue in the Liao Lord has alienated his people's hearts; now is the time to attack his capital, lose not a chance favored by heaven and man.' The ministers objected to the cold season, but the King disregarded them and advanced his army into Liao, I-tu being guide. I-tu was the relative of the Liao lord, but so great is his crime he is an object of hatred to his own kindred.

E. L. OXENHAM.

MORE ABOUT TURKS, TIBETANS, COREANS, &c.

(See Part I, Vol. XIII.)

The founder of the Turkish power in Europe was Osman the First: hence the name Osmanli. The Chinese annals (as already pointed out) describe the 突厥 (still pronounced in southern Chèhkiang as Döküe) as being surnamed 阿史那 or Oszno. Their second appearance in China was at the Court of the first Sui Emperor in A.D. 589. In the year 600, an unfruitful expedition was sent against the Turks, which was at first under the command of 史萬歲, who, however, was put to death by the Emperor at the instigation of his jealous rival, 楊素 [see Mayers].

In the year 607, the Turkish Khan [可汗 pronounced 枯寒] or Emperor Döri, Duli or Tuli [突利], presented himself at the Court of the celebrated monster 煬帝. Yang Ti's father and predecessor had several years previously conferred upon Tuli the supplementary or qualifying adjunct of 啟民, given him a princess in marriage, and settled him in 朔州. The adventurous Yang Ti actually visited the Turkish frontier, and was entertained once at 榆林 and again at 大同 in modern Shen Si by Tuli and his wife in their tent. At the same time the 吐谷渾 and 高昌 [described by Porter Smith as Tungusic and Uigur tribes] sent in their tribute. Yang Ti, however, thought it well to build a 'great wall' from Yülin to the 紫河, which is described as being 400 li north-west of 大同府: over a million men

were engaged on this. All the western Turkish or Tartar tribes [西域諸胡] were in the habit of visiting the fair or market at the modern 甘州, and one 裴矩 composed out of gossip gathered from these traders the book known as the 西域圖記 or 'Illustrated Guide to the West.' In the year 610 an expedition was sent against the 吐谷渾, and the same year most of the Tartar tribes invited Chinese rule, in consequence of which several territorial divisions [郡] were made in that region. Next year the Emperor gave a magnificent series of entertainments to the different barbarian chiefs 諸蕃酋長 at Loh-yang, and these were continued yearly for some time. Their merchants were allowed to take part in the 豐都 fair [on the Yangtsze, in modern Sz Ch'uan], where they were entertained free of cost. It is to be noted, too, that the celebrated statesman 王世充 was a pure Tartar [胡], whose real surname was 支.

The King of Corea [高麗] was ordered to come to Court in the year 606. It seems that, when Yang Ti visited the Turks, the Korean envoy to the Khan was in the encampment and had audience. It was represented by P'ei Kū that Kaoli had been a province of China [郡縣] under the Han and Tsin dynasties. The envoy took the message to the King, who, however, declined to come. The governor of [modern]

Peking was sent to a spot near [modern] Chefoo, where 3000 ships of war were prepared with all speed. Fifty thousand military carts were requisitioned from central China. In consequence of these *corvées*, a popular song entitled 'We won't go to Korea to be drowned' was started. In this song Korea was termed **遼東**, (explained to be the modern Manchuria, then a dependency of Kao-li).

In the year 611, the Chinese armies, having crossed the river Liao, routed the Kao-li forces and invested their capital, the modern Moukden, the Emperor himself being present. A little later, however, the Chinese General **宇文述** suffered a crushing defeat at the River **薩**, 560 li* north-west of Seoul, and east of the Ya-lu [**鴨綠**] River. Of 305,000 men who crossed the Liao, only 2,700 got back to Moukden. Next year, the Emperor again attacked Korea in person, and in the year 614 ordered a *levée en masse*, which frightened the Koreans into sending an envoy to offer surrender.

The restless Yang Ti now had another brush with the Turks, and was surrounded and nearly captured by the Khan **始畢** and 1,000,000 horsemen, from which danger he was saved partly by Li Shi-min, then aged sixteen, whose father Li Yüan, (founder of the T'ang dynasty) was Yang Ti's Commander-in-Chief in Shan Si. Li Yüan was shortly after ordered to march against the Turks, who appointed one **劉武周** as Khan of **定陽** in North Shan Si, whence the last took advantage of anarchy to possess himself of nearly all Shan Si. The Turks also appointed another adventurer named **郭子和** as **屋利**

* As this place is stated to be on the west side of **平壤** [Mr. Griffis' Ping-an?], it must be Seoul, or thereabout, that is meant by **遼東都司城**, from which it was 560 li; or possibly it may be Mr. Aston's **松蕃**, the ancient capital of Kao-li.

設, the explanation of which term is said to be that *shé* is the Turkish for the 'commandant of another tribe' and *uli* is the name of a tribe,* [**一設之號**]. Li Yüan saw his way to turning the Turks, against whom he had been sent, to his own advantage, and he sent an autograph letter to the Khan Shipi, who consented to lend troops if Li Yüan would himself become Emperor. Less resolute counsels prevailed; and though the colour of the Chinese flag was altered to make the Turks think this was being done, Li Yüan accounted for the change in China by saying that Yang Ti was to abdicate in favour of his son **侑**. The leader of the Western Turks, by surname **阿史那** with cognomen **大奈** (Dano), who brought his power to the aid of Li Yüan, was styled by himself Turkish vassal [**稱臣突厥**]. After the murder of Yang Ti, and the formal accession of the T'ang dynasty, Turkish envoys were sent to the modern Si-an, when they behaved with great overbearance. During the settlement of the Empire by the Li or T'ang dynasty, the Turks gave considerable trouble by leaguering themselves with various opponents of the Li interests. At one time it was even thought of burning the capital and laying waste the surrounding region, in order to take away the temptation to ravage. The Turkish Khan **頡利** was induced, however, to make a treaty [**受盟**] for the present.

A determined crusade against Buddhist and Taoist doctrines was made at this time, on the broad ground that the pretensions of Buddha, with his future life doctrines, infringed on the imperial prerogatives. It is remarkable, too, that the Buddhistic works are always described as Tartar [**胡**], and the incursions of the doctrine are coupled with the overrunning of China by Tanguts and Turks, [**羌戎**]. In the year 615 there were over 100,000 bonzes and nuns in China.

* **設** is evidently the same word as **蕃社** a 'foreign tribe,' an expression still current.

The Turkish Khans Dul and Heli led an expedition of 100,000 horse into Shen Si, shortly after the abdication of Li Yüan in favour of his son Shib-min: their general Chishi Szli [執矢思力] was sent on to try and frighten the Emperor by stating that 1,000,000 men were coming; but the plucky monarch advanced with a small body guard to within speaking distance of Heli, and by sheer effrontery induced him to retire. A white horse was decapitated as a token of amity. The expression 達官 is to be noticed in reference to Turkish envoys.

Some interesting details are given in Chinese history regarding the Turkish tribes as they stood in the year 627. The 敕勒 or 鐵勒 tribe had broken up: it is explained that this tribe (which comparative Chinese shews must have been pronounced something like Telek) was the same as that known to the fifth century, A.D. as 高車. Porter Smith says, this Ugro-tataric tribe was the progenitor of the Usbeks, but we have already shown that Kuche or Kuldja is what is meant. This once powerful tribe split up into the 薛延陀 (Siyendo); the 回紇 or Uigurs afterwards called 回鶻; the 都播 or 波, probably the same as Porter Smith's Tupolomen or Tajiks; the 骨利幹, which probably spells Kwerker; the 多邏葛 or Turankas; the 闐羅僕固 (a doubtful word or words); the 拔野古 or Bayagus (spelt variously); the 思結渾 (doubtful); the 斛薛奚結阿跌 (very doubtful words); the 契苾 (羽) Kibas or Kibaös; and the 白霫 or Basiks. All these 15 tribes dwelt north of the great desert of Gobi [磧北 or 沙漠之北], and, after the collapse of the Khan Heli's Government, the Siyendo and Uigurs revolted. The T'ang Emperor was urged to take advantage of these dissensions, and of the murrain amongst their herds, to strike a decisive blow, but, with a magnanimity rare in Chinese Emperors, he declined to take advantage of their weak-

ness until they gave him just cause. In the year 628, the Khan Duli, who had been sent by the Khan Heli to reduce the Uigurs, rebelled against Heli, on account of rough treatment received consequent upon his ill-success: he therefore offered to do homage to the T'ang Court. The distant province of 涼州 in modern Kan Suh seems to have been still semi-independent, for we read of the T'ang Emperor having sent an envoy with presents of books to 李大亮 the Proconsul there [都督]. In the year 629 a great expedition under 李靖 [Mayers 374] was undertaken against the Turks, and the Chinese forces were joined by the Bayegu and 僕骨 or 固 (Bogu) above mentioned. In consequence of this, the Khan Duli, (called by the Emperor 單于), presented himself at Court. The historians identify the 可汗 or Khakan of this date with the more ancient title, of Shanyü, a fact which supports our previous speculations that the two represent forms of the same Persian word *Khan* 'a house.' Meanwhile a severe defeat was inflicted upon the Khan Heli at 陰山, a place stated to be in Tartar-land [韃靼國]. A singular step, and one highly disapproved by the commentators, was now taken by the Emperor: in addition to his title of 大唐天子, he accepted, at the request of the Tartar chiefs, the title of 天可汗 or Supreme Khan. The vanquished Heli took refuge with Sunish [蘇尼失] of the Sopolu [沙鉢羅] tribe, by whom he was handed over to the T'angs. Some of the Turks now fled north, and joined the Siyendo, whilst others emigrated to Turkestan [西域]; but over 100,000 surrendered, and great discussion took place as to the best way of disposing of them. At last it was decided to settle them on the frontier from modern Peking to modern Ning-hia, and the two Khans Duli and Heli with their previous henchmen Sunish and 思摩 were given military employ, and entrusted with power: over 10,000 Turkish families were settled in the capital (modern Si-an Fu).

Annam appears at this period to have been more than usually independent: in the year 630 an envoy with a present of **火珠** was sent from **林邑** a **南蠻** country in (modern) Annam. The use of the word *man* from Hu Nan and Kwang Tung down to Cochin China seems to point to an affinity of races over this area.

The western Turks had now spread themselves over the **伊吾** [盧] country, a region identified by Porter Smith with Hamil. In the year 631 the country of **康**, explained by the Chinese to be the same as Samarcand [薩末鞬], applied for permission to be included in the Empire, but the Emperor declined on the ground of the responsibility he would incur in attempting to protect so distant a State. The commentary explains that this State was known to the Tobas as **悉方斤**, and was south of the **那密** River, and a little north of the 'Onion' Range or Karakorum Mountains. The country had been ravaged by the Turks, and its prince was surnamed **温** with cognomen **屈木支**.

The **土蕃** are first mentioned in the year 634, when they sent an envoy with tribute: they are described as being a western country, south-west of the **吐谷渾**, a Tungusic tribe said by Porter Smith to have migrated to Kokonor during the western Tsin dynasty. Two years later the **朱俱波** country, known in the Han dynasty as **子合**, sent an envoy with tribute: this country is described as being north of the Onion Range, and distant 3800 *li* from **瓜州** which was 500 *li* west of **肅州** in modern Kan Suh. The two last characters in the name are also written **駒** or **槃**, which two last, again, are still in Yangchow pronounced precisely the same as **波**, namely, *pou* (in Wade's system). A neighbouring western country, called **甘棠**, sent tribute at the same time; this State was south of the **大海**, which must here mean the Caspian. An interesting story is told of a Brahmin [波羅門] who arrived at Si-an about this date with a Buddha's tooth, and gave out that

any substance coming into contact with it must break. The great sceptic Fu Yih [Mayers 145] sent his son with an antelope's horn [羚羊角], a substance hard enough even to break a diamond: the Brahmin was discomfited: another western bonze was discomfited in an attempt to mesmerise [咒] Fu Yih before the Emperor. With regard to the three words for Brahman, the history book is doubtful whether they signify the name of a country west of **天竺**, or whether they are a [Tartar] 'borderer's' [虜] surname. In the year 639, an expedition under **侯君集** was sent against **高昌**, a western country * identical with the **車師** of the Han times. [Porter Smith is right in so far that he says the former was destroyed in 640, but he is wrong in identifying it with Turfan, and in identifying the latter with the Turkish capital]. Kao-ch'ang was now incorporated as **西州**.

Education at this epoch received a great impetus under the auspices of one Confucius [Mayers No. 324], and the chiefs of Korai, Hiaksai, [百濟 see Griffiths' *Corea*, Page 32], and Shinra [新羅], sent their sons to the Imperial academy. Petsi or Hiaksai is called a Tungusic country in the extreme east, and Shinra was south-west of Korai; both Shinra and Hiaksai lying on [限] the Pacific, [大海 also used in this sense]. The Turfans and Kao-ch'angs also sent their youth, which statement shews that **高昌** cannot be identical with **土蕃**.

In the year A.D. 640 one **陳大德** was sent as envoy to Korai, where he found numbers of Chinese, the remnants of Yang Ti's invading armies. On his return, this fact was reported to the Emperor, who was only restrained by considerations of poverty from re-incorporating the country. It is explained that the then Emperor Wu Ti had formed four **郡** out of the old State of **朝鮮**, which (about the year 310) had since been conquered by Korai. Mr. Griffiths

* Dr. Bushell mentions an expedition under this general against the T'u-fan or Tibetans.

[pages 22-24] makes this conquest earlier. The names of the four Han prefectures were 眞番 and 臨屯 and 樂浪 and 玄菟.

In the same year the Western Turks attacked Hamil [伊吾郡], but were driven back by the Chinese Proconsul of the West [安西都督]. It appears that, after the submission of 高昌, a Chinese garrison of 1,000 men was maintained there at a great cost of blood and treasure. The Emperor had been strongly advised to leave the State to a native prince, but he declined to do so: hence these wars. The Siyendos above mentioned were growing so formidable at this time that the Emperor, as an alternative to going to war, offered them a Princess in marriage. A young K'ibi [契苾] Tartar named, 何力, who had been trained at the T'ang Court,* returned to his tribe on a visit, and found that the K'ibis wished to join their fortunes to those of the Siyendo. Holi was indignant at a 大唐 officer being in the service of a barbaric court [虜庭], and cut off his left ear in vow that he was faithful to China: the Emperor, when he heard this, was so anxious to save Holi that he made the above described overtures to the Siyendo. Wei Chêng [died 643, and not 666, as stated by Mr. Mayers, No. 834] was the chief adviser and 'mirror' of the Emperor in his dealings with the Turks; and in connection with this figure of speech it comes out that at this date hand and toilette mirrors were made of copper. In the year 643 the Siyendo came with gifts, but, for some unaccountable reason, the Emperor broke off the marriage negotiations.

It is incidentally mentioned that, in the year 643, a disgraced minister was sent as Proconsul or Prefect of 交州, described as a modern 府 of the same name in Annam.

In the same year, Shinra applied for Chi-

* In Dr. Bushell's *Early History of Tibet*, which is sadly reduced in value by the want of Chinese characters, this general is mentioned (page 14) as having assisted in measures taken against the T'ukuhun and T'ufan.

nese assistance against Korai, on the ground that Hiaksai and Korai were in league to prevent Shinra's communications with China. The Emperor sent an envoy to remonstrate with the Korean usurper [高麗東都大人] Hoh-su-wên [蓋蘇文 cf. Griffis page 41], who had in the year 637 murdered his King and set up 藏, the King's nephew, in his stead. This man was also known as 蓋金, and he adopted the surname of 泉 to support the claim he made of having been born in the water. Hokin or Hosuwên declined to receive the Emperor's advice, in consequence of which two expeditions were at once fitted out. One started from Lai-chou in Shan Tung, under the command of 張亮: this officer took 500 war junks and 40,000 men across the sea, to Ping-on: another general named 李世勣 went overland by way of Liao Tung, having under him 60,000 Chinese infantry and cavalry, and a number of friendly Tartars from Shen Si. The former took the city of 蓋平 and the latter that of 卑沙 [modern 海城] both quite close to modern Newchwang, the Emperor in person capturing the city of Liao Tung [mod. Moukden]. The Emperor then advanced as far as 安市城 [about Newchwang], and was there met by 150,000 Koreans under the Korean *nuksat* [擄薩] or 'marshal' 延壽. General Li was sent with 15,000 men in one direction, and the Emperor's relative, Chang-sun Wu-ki [Mayers 1177], with 11,000 veterans in another, to take the Korai men in the rear. The Emperor conducted an ambush or guerilla force of 4,000 men, with which he proposed to surprise the Koreans. [Mr. Griffis makes out that this battle was fought near Ping-on. See page 42. Our history book says that a score or more of Korean cities were taken, 40,000 heads cut off, and 3,000 Chinese killed, with 70 or 80 per cent. of all the horses besides. On the whole the Emperor was disappointed with the results of the expedition].

General Li was now sent on another errand against the Siyendo, who submitted: the

Telek tribes above mentioned also asked for Chinese rulers: there were eleven surnames of these in all, including the **回紇**, and the words **部** and **姓** seem to be promiscuously used. There were 1,000,000 and more individuals in all.

In 647 General Li was sent as Commander-in-chief on a second expedition against Korai.

In the same year the Kwerkens previously mentioned sent in tribute. It is explained that they and the Teleks were the most distant tribes of all, and came from a region where [probably summer is meant] the days were much longer than the nights, and there was a long twilight [**日沒後天色正暝**], so much so that the sun reappeared after setting in less time than was required to cook a shoulder of mutton through. Towards the end of the year a Turkish force under Osno Shehr [**阿史那社爾**] attacked Kuldja [**龜茲**].

In the year 648 A.D., an expedition under **薛萬徹** was sent against Korai. In the same year the prince of **結骨**, whose native title was Caliph [**俟利發**, the first character pronounced as **奇**], presented himself at the Chinese Court. This State was north of Kharashar or **者焉**, and west of **伊吾**. It has been known as **昆堅** in the time of the Han dynasty; and it may be remarked that, from a philological point of view, the only difference between these two pairs of characters is, that one pair is in the entering tone and the other in the correlative even tone: a few hundred years later on, the Chinese name was again changed to **黠戛**. The men are said to have been of tall stature, with red hair and greenish (blue) eyes, and to have never before had intercourse with China. The Caliph's name was **失鉢屈阿棧**. This description would seem to apply (if necessary) to Magyars or Russians. In the winter of 648, the Tartar or Turkish commanders **阿史那** and **阿史那社** conducted a Chinese expedition against Kuldja, and captured the King **布失畢**,

setting up his younger brother **葉護** in his stead.

The Chinese Emperor dying in the year 649, the Korean expedition was abandoned. Osno, Shere, Kipi, and Holi, the previously mentioned Tangut or Tartar chiefs in Chinese employ, offered to be buried with the Emperor, and this offer having been declined, on the ground of their barbarian unfitness for the honour, fourteen chiefs, with the Khan Heli at their head, subscribed for some stone elephants, which were set up at the Palace Gate.

In the year 661 **任雅相** was sent in command of an expedition against Corea. In the same or the next year the **鐵勒** Tartars attacked the northern frontier, but an expedition was sent against them, and they were defeated at the Tengri Tagh, [**天山**], by **鄭仁泰**, who massacred over 100,000 of them, crossed the Shamo, attacked the remnant of the tribe, and captured the **葉護弟三人**, or three brothers of Seghu, [the first character is pronounced **攝**]. Sieh Jân-kwei, [Mayers No. 582], distinguished himself on this occasion. Other Tengri Tagh tribes, known as **思結多盤葛**, now tendered submission. In 662 the Western Turks attacked **庭州**, which district was, in fact, the old territory once occupied by the **高昌** tribe, previously described. In the year 666, another expedition under **李勣** was sent against Corea. His lieutenant Sieh Jân-kwei defeated the Korean armies at **金山**, a place 350 *li* north-west of **三萬衛** in old Liao-tung, but not identified by Griffis on page 44: following up his victory, he attacked **扶餘城**. In this campaign he was assisted by the Tartar General **契苾** and **何力** previously mentioned. The Chinese armies next reduced **大行城**, and united at the Yalu palisade, [**柵**], a place said to be east of the Yalu River, and also 560 *li* east of Moukden. The Korean capital of **平壤**, was invested, and a month later the Korean King **藏** surrendered, and the whole realm

fell into Chinese hands. [Sieh Jên-kwei in this campaign atoned for the great defeat he received at the hands of the Tibetans in 670]. After this conquest, Korai was divided into five 部, governing 176 城. The population consisted of 690,000 households. There were appointed nine 都督府, 42 州 and 100 縣. The supreme governor or Proconsul [東都護府], of the East resided at P'eng-jang. Those of the Korean chiefs who merited it were appointed 刺史 and 縣, and even 都督, with joint powers shared by Chinese officials. Sieh Jên-kwei was appointed Military Resident, [檢校], near the Proconsul, with a force of 20,000 men.

It is recorded that, in the year 675, the 土蕃 attacked 鄯州 [the modern 西寧], the evident *habitat* of the Lou-lans or Jan-jans. A great punitive expedition was sent against the T'u-fan in 678, when 180,000 Chinese were routed by the Tibetan King or 將論 general 欽陵 at Lake Kokonor, 300 里 west of Si-ning. It is explained that the T'u-fan or Tibetans

did not use surnames, but that all princes were called 論, and all officials were called 尚. [Compare Dr. Bushell's *Early History of Tibet*, pp. 6, 15). It is mentioned that the Chinese envoy to Tibet had repeated interviews with 將論贊婆; the last two characters are given as the General's name, but probably *gialbo*, [Mayers p. 98], is meant.

In the year 679, the Turks of 單于府 attacked 定州 in modern Chih Li, but were quelled by an expedition under 裴行檢. In the year 682, the Turkish chiefs Osno Kuturuk [骨篤祿], and Ostak Ytian-chên, [阿史德元珍], attacked the northern part of Shan Si, but were routed by Sieh Jên-kwei.

In the year 682 the T'u-fan attacked 河源 or Charing Nor, a spot 2,000 里 south west of Kung-ch'ang Fu in modern Kan Suh, but were thoroughly defeated by 婁師德. This battle is not mentioned by Dr. Bushell.

E. H. PARKER.

COREAN MOUNTAIN LORE.

This title is suggested by the familiar subject of folk-lore. I wish to string a few facts together, gathered partly from Mons. Ridel's *Corean Dictionary* and partly from conversations with Koreans, to show how largely mountains have influenced the national life in Corea.

Originally the mountains were evidently associated in Corea as elsewhere with 'wildness.' The outlaws who preyed upon society had their homes or their fastnesses there, and a man of the mountains was supposed to be of wilder aspect than the dwellers in the plains. We see this idea represented in the mummers of to-day, who in spring and autumn amuse the children by their dis-

figured faces, wild dresses and wilder antics, and who are known as the wild men or the fantastic men of the mountains. In those days mountain residence indicated stress of circumstances, and, in fact, the same word means mountaineer and tiger—the tiger being the mountaineer *par excellence* and styled also the King of the Mountains. A change came when the population overflowed in the plains. There was nothing for it but to take to the hills, as the pressure of warlike tribes made emigration impossible. The first beginning was, of course, made by the very needy: and we find a word which means 'the Toil or Travail of the Mountain' and which tells us of fuel-cutting, of herb-

gathering and of laborious efforts in the way of earning a livelihood. Then came deliberate farming, and we find names for the little plots of arable land, perched sometimes in seemingly-inaccessible places, where only necessity, and the most determined industry born of it, could induce a settlement or win a living from the unpromising soil. There were still inaccessible parts and parts too barren to repay even this most poverty-stricken industry, and these soon began to be consecrated to religion. With the instinct of beauty, which in almost every creed has been more or less associated with religion, the Buddhist priest built his temple as it were an eagle's eyrie. With the temple came the hermit, clothing coarsely and faring on herbs, a student of nature and sometimes even a bookworm. Mons. Ridet (*Cor. Dict.*, p. 373, *san-rim*) gives an interesting illustration of the natural declension which has taken place all the world over in this respect, and the ultimate connection between hermit and humbug. Originally the hermit was indeed a philosopher who had seen something of the hollowness of life in cities, and who retired to the wilderness to muse over the mysteries of mind and matter, and above all to construct a life on a true ideal. Then came the day of make-believe, when books were paraded and lofty airs assumed and philosophic jargon indulged in. Finally, the thing became a 'profession,' and the sons of the rich took to it and made it ridiculous; till in modern Corea, hermit, which means simply 'mountain and forest,' has become a soubriquet for the good-for-nothing son, the dilettant of the family. In process of time as trade arose, and towns became centres of wealth, we find the town population itself overflowing upon the mountains,—not as settlers, however, but as pleasure seekers. The Coreans have something to show for their extraordinary conceit. They were civilised long before we were; and some Westerns will be slow to believe it—they do not stand second to us even now in what

we deem one of the most indisputable blossoms of civilisation, a love of nature and of beautiful scenery. They have a perfect wealth of words which go to prove this. Thus you have all manner of terms for the residences of these summer tourists—the lodge, the villa, the hall, the prospect, the belvédère, the peak, the pavilion and such like. You have all manner of poetical combinations, as mountain and water, and mountain and forest. You have rich choice of words for the green of spring and for the wondrous glory of crimson which marks their autumn as it does ours, in the Manchurian hills; while you have a special word for wintersight-seeing, where the glory lies in the virgin snow. You have a rich vocabulary indicating their familiarity with every conceivable feature of mountains in their almost perpendicular cliffs, in their beetling brows, in their 'one myriad one thousand' jagged peaks, in their deep dark shadows, in their countless ramifications. While the wilder features clearly impose most on the imagination, the cool shade of the dells is not forgotten, nor the beauty and quietness of those sequestered flowery spots—where nature surpasses herself to show her wealth. Ultimately we find not only hamlets and villages, but even cities with the prefix of mountain. Then all through their history there was the mountain fort. The men who have given their name to Corea began their national existence by the conquest of this province of Manchuria, the southern part of which they held securely for many centuries. They have left abundant evidence in the number and position of their fortresses that they must have cost the Tane Emperor some trouble to drive them out, and they did not forget their art on the other side of the Jaloo. But indeed the country, now named from them Corea, was a fighting country before they saw it; and the several kingdoms into which it was anciently divided have quite as 'famous' a page to show in this respect as the Westerns themselves. But the fort in the wilderness,—in the wilder parts

of the mountains, has always been in requisition as a place of refuge in days of defeat and civil war. To one of these long-famed fastnesses of nature the King, we are told, was hurried lately to escape the imbroglio in which he is so unhappily placed through the conflicting interests of the Japanese, the Celestial and the Western. The mountains, of course, all through the chequered history of the 'Little Kingdom' have heard the voice of the huntsman. The game is what is reckoned of the noblest. The tiger is, as we have said, the Prince or King of the Mountain; the tiger-hunter therefore is a kind of King amongst huntsmen, and when the French had their little war with Corea, it is said, as many as three thousand of these sharpshooters were called out by royal proclamation to assist in exterminating the Foreigner. Then you have the leopard, the bear, the wolf, the wild boar, the fox, *et id genus omne*, not to speak of more innocent sport in deer and hare and winged game. They have some touches of Norman civilisation in the matter of hunting nomenclature. They used both hound and falcon. We have glimpses of early German life as revealed in Freitag's 'Die Armen' as we read of the huntsman who attacked the noblest game lance in hand, and whose lance in the flanks of a wounded animal doubtless formed his title to the spoil—the 'flesh of the mountain' as it was called. Then we read much of the wild produce of the mountain; as honey, its wild fruits, its inexhaustible supply of roots and herbs suitable for the cuisine, its wealth of medicinal herbs, and above all its ginseng—in regard to which last it is customary to pray to the Spirit of the Mountain to discover the whereabouts of its choicest varieties. A spice is added to the romance of the herb gatherer's life as we read of the 'mountain serpents,' by which they mean any snake of uncommon dimensions and more than average deadliness. And yet withal they have a word which means a 'penchant for the mountain,' and which is the same passion in

Corea as that which in these days has brought the epithet 'mad' into such frequent association with the alp-climbing Englishman. That Corea is a beautiful country appears everywhere from its vocabulary, and it speaks home to us with its ferns, its hazel, its hawthorn, its countless flowers of every shade, promising deserved fame to the fortunate botanist who shall be first to make known its wealth. But to the Corean the overtowering interest of the mountains lies in the fact that his graves are there. As the religion of the country is simply Confucianism out-done, the deceased ancestors are therefore the 'Luck-bringers'; and as the deceased have their Heaven or at least their frequent place of assembly at the graves, the blessing and the frown of the dead come alike from the Hills. Thus the 'place on the Mount' is one of the many honorary words for 'Tomb.' A 'mountain law-suit' means a plea about a tomb-prior settlement establishing a right which was occasionally encroached upon by the landless in their necessity. The 'Toil or Travail of the Mountain,' besides the meaning given above, is also the act of interment—the painful ascent and the laborious work on the grave itself. The 'Shadow of the Mountain' is happiness which comes from a tomb well placed. Mountain passion, or a craving for the mountain, is the longing to obtain a happy site in death (not the word given above as signifying a love for hill climbing.) So there is the 'Lot of the Mountain,' speaking of the acts of divination by which a happy tomb is secured, and in a secondary sense meaning the lucky tomb itself. They speak also of the 'Science of the Mountains,' which means knowledge of their forms and directions (on which depends the *fung shui* of the country): and also the Science of the Tombs, i.e. the seeking of a lucky site. The first thing my Corean Companion speaks of in scenery is the 'Aspect of the mountains,' as on this depends the happiness of the dead and

of the living. We need not wonder therefore, that there is a 'Chant' in which they sing the praises of the mountains: that there is much sacrificing in 'high places,' that the Tombs are called 'moun-

tain gardens,' that there is in every well-to-do family a 'guardian of the mountains,' i.e. of the Tombs; and that the very rain itself brings its blessings not from Heaven but from the Hills.

J. MACINTYRE.

DR. LEGGE ON LIEH-TSZ.

In a recent article in the *British Quarterly Review*, by Dr. Legge, on the 'Tao Tê Ching,' the Doctor offers some rather curious observations respecting the celebrated 14th chapter of that classic. The passage is no doubt familiar to your readers. Dr. Legge translates it thus:—

We might have looked at and not seen it; its name was *the Colourless*. We might have listened to it and not heard it; its name was *the Soundless*. We might have tried to grasp it and not got hold of it; its name was *the Incorporeal*.

Personally I do not much admire this rendering; but it is sufficient for my present purpose. Dr Legge then comments upon its meaning as follows:—

But of what subject are the three characteristics to be understood? Of the *Tao*? No, but of chaos. I say so, first, because the view is natural and reasonable in itself; and, next, on the express testimony of Lieh-tsz, the first great writer, after Lao-tsz, of the Taoist school. * * * He says there were four grand primeval periods. We may call the first the period of the great Vacuum, when there was nothing visible; the second that of the great Commencement, when a nebulous vapour began to occupy the void; the third that of the great Beginning, when this vapour began to coagulate and become substantial; and the fourth was that of the great Simplicity, when the nebulous vapour was still without distinct forms, though going on to assume them. Lieh-tsz further calls it 'the Chaos.'

Certainly Lieh-tsz does call the last grand period the period of chaos; but he does not apply the 'three characteristics' of the 14th chapter in the 'Tao Tê Ching' to that period. He applies them to the *first* period, the 太易, the Great Vacuum, as Dr Legge calls it, or, as I prefer to translate it, the Great Calm. This is most distinctly stated. Allow me to give you my version of the passage in question. Lieh-tsz says:—

* * * There was first the great Calm (太易), then the great Inception (太初), then the great Beginning (太始), and lastly the great Concretion (太素),—i.e., when matter was an undistinguished, homogeneous mass. At the time of the great Calm the primordial aura was yet invisible. The Great Inception was when the primordial aura first existed; the Great Beginning was when form first came into being; the Great Concretion was when simply matter first appeared. Then aura, form, and matter were in readiness, but had not yet been separated from one another; for which reason the condition of things was called chaos. Chaos means the indiscriminate mingling of everything together before their separation. "Invisible, though looked for; inaudible, though listened for; intangible, though clutched at"—therefore was [the primordium] called the period of calm, or stillness; and there is no form to which this calm is like.'

The Chinese of the sentence I wish to emphasise most particularly is as follows:

視之不見，聽之不聞，循之不得；故曰易也。—not, be it remarked, 故曰渾淪, as Dr. Legge appears to have read it. It seems almost

incredible that the Doctor should have made a statement the erroneousness of which is so easily proved by a reference to the original. The *I, Hsi, Wei* of Lao-tsz refers not to Chaos, but to the primeval void or calm.

FREDERIC H. BALFOUR.

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS

AND LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Abriss der Geschichte China's seit seiner Entstehung. Nach Chinesischen Quellen uebersetzt und bearbeitet von Sigmund Ritter von Fries, Kais. Chines. Beamte der Seezollverwaltung. Wien, Hongkong and Shanghai, 1884.

(A Compendium of the History of China from its Beginning. Translated and arranged from Chinese sources by Sigmund Fries, Knight, Imp. Chin. Maritime Customs Service).

This is a pretty looking octavo volume of pages xii and 284, with an appendix of ix historical maps of China. The author took the well-known abbreviated history, written by Wang Fung-chow, 鳳洲綱鑑全編, as his guide, but, with great tact, he did not trouble himself nor the readers of his book with too many details, but simply relates the principal facts of the dynastic history of China in a concise and readable style. Thus this compendium may become a valuable help to every beginner of Chinese studies and it may be instructive and of interest also to the general reader.

Mr. v. Fries begins his history with the chaos 混沌, which means an indefinite period preceding creation. His history ends with the resignation of Kien-Lung, A.D.

1796. We find all the names of the emperors of China, both in Chinese characters and in romanised letters, the dates of their respective reigns, a short, often rather vague, sketch of the characteristic features of their rule and their wars. No historical idea is made prominent in the book. This is the great defect of Mr. v. Fries' work, partly due to his almost culpably neglecting to compare other works on Chinese history written by able Europeans. We must regard Mr. Pauthier's compendium as yet the best of this class, being really an attempt towards writing a history of China such as would not only enumerate successive emperors and their wars, but give their proper place and appropriate treatment also to the principal statesmen, the institutions, literature, etc., of China. Professor Biot of Paris, Professor Plath of Munich, Professor Pfizmaier of Vienna, Canon von der Gablenz, and others, have written many valuable essays of a historical character on China. The volumes of the *China Review* also treat of many valuable pages of Chinese history. We hope Mr. v. Fries may feel encouraged to employ his abilities and leisure hours in preparing and publishing an additional volume sup-

plementary to the present one and thus oblige all students who long for a history of China worthy of the name.

The Chinese Imperial Government (1885)
Dollar Loan. Issued through the Hongkong Branch of the Chartered Bank of India, Australia and China. Copies of Imperial Decrees and Correspondence relative to this Loan with Form of Bond, Hongkong, 10th March, 1885.

This little pamphlet, issued for purely commercial purposes, contains also two or three points of some interest for the general student of Chinese history and literature. In the first instance it appears from the dispatches here published that modern Chinese official language has been enriched by the compound term 電奏, signifying a telegraphic memorial to the Throne. It seems that Governors-General now frequently memorialize the Throne by cable-telegram. There can be no doubt that now, since Imperial heads are not too dainty to handle a plain telegram and since the Vermilion Pencil disdains not to refer in autograph rescripts to telegraphic correspondence, Chinese officialdom, thus gradually habituated to one such foreign innovation, to wit the telegraph, will in course of time feel less and less repugnance to adopt another, to wit the railway. Another point of interest is that the dispatches here published exhibit the exact machinery now-a-days employed by the Chinese Government in raising a foreign loan. In the case of this loan the course of proceedings appears to have been somewhat as follows. The provinces of Yunnan and Kwangsi required funds to prosecute the war against the French. The Governors General of Yunnan and of the two Kwang agree to resort to a foreign loan to be negotiated and managed by the Governor General of the two Kwang. The latter memorializes the Throne by telegram addressed to the Tsungli Yamên. The latter lay the telegram before the Dowager Em-

press and the Emperor and obtain Imperial sanction for the loan. The Imperial Rescript is telegraphed by the Tsungli Yamên to Canton. The Governor-General at Canton communicates with a Finance Commission which appears to have been specially appointed for this purpose, consisting of the Financial Commissioner (Treasurer) sitting in conclave with the Board of Reorganisation, with which latter another Board, the Coast-defence Board (Haifong), appears to have been amalgamated. This Finance Commission sends the head of the Military Secretariat, a Taotai, to Hongkong to negotiate the loan in the ordinary compradorio go-between style. But when the barbarian banker appears unappalled by the sight of a copy of a Vermilion Pencil Rescript pledging the credit of the Imperial Government of China, and demands that the Canton Customs revenues be specifically mortgaged as security for the loan, and that the British Consulate at Canton and the British Ambassador in Peking be made the intermediaries between the Bank and the Chinese Government instead of the Comprador, the haughty mandarins yield and the Vermilion Pencil has to give its sanction to the very Customs Office, specially bound to supply the Imperial Household with funds, the Canton Customs, being mortgaged to the barbarians. To preserve the Imperial Household, however, from any curtailment of its supplies, an Imperial Rescript orders the Board of Revenue to direct all the other Foreign Customs Offices to share with the Canton Office the burden of responsibility. Finally, to induce the Bank in Hongkong to pay over the money without delay, the Tsungli Yamên address to the British Ambassador the polite request to call upon the Bank, by telegraph, to pay over the money at once. Thereupon the special Finance Board above mentioned is requested by the Governor General to authorize the Military Secretary, a Taotai, under the seal of the Financial Commissioner to receive the money, and the Superintendent

of Maritime Customs (Hoppon) affixes his own seal to the Bonds, whilst the British Consulate certifies to the authenticity of the seals. It appears to us well worth noting all these points, as they appear to us to indicate quite a new departure in the routine of Chinese red-tapeism. There is one more point of some interest in this pamphlet. The Superintendent of Maritime Customs (Hai Kwan), vulgarly known to foreigners by the execrably barbaric term 'Hoppon,' is in this pamphlet habitually referred to as 'the Hai Kwan or Foreign Customs Taotai or Hoppon.' Mayers, in his admirable book entitled 'The Chinese Government,' styles this officer 'Superintendent of Customs,' and states that in Canton a special officer, appointed from the Imperial Household, bears the designation 'Superintendent of Customs for the province of Kwangtung.' He also states, after referring to the case of Foochow and Hwangnan, that 'elsewhere the office is usually filled by a Taotai.' From this we infer that in Mayers' time the Canton office was not filled by a Taotai, and as a matter of fact we believe it is not filled so now. Mayers further states that within recent years a special 'Customs Taotai' has been established at Tientsin. Thus it seems to us there must be some mistake in the titles which this pamphlet heaps upon the worthy officer of the Imperial Household. We are very sorry to observe that British Consular officers still adhere, in the use of the term Hoppon, to that barbarism of ancient days which arose through the ignorance of foreigners mistaking a subordinate low official, called Ho-pò (河保), who used to collect anchorage dues, with the Superintendent of Maritime Customs.

Eclectic Chinese-Japanese-English Dictionary of eight thousand selected Chinese characters as used in Japan, and an appendix of useful tables. Compiled and arranged by Rev. Ambrose D. Gring. Published under the auspices of the Board of Commissioners for

Foreign Missions of the German Reformed Church in the United States. Yokohama, Kelly and Co., 1884.

This Dictionary of the Chinese written language claims no originality, as the compiler states in his preface, except the originality of the plan on which it is constructed by compilation from other works, and chiefly from that of Dr. Williams. The plan adopted by Mr. Gring is an extremely practical one, carefully adapted for handy reference, and the whole book is got up in such a neat and natty style, that we have no hesitation in saying it is the best got up Chinese Dictionary we have seen yet. There is, however, such a multiplicity of introductory tables and appendices, that a beginner will be rather bewildered at first and require considerable time to find his way through this maze of philological leading strings. The combination in parallel columns of Chinese square characters, running-hand characters, and Shwuh-wên characters, though useful for the advanced student, is rather an encumbrance to the beginner. It will, however, healthfully impress him with the sober notion that an acquisition of a useful knowledge of the written language of China is surrounded by extraordinary mountains of difficulties. Finally, as to the main portion of the book, the Dictionary itself, it is certainly eclectic with a vengeance, for it is simply a wholesale reproduction of the definitions and etymological derivations of Dr. Williams' Syllabic Dictionary together with its numerous misprints, errors and shocking blunders, many of which have years ago been pointed out and corrected by other writers. A special pamphlet was published some years ago, correcting numerous errors. Mr. Gring has taken no notice of it. Dr. Chalmers published some time ago a book which no one who writes now-a-days on the composition or etymology of Chinese characters can ignore, without suffering thereby. Mr. Gring appears ignorant of the existence of this book which has entirely superseded

Edkins' youthful introduction to the study of Chinese characters, and though he mentions this work of Edkins among his list of principal books consulted, he appears to have made little use of it, as he preferred to copy out Dr. Williams' fanciful and arbitrary etymology. Thus also, as regards the definitions of the 8,000 Chinese characters supplied in this compilation by bodily transfer from Dr. Williams' Dictionary, Mr. Gring might have found in Dr. Eitel's Dictionary the authentic definitions furnished by Kanghi's Editors literally translated, but he appears to have no knowledge of that book either. That which is the real merit of Dr. Williams' work viz. the large mass of phrases supplied by Dr. Williams under each character, is entirely omitted in this Eclectic Dictionary of Mr. Gring, who simply turned over the remainder with the spoon so to say, and garnished it by the addition of Japanese modifications of sounds and definitions and with a multitude of introductory and supplementary tables. A few samples of the errors we observed in glancing through the definitions here and there must suffice. Radical No. 43 is throughout the book wrongly printed. The definitions given (p. 63) for 决 viz. 'decided, stern, settled, parted as streams, differing,' are entirely wrong. Mr. Gring here eclectically copied from Dr. Williams the erroneous definitions and omitted to copy the correct ones. Under the character 蠚 (p. 310) Mr. Gring would have his readers believe that this character designates, among other things, 'the wasp.' This is a misprint of Dr. Williams' Dictionary (p. 284) who no doubt wrote 'the warp,' but Mr. Gring faithfully copies out and perpetuates the printer's error. A similar case of his copying out a printer's error is the ancient form of writing the character 時, which Mr. Gring, following Dr. Williams' misprint, likewise prints wrongly. Under the character 頤 Kanghi's Dictionary gives, among other definitions, the meaning 每, and quotes, in support of this definition, the words 頤言思子, which occur in

the Odes of P'ei (Legge's Shi King, I., p. 71) and which Dr. Legge correctly renders by 'I think longingly of them,' showing thereby that he correctly understood the commentator's definition 每 to mean here 'thinking longingly of,' and not 'every time,' though the term 每 has certainly both meanings. On the principle of *interdum magnus dormitat Homerus*, however, we must assume that Dr. Legge was napping when he wrote, in his notes on that passage, '每 every time, whenever' (Legge, Shi King, I., p. 72) instead of writing, '每 is here taken in the sense of desiring, longingly thinking of, and not in the sense of every time, whenever, etc.' Curiously enough, Dr. Williams repeats the blunder, in giving, in his Syllabic Dictionary (p. 1137) among the definitions of the character 每 also the meanings 'every, each,' which 每 never had. More curiously still, Mr. Gring eclectically perpetuates the blunder in this newest Dictionary of his (p. 504). We might give dozens of similar errors scattered broadcast all over the book, but the above may suffice to show the nature of the work before us. There is, however, another serious defect in this dictionary. We are told we have here 8000 selected characters and we are told that even so few as 5000 or 6000 characters are sufficient to 'answer for all the practical purposes of life.' This is not only a woeful mistake but a statement calculated to spread that canker of sham and humbug which is making such ravages in foreign sinology. As a matter of fact, even if a knowledge of 5000 or 6000 characters were sufficient, each of these characters has from 3-10 different meanings in different combinations, and many of them must, for all really practical purposes, be learned in their printed form, as well as in their short-hand form and in their vulgar form, and these different forms of writing vary so greatly that in most cases it is like learning a new language. The vulgar forms of writing and printing Mr. Gring ignores entirely. Yet, without a knowledge of them, no one can decipher a single page

of the most ordinary street literature, popular song-books, theatrical librettos or the letters of the lower classes. Mr. Gring's 8000 characters may suffice to read the ordinary Christian religious publications issued from the press of Mr. Gamble, who selected those 8000 characters, but they would not suffice to read either classical native works or popular books and letters, let alone Taoist and Buddhist publications. For instance, the following characters are not given by Mr. Gring, or at any rate we failed to find them in his dictionary, and yet, we maintain, they are among those characters which are indispensable for a practical knowledge of the Chinese language: 涅, 梔, 枞, 隔, 蟹, 臙, 恆, 驢, 揸, 核, 确, 債, 恰, 鄺, 鉞, 縐, 儗, 纈, 甌, 蘭, 蕞, 滌, 嶽, 堵. It would not be difficult to find numbers of similar common characters which are not included even among these vaunted 8000 of Mr. Gamble's selection, without descending to vulgar forms or to classical solecisms or to obsolete characters. It serves no useful purpose to endeavour to disguise the fact that even a knowledge of 8000 characters is not sufficient for all ordinary practical purposes. They are to our certain knowledge not sufficient to read the ordinary leading articles of Chinese newspapers.

The Revenue of China. A series of articles reprinted from 'the China Mail.' With an Appendix. Hongkong, 'China Mail Office,' 1885.

This anonymous sketch of the various sources of revenue, of the yield, mode of collection, administration and application of the finances of China, appears to be based, in the first instance, on a careful study of the respective chapters in the Ta Ts'ing Hwui Tien, and, in the second instance, on personal observation of the inner workings of Chinese financial machinery. The author is evidently a sound Chinese scholar, as well as a practical and independent observer.

The subject matter of this pamphlet is very apropos at the present time, when the financial resources of China are taxed to their utmost by a protracted war and the credit of China is inquired into by European bankers engaged in floating Chinese Government loans. The author of this pamphlet, reviewing successively the actual and the possible yield of the land tax, the salt gabelle, customs duties, miscellaneous taxes and likin, comes to the conclusion that the total normal revenue of China yields at present no more than about 64 million taels, but that the yield might be easily quadrupled if the various reforms which he suggests under each head of revenue were introduced. It appears that the total receipts of the Chinese exchequer are not above a-fourth of the exchequer of India, and there is indeed no reason in the nature of things why the revenue of China should not at least equal that of India. Owing to systematic corruption pervading the whole mandarinat of the empire, and to the vicious system of constituting the various collectors of revenue so many farmers, owing to these causes, which in themselves account for the Tai-ping rebellion and for the devastations wrought by it, the Chinese empire has enormously fallen off in all material wealth during the last fifteen years and its system of finance is now characterized by an utter want of elasticity, there being no machinery by which the revenue can be raised to meet a temporary strain. Nevertheless the prospects of Chinese finances are, if but moderate reforms are introduced, by no means discouraging. Our author shows good grounds for his opinion that the land tax, the costs of collecting which is three or five times the amount of the actual out-turn (27½ million taels), might, under a proper system of collection, be made to yield certainly twice or three times more, without putting a penny of additional taxation on the people. The salt-gabelle, likewise, might easily, if reorganized, be made to yield from 20 to 30 millions of taels, instead of 9½ millions as at

present. Finally the duties on foreign trade form a source of revenue which, if carefully fostered, or only allowed fair play, by the abolition of all inland transit duties except in the cases of salt and opium, would soon produce a yield greater than that of all the other sources of revenue put together. Although we entirely agree with the conclusions of our author, we think it is yet necessary to remember that the data on which his estimate of the actual yield of the various sources of Chinese revenue is based are, to a great extent, guess-work. Even the Board of Revenue at Peking could not possibly draw up a correct balance sheet of the actual income and expenditure of the empire, for it is not the interests of the provincial authorities to supply that information to the central government. Accordingly the value of our author's calculations depends largely on the opportunities he had to make himself acquainted with the hidden workings of the financial machinery of individual provinces, and we should not be surprised to find other observers coming to somewhat different and especially less gloomy conclusions. But we are confident that the inquiry into the actual prospects of Chinese finances, which we have here before us, will never be excelled in point of sobriety of judgment.

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The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal. Vol. XVI., No. 1 and 2, 1885.

These two numbers of our missionary contemporary are more than usually devoted to its immediate sphere of missionary affairs rather than to Chinese philology as formerly. There is only one article in the first number bearing on subjects which zealous missionaries would class among the *alibetia*. It is written, as usual, by that Saul among the prophets, Mr. E. H. Parker, and entitled 'Asia reconstructed from Chinese sources.' A rough sketch map accompanies a series of brief notes, made by Mr. Parker after perusing the first hundred proofsheets of a new work by Dr. Hirth on China and the Roman Orient. As Dr. Hirth's book does not appear

to have been published yet, the cart has indeed been introduced to the public before the horse, but Dr. Hirth has the remedy in his own hands and will only improve the value of his own book, if he reprints Mr. Parker's valuable notes as an appendix to his own work and replies to Mr. Parker's criticisms by re-considering the correctness of his own hypotheses. The only sinologic article in the second number of the *Chinese Recorder* consists of a carefully written review of Fries' sketch of the history of China, which is here introduced, seemingly an editorial article, without reference to the fact that the book had already been reviewed by the editor in the last number of the preceding volume.

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The Life of Confucius, the great philosopher and moralist. Ward & Lock's Penny Biographies. London.

There can be no doubt that the firm of Ward, Lock & Co., in issuing their penny books for the people, are doing a useful work which will benefit the interests of education. A number of their biographical series, now before us, gives a portrait of Confucius as a frontispiece, underneath which the following attributes of Confucius are set forth:—Confucius, the great philosopher and moralist; the master and teacher of the Chinese people; the founder of their educational system; their instructor in morals and philosophy; the inculcator of universal charity, impartial justice, rectitude of heart, and pure sincerity. This pamphlet, consisting of 16 pages royal octavo, is neatly printed on cheap paper, and gives a very fair summary of all that is historically known of Confucius. Confucius is here represented as a man who, six hundred years before Christ, considered the outward economy of an empire a worthier object of study than all hidden and abstract lore, who prized maxims of life and conduct more than speculations regarding the Divinity, who was, however, not a mere name for a set of opinions, but left an impression

of his own distinct and marked personality upon the most populous empire in the world. The author of this life of Confucius made an extensive use of the Prolegomena to Dr. Legge's first volume of the Chinese Classics and of other well known works, but tells the story of Confucius' life, describes his grave, and characterizes his teachings in a very readable and rather attractive form. We noticed a few rather serious blunders, most of which, however, may have been caused by the ignorance of the proof-reader. The following example will illustrate our meaning, and at the same time show how the author of this pamphlet used his sources of information. In Dr. Legge's Prolegomena (Ch. V., Sect. I, p. 88) we read:—*Confucius said to him, 'Ts'ze, what makes you so late? No intelligent monarch arises; there is not one in the empire that will make me his master. My time has come to die.'* So it was. *He went to his couch, and after seven days expired.*

Dr. Legge justly takes occasion from these facts to point out, in a very impressive manner, that the philosopher's death was enveloped in a cloud of the bitterest disappointment. This melancholy character of the death of Confucius is entirely lost in the pamphlet under review, which gives the following version of the death of the sage:—

Confucius said to him: 'Tsze, what makes you so late? The intelligent monarch arrives who will make me his master. My time is come to die.' So it was. *He lay down on his couch, and after seven days breathed his last.*

The name of the author of this pamphlet is indicated by the initial S. I. A.

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Report of the Medical Missionary Hospital at Fatshan, South-China, in connection with the Wesleyan Missionary Society, for the year 1884. Hongkong, 1885.

The Wesleyan Missionary Hospital at Fatshan, the Birmingham of South-China, is evidently conducted on sound and broad principles. These principles may be guessed

at, less by the Wesleyan and therefore denominational character of the Hospital and its officers, than by the following casual observation made in the course of the report under the heading of evangelistic work. 'We carefully avoid,' says the report, 'offering any inducement to the patients to be baptized, lest we should encourage insincerity; we make known the truth and leave it to do its work.' It was no doubt the consequence of this truly Christian method of working, as well of the bodily relief afforded year by year to thousands of sufferers, that this Hospital was left untouched during the late troublous times by the same rowdies who pulled down missionary chapels in the vicinity. There were as many as 722 in-patients and 4,486 out-patients under treatment or advice at the Hospital during the past year, and 67 patients were visited at their homes. One kind of case strikes us as remarkable. The malarial disease known as Beriberi was, we believe, hitherto unknown in South-China, but it appears that Beriberi became very prevalent in Fatshan last year, in consequence of continued inundations. The remarks casually made in this report regarding the effects of opium smoking as observed at the Hospital are also deserving notice, and agree with all we have seen and heard everywhere else in China, viz. that prolonged opium-smoking invariably induces weakness of will and that, if the habit is once deeply rooted, permanence of cure is beyond the reach of mere physical medicine. An important branch of the good work done by Doctors Wenyon and MacDonald at this Hospital is the tuition in anatomy, chemistry and the various subjects of a medical education given to a class of Chinese students who are bound to their course of study for a term of three years each. In a country like China, where, as this report correctly states, hospitals, such as we have in England, are practically unknown, where there are few if any native doctors who know how to open an abscess, tap a dropsy, remove a tumour,

reduce a dislocation, tie an artery, or render any assistance in a case of abnormal parturition, the work done by teaching classes of Chinese medical students is one of incalculable benefit to the welfare of suffering humanity. This Hospital deserves a much larger share of support than appears to have been given to it as yet by the foreign communities of Canton and Hongkong.

Amongst the Shans. By Archibald Ross Colquhoun, F. R. G. S., with upwards of fifty whole-page illustrations and an historical sketch of the Shans by Holt S. Hallett, F. R. G. S., preceded by an introduction on the cradle of the Shan race, by Terrien de Lacouperie, Professor of Indo-Chinese Philology, University College, London, etc., etc. London, 1885.

This is a handsomely got up volume of theories by Professor Terrien de Lacouperie, of practical observations by Mr. Colquhoun, and of historical sketches by Mr. Hallett, and is a book of considerable interest.

The Shan tribes had, until comparatively recent years, done nothing to trouble the minds of European historians, statesmen or business men. They first pushed their way into modern history in connection with the unparalleled successes obtained by Protestant Missionaries among the Karens and by the obstructions which other Shan tribes habitually offered to direct trade between China and Further India and which rose into historic importance in connection with the French explorations and military advances from Cochin-China and Annam towards the Chinese frontiers of the province of Tungking, and also in connection with British commercial expeditions groping for a direct overland trade route between British Burmah and China, and notably in connection with the Margary murder. In fact the Shans, driven southwards, for centuries past, by advancing Chinese civilisation, are now brought up in a corner between the problematic French Colonial em-

pire on one side and Siam, Burmah and India on the other side, whilst statesmen and tradesmen of all nations are gradually coming to the conclusion that political and commercial interests absolutely require that these Shan tribes, whosoever they be, must either be brought under the civilising influences of treaties and railways or put under foot by the surrounding States.

Who are these troublesome Shans? The southern tribes of Shans have long ago been amalgamated with the kingdom of Siam and may be left out of the question, but the independent Shan tribes still occupy a large strip of country east of Independent Burmah, north of Siam, west of Tungking and south of Yunnan. This country is watered by the tributaries of the Irrawady, by the Salween river, and by the tributaries of the Meikong, and has thus water communication (though of a somewhat impracticable nature) with British Burmah, Siam, Cochin-China, Annam, Tungking, and China. The names of these Shan tribes are bewildering, for every mountain range and valley of the Shan country seems to furnish numbers of separate tribes, distinct in physical type in language and manners as well as in name or nickname. Mr. Colquhoun himself does not attempt to bring order and distinct classification into this wild chaos of seemingly aboriginal tribes. The Shan country appears to be, in fact, the ethnologic dustbin of Eastern Asia, and all Mr. Colquhoun has done so far is to fork out some of these relics of Indo-Chinese aboriginal antiquity, and to sketch some of their most prominent features, with the aid of notes collected by a few other explorers who preceded him in this field. Mr. Colquhoun's work suffers in ethnologic value by its desultory character and its want of uniform classification, and also by an extraordinary amount of literary padding, introduced for no other apparent reason but to swell the size of the book. Nevertheless, we think Mr. Colquhoun has done a meritorious work by collecting at least, though he could not systematize and

classify, what is known at present of these Shan tribes, and especially also by bringing forward the historical researches of Mr. Hallett.

As to the first portion of Mr. Colquhoun's book, viz. the introduction by Mr. Terrien de Lacouperie, it would be premature to say much, as the learned Professor here merely announces a series of fanciful theories regarding the connection of the various now-existing Shan tribes with those ancient aboriginal tribes or barbarians, mentioned in the Chinese Classics or referred to in post-classic dynastic histories, and, after taking away the reader's breath by the boldness and self-assurance with which he puts forward his theories, quietly adds the following sentence. 'It was impossible,' says the Professor, 'in a survey of so many populations of which we have only reviewed here the most important during two scores of centuries, compressed in so short space, to supply all the information required for its complete proof; but it is given in my book on "China before the Chinese, the Aboriginal and non-Chinese Races of China," shortly to be issued at the Leadenhall Press.'

Without having anywhere in his whole introduction referred to the mysterious cradle or its location, the Professor concludes with the following announcement. 'The main conclusion of this Introduction is the unexpected disclosure, from Chinese sources, of the fact that the cradle of the Shan race was in the Kiulung mountains, north of Szechuen and south of Shensi, in China Proper.' We are looking forward with interest to the appearance of the above promised 'complete proof' of all the theories connected with this wonderful cradle and we promise the learned Professor we will calmly and seriously review the book which he has so graciously announced, but meanwhile we must ask him to pardon our inability to treat seriously an introduction swarming with serio-comic statements and puns of which, in justice to our readers we will quote but a very few. The Professor

would have its readers believe (p. 29) that China received its language, arts and sciences 'from the colonies of the Ugro-Altaic *Bak* families who came from Western Asia some twenty-three centuries B.C. under the conduct of men of high culture,' and that 'this general statement is now beyond any possibility of doubt, for the evidence in its favour is overwhelming.' Again he would have us believe (p. 45) that the patriarch P'ang (彭), to whom Confucius refers in the *Analepts* (VII., 1), and the mythic being called Pan-ku (盤古), who chiselled out the heavens, are one and the same historic individual. 'While Pang is the form of his name in the ancient Chinese records, Pan-ku is that by which the later Chinese have heard of him . . . the object of a curious legend which has grown out of a mythological misuse of words, coupled with a faint echo of Central Asiatic folk-lore . . . reputed to be a dog (*sic.*) that married a daughter of Yao.' We really doubt whether the Professor, in penning these sentences, was serious or poking fun at Mr. Colquhoun and his readers. Likewise also, it seems doubtful whether the Professor is in a serious or comic vein when he says (p. 46) of a modern Shan tribe called Kuoi, that 'we hear of them as early as the time of the Emperor Shun (2049-1990 B.C.) and notably of the Kuei, the chief of whom was musician to the court of the Chinese ruler, whom he taught the five tone music of Scotch and Cochinchinese notoriety.' But all doubt is at an end when Mr. Terrien de Lacouperie, Professor of Indo-Chinese Philology of University College, London, actually descends to puns and explains the names of the *Man* and *Y* tribes of classical fame by saying (p. 49), 'the rulers of the Tsu (Teru) state, notwithstanding the important position they held in the Chinese confederation, boasted 'we are *Man-y*.'

We have given these quotations,—and we might easily quote some more examples of the same farcical character,—merely to show to our readers that, whilst we shall always

review a serious book with becoming gravity, we really cannot look upon these utterances of the Professor as serious hypotheses. Mr. Lacouperie's aberrations of genius, as here set forth, are so comically ludicrous that we can only suppose he does not mean us to take the statements he makes in connection with the cradle of the Shan race as anything else but harmless fun, in which he indulges, in the absence of more serious work, just *pour passer le temps*.

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NOTES AND QUERIES.

NOTES.

Likin.—The Financial Commissioner for the Nanking half of Kiang Su reports Tls. 138,000 *likin* collection for the first five months of 1884, against Tls. 478,000 of appropriations.

CUSTOMS REVENUES.—The native Customs at Kewkiang now produce Tls. 460,000 a year, of which Tls. 99,000 represent remitted duties on military, poverty-stricken, and other boats. The full collection before the rebellion was Tls. 172,000 regular, and Tls. 367,000 extra. So much timber is now sent in steamers that the Tls. 100,000 difference is accounted for. The collector raised for the year, ending April 1884, Tls. 40,000 more than the last year. Part of his receipts are Tls. 20,000 on salt collected for him by other stations. There is also a sum of Tls. 20,000 耗餘.

The annual collection of native Customs for which the Foochow Tartar-General is responsible is fixed at Tls. 73,545 'regular' and Tls. 113,000 'extra,' or over Tls. 186,000 in all. After the rebellion, this figure gradually dwindled down to Tls.

80,000 in 1866; but, though the deficit for 1883 was Tls. 3660, of late years it has been found possible to keep pretty close to the amount required.

The Customs collector at Sha-hu K'ou reports Tls. 34,700 of receipts for the last annual period. This station derives its import revenue from beasts, timber, hides, wool, &c., and its export revenue from tea, drugs, tobacco, &c. The recent Russian treaty with its transit-pass rules has somewhat reduced the total receipts.

The Hankow *Taotai* has under him a second Custom-House at 沔陽 on the 'Inner River' route between Hankow and Ich'ang: it is called the 新堤關.

HOUSEHOLD EXPENSES.—The salt revenues of Chê-kiang [課] contribute Tls. 50,000 to the Imperial Household expenses of 1884.

The Emperor has specially ordered Tls. 235,000 worth of dragon and peacock robes of embroidered gold for himself and for presents. The Nanking Silk Commissioner, in order to defray this expense, has received or is to receive Tls. 60,000 from the Trea-

surer, Tls. 50,000 from the Yangchow Salt Commissioner, Tls. 30,000 from the Grain Commissioner, Tls. 20,000 from the Maritime Customs, Tls. 20,000 from the Shanghai [松滬] *likin*, and Tls. 20,000 from the Nanking and Soochow *likin*; and, in consideration of bad times, the Emperor abates his demands twenty per cent. His Majesty requires 880 articles, value Tls. 27,000, for himself; 1,116, value Tls. 84,000, for Princes and Princesses. Nine per cent. on moneys received [提出九分平餘] is to be deducted by the Commissioner for packing and other expenses. Amongst the articles are 紗漢 and 袍襪, terms which J. M. will perhaps kindly explain.

The 大運 of the Nanking Silk Commissioner did not originally exceed Tls. 40,000 a year, but Tls. 20,000 extra have recently been charged on the Nanking revenues to defray the cost of silk transferred from Sz Ch'uan to the east. As to the Tls. 20,000 extra order for dragon robes, &c., this year the new Viceroy Tsêng positively limits it to Tls. 6,000, and says even that will be a bitter pill to swallow.

Independently of irregular calls, the Hangchow Silk Commissioner has 120,000 strings of cash allowed him from the 牙厘局 wherewith to meet the expense of the annual supply of silk [大運] to the Court, of which the more urgent portion is called the 趕運. For the Emperor [上用], he reports having sent for 1883 under these heads 300 and 243 pieces; for officials [官用], 200 and 160 pieces; for the Empresses [內用], 760 and 540 pieces of silk, with 400 catties of thread, and 1,000 pieces of fine (? cotton) cloth; for the Board [部用] 800 and 800 pieces. Total, urgent and otherwise, 3,800 pieces of silk, 1,000 of cloth, and 400 catties of thread.

The Imperial Household wishes the former Sz Ch'uan tribute silk, now distributed [分派] amongst the three Silk Commissioners, to be included in the annual permanent order [大運]. Soochow's last share (under this head?) consisted of 1210 pieces of various kinds of silk.

SALT REVENUES.—The wells North-west of Hankow recently yielded salt too, the *likin* on which amounts to over 20,000 strings of cash a year, and of course is a 'squeezing' ground.

The total *likin* collected by Hu Nan on Canton and Sz Ch'uan salt amounts to something over Tls. 100,000 a year.

The 直案 or Chih Li share of the 長蘆 salt taxation produces only Tls. 20,000 a year, and this including the extra 2½ cash a catty which has been added during the past 10 years. The average consumption per head is 3 mace a day, value one cash, so that the selling price must be about 5 cash a catty.

The finances of the 長蘆 or Tien-tain Gabelle are puzzling. For 1883, Tls. 180,933 were fixed as the 幣利 of the Peking Public Offices; but, as authority was given to reduce the Peking warrants [引] by 20,000, the sum of Tls. 6,804 was knocked off. See previous *Notes*. At present (end of 1884) each warrant of 10,000 catties of Sz-ch'uan salt costs Tls. 300 laid down in Ich'ang, and sells at Tls. 310 or Tls. 320. The amount of salt allowed in Hu Kwang [濟楚] is 7,000-8,000 warrants a year, say Tls. 2,500,000 worth of salt, and on each catty Hu Peh levies a number of cash, bringing in nearly Tls. 1,000,000. Recently two cash have been added for Hu Peh, and Nanking wishes to get three cash too, as compensation for inroads upon the Yangchow salt which *should* be consumed in Hu Peh. The Viceroy of Sz-ch'uan vigorously protests.

After all the Viceroy Tso has made a mess of the salt question. The new Viceroy Tsêng has been obliged to revert to the policy instituted by his late brother, of issuing each year one 綱 (of 296,982 引) of Northern Hwai salt, the dues on which are to be paid, as before, after sale [先鹽後課]. The Viceroy Tso's nominal increase, though well-meant, turns out to be both fictitious and impracticable.

The salt ponds [池] of P'ing-yang Fu in modern Shan Si were thrown open to the people in the year A.D. 506, having previously been a government monopoly.

CATTLE TAXES.—The cattle-taxing stations under the 左 and 右翼 are apparently liable for Tls. 10,000 of beast-taxes each, with Tls. 18,000 and Tls. 7,320 'extra' respectively. The 左 reports Tls. 18,500 collected on beasts and Tls. 2,300 for Peking horse taxes. Tls. 10,000 and Tls. 2,000 go to the Board of Revenue. Of the Tls. 8,500 'extra,' all but Tls. 2,300 go in salaries and expenses at Peking, Kalgan, and Nank'ou, and in grass for sacrificial beasts. The 'extra' due from him is Tls. 18,000, so that he is Tls. 15,700 short, which amount he proposes to pay out of his own [well-lined?] pocket. In a subsequent Decree he is, however, let off this. The Board of Revenue seems to spend all of its Tls. 12,000 a year in sacrificial beasts. The 右 has collected Tls. 16,800 on beasts, and Tls. 1,880 in land tax. His expenses (almost exactly the same as those of his colleague) absorb Tls. 6,222, so that he is a sum of Tls. 6,564 short in his 'extra,' which also is graciously remitted. Both shew a falling off compared with last year. The balances in hand, of Tls. 2,180 and Tls. 757 respectively, are ordered to be paid to the Buttery.

TAX ON RUSHES.—Two camps stationed near the coast north of Shanghai have to collect annually the produce of certain rush-flats [葦蕩], but for the last few years the shoots [茸], have been a failure [矮短], owing to the swamping of seawater, storms, &c. This squeezing ground is under the Yangchow *taotai*, but it is not clear for what the rushes are required.

FUNDS IN AID.—Yün Nan cannot contribute to the 'impecunious Peking' fund. In good years she gets Tls. 260,000 from regular salt taxes [課]; but, of late years, Tls. 20,000 a year have had to be taken

from the salt *likin* in order to pay even 60 per cent. on all nominal salaries. In good years, too, Tls. 240,000 are drawn from metals exported to Annam and Burmah; recent events have reduced this too. Provincial salaries amount to Tls. 110,00, and, to pay the army, other provinces have to contribute. Hence the situation.

It seems that Sz Ch'uan has to contribute a yearly sum [協餉] to Shan Tung. Tls. 160,000 of this have just been appropriated to river repairs.

ARTICLES OF TRIBUTE.—An annual tribute of iron and sulphur is due to Peking from Shan Si. Besides these, there are due fixed supplies of despatch paper [文墨紙], and of 潞 and other sorts of silk. The Governor Chang Chih-tung, amongst other reforms, has endeavoured to have the last two, which harass both officials and people with the cost and trouble of carriage and other charges, commuted for a money payment, but the Board insists on its 'pound of flesh.'

THE SQUEEZOR SQUEEZED.—It costs an officer of low rank, who goes to Peking to have audience of the Board [驗看], about Tls. 150 in fees, which are chiefly absorbed by the clerks [主事] of the Board belonging to the officer's Province. An audience of the Emperor costs a Magistrate at least Tls. 300, and the 'fees' go up in a rising scale according to rank. Besides this, every officer who approaches Peking, especially if he is a Manchu, and most especially if he has luggage, is heavily squeezed by the harpies [海巡] at the Lou-kou Bridge near Peking. This is a branch [分局] of the Ha-ta Customs, which also has offices at Hai-tien, (near Yüan-ming Yüan), at Tung-pa, Pan-pi Tien [半壁店], Nan-k'ou, Kalgan, and Mu-chia Yü [穆家峪]. In consequence of the infamous doings of the Ha-ta Customs, radical reforms are now being made—at least on paper,—and two deputies are to be regularly stationed at each of the 13 Peking gates to carry them out.

EXTRA TAXATION.—Another squeezing ground in Manchuria is the **河稅** at the **鐵嶺** in Fêng-t'ien Fu. The late Viceroy Ch'unghow added to this collectorate what was known as the **斗捐**, and the collector there is obliged to send a fixed annual sum, besides any 'extra.' It has now been discovered that the gendarmerie in charge have embezzled about \$30,000 of 'extra' during the past four or five years, so that the 'ordinary' sum (which is not named) may be guessed to be about \$20,000 a year.

COINAGE.—In the year 430 A.D. the Sung dynasty coined **四錢** cash, and in the year 447 **太銖** cash, of which one counted as ten ordinary cash.

In the year A.D. 454 the Sung dynasty coined **孝建四銖** cash, and in the year 465 the **二銖** cash.

The Yün Nan authorities say that, until recently, the Board has for the past hundred years sent an annual Tls. 1,000,000 to Yün Nan in exchange for 6,300,000 catties of 'coining copper' for Peking and provincial mints. A year or two ago the Board reverted to this practice, but, in exchange for Tls. 2,000,000, only 5,000,000 catties have been provided. Foreign machinery is now to be set at work in order to bring things back to their former condition.

MODERN ARMAMENTS.—The unwarlike province of Shan Tung has added two batteries of Krupp guns to its army. Each gun has six horses, twelve braves, two coolies, and each ammunition waggon has two horses, four braves and one carter. Each waggon serves two guns, and one battery has six guns against four for the other.

POISONED ARROWS.—With reference to a previous note about poisoned arrows, the *Shen Pao* (14th of 6th moon) says that 400 Frenchmen were killed by these. Great thirst follows a wound, and, if water is

drunk soon, death inevitably follows. As Mr. Baber describes the death of Sultan **杜** of the Panthays by a poison which only acted on his drinking tea, there may be some grain of truth in this.

GOLD USED AS POISON.—Raw gold [**生金**] was offered to the last Emperor of the Ts'i dynasty wherewith to poison himself.

THE TERM ULA.—Another question for J. M. In speaking of the ten-yearly joint inspection of the Russo-Chinese frontier, the Chinese Commissioner says that the Russian officer **瑪爾爾** was good enough to offer the use of the Russian *ula* in case the Chinese were found insufficient. As the words **卡倫烏拉** are found together in another part of the paper, it seems that *ula* must mean either 'escort' or 'station.'

The mysterious word *ula* **烏拉** again occurs as the qualifier of certain **官莊壯丁** or (apparently Chinese) yeomen or *coloni* in Kirin and Tsitsihar, whom it is proposed to admit into the Banner organization. There is also an expression **赫哲兵丁**, or '*heche* soldiery,' of **三姓** near the Russo-Manchu frontier, which requires J.M.'s elucidation.

NOTE IN REFERENCE TO MR. PARKER'S ARTICLE ON THE OLD LANGUAGE.—A 'not' was omitted in the printing of my article. It should have read 'The mandarin sounds of to-day are not admissible as evidence.'

I cannot now lay my hand on the manuscript proof I possess of the Si-chwen dialect change of *k* to *kr* at the beginning of words. I hope some traveller in that interesting province will soon publish further evidence on this point.

I shall be warmly grateful to Mr. Parker for any new facts bearing on Chinese philology. I have not yet dropped the subject, and am delighted to have co-workers.

The last four sentences in my article should not have been there. How the mis-

take occurred, I am not quite sure; they had no bearing on the subject in hand.

J. EDKINS.

THE WATER CHESTNUT.—The alimentary value of this aquatic root, called *Pu-chi* (荸薺) in the North, and *Ma-t'ai* (馬蹄) in the South, does not appear to be generally known by Europeans in China. Grated and fried like *croquets*, it forms a very delicate vegetable, while its flour is a good substitute for arrow-root, than which it is said to be more nutritious. The Chinese botanical work, *Pên-t'sao* (本草), describes it as follows. Its taste is sweetish, and it possesses cooling properties; taken as food or medicine, it is a stimulant and produces a soothing effect on the bowels. It promotes appetite and assists digestion, especially when taken after meals. As a febrifuge it is of value; and it dispels dyspepsia and obstructions of the alimentary canal, quenches thirst and has the power of dissolving brass or copper; hence

it is a good remedy in cases of copper cash swallowed accidentally by children.

A specimen of the Canton *ma-t'ai-fan* (馬蹄粉), or water chestnut flour, having been submitted to a celebrated London analytical chemist, his report was as under:—

Report of the analysis of a sample of farinaceous food.

	Per Cent.
Water	11.75
Fat	2.25
Ash	0.15
* Albuminous matter . . .	1.12
Starch	84.73
Cellule	nil
	100.00.

* Containing nitrogen, 0.175.

It is obvious from this analysis, that this article is to be classed with the arrow-root, than which it is more nutritious, owing to the nitrogen it contains.

H. K.

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Travels of the Russian Mission, by George Timkowski. London: 1827. 2 vols. 8vo.

Address, Librarian N. C. B. R. A. S., Shanghai.

Dr. Pfizmaier, 25 Abhandlungen über Japan (aus den Sitz. Ber. der K. K. Acad. der Wiss. Wien), bound in 2 vols., for \$6.

C. P.

TO CONTRIBUTORS.

Contributions to the *China Review* are invited upon the following subjects, in special relation to China and her dependencies :—

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THE CHINA REVIEW.

M. TERRIEN DE LA COUPERIE AS A SINOLOGIST.

It is remarkable, as well as unfortunate, that so judicious a journal as the *Saturday Review* should have been betrayed into an attack upon the careful labours of Dr. Legge, and into more than one unqualified recommendation of the specious wonder-monger who is the subject of this paper. The present writer is not aware whether the new version of the *Yih King* which M. de la Couperie promises us, in both English and Chinese, upon Page 782 of his paper entitled *The Oldest Book of the Chinese* (*Royal Asiatic Society's Journal*, October 1882), has yet appeared. All sorts of translations, compositions, alphabets, &c., are there stated by this versatile gentleman to be in course of preparation by him. Twice he tells us, too, that he 'was the first Sinologist' to do something very striking: in one case, to derive Chinese civilisation from the south of the Caspian Sea; in another, to 'disconnect openly the text [of the *Yih-King*] from the appendices.' M. de la Couperie is undoubtedly a very clever and imaginative man, and possibly his studies in Akkadian and Cuneiform may have been sufficiently genuine, and may have produced sufficiently sound results to justify the reputation and position accorded to him by some persons in London. That he is a Sinologist is completely disproved by the rash and flighty generalisations and mis-

translations in the paper under notice. At all events he is a master of flattery: and that is not to be despised in these dull times. It is very good of M. de la Couperie to pat Professor Douglas on the back, and call him 'so eminent a Sinologist,' the author of a 'charming volume on *China*,' &c. Professor Douglas' attainments are not unknown in China: he is considered to be a steady, respectable mediocrity, who (if left alone with his dictionaries) would do his routine work very passably; but he is not an eminent Sinologist in any sense, and he is a man of no weight in China. There are, strictly speaking, no really eminent non-Chinese Sinologists, except as we may say Marquis Tséng is an eminent English scholar. Julien was probably the best authority on Chinese who ever lived out of China, and (in his special field as a Sinologist) was miles ahead of the audacious Pauthier; but even Julien, self-satisfied man that he was, knew well that he had only broken the thin outer crust of Chinese literature. In England at present there are probably only three men who have recognised pretensions to even quasi-eminence in sinology. Perhaps Mr. Wylie (whom M. de la Couperie fitly calls 'the best of living Sinologists') should come first, but he is so modest that he would certainly protest against the honour. Sir Thomas Wade is strong in official Chinese, in his-

torical Chinese curiosities, and (as men go) in colloquial Pekingese, of which he has left an imperishable monument behind. Dr. Legge, the 'known Sinologist' of our author, is, though perhaps too unimaginative, a giant, nay, *the* giant in the Chinese classics, and in that department every man who respects himself should figuratively uncover in Legge's presence. There are a score or so of men in China, half-a-dozen in Europe, and one or two scattered elsewhere about the world who are tolerably strong, some in this, some in that branch of sinology. Father Zottoli, and Dr. Chalmers, each in his own peculiar line perhaps, uniquely merit the title of eminent. As to the rest, some abatement of mutual admiration is much to be desired. When they can, unassisted, speak fluently, read easily, compose passably, and write neatly, even to the extent that a third-class Chinese literate can—and who will stand forth and say that he can do all this?—it will be quite time enough to hope for eminence after another 20 or 30 years of hard work. Their eminence at present is that of the one-eyed man amongst the blind.

A few years ago the writer tried his hand at the *Yih-king*, and found it mysterious, incomprehensible, and insipid. He resolved to postpone its careful perusal. Its parts are plain enough, but they won't piece together. He has now made another attempt, and feels inclined to deliver himself in Confucian style and say: 'When I reach 60, then I may hope to enjoy the *Yih*.' We may all hope to fathom the mystery in time; but meanwhile it is, or ought to be, incontestable that, before proving the Chinese views wrong, the first thing to do is to ascertain (as Dr. Legge has so conscientiously tried to do) exactly what they are. Dr. Legge is like an old tar of many voyages who gropes his way with the regulation sails and the old fashioned sounding lead, but at last brings his battered old ship and cargo lumberingly but safely into port; still we feel that we are in the hands of a real salt,

and a navigator who knows what he is about. M. de la Couperie in his aerial car of triumph, with Professor Douglas nailed on as a prominent figure-head to make it look like a boat, offers us a passage in a new-fangled machine, manœuvred by occult forces, guided by the stars, in utter defiance of the weather, shoals, rocks, and the other dreads of mundane navigators: as a result we are stranded or adrift, in a fog, totally unable to see our bearings: in our misery and disappointment we feel an intense desire to pitch him overboard like Jonah, saying 'whence comest thou? of what people art thou?'

There is nothing very wrong in his first paragraph, the 'Description of the Book;' on the other hand there is absolutely nothing new, except that M. de la Couperie, as he vaingloriously puts it, 'was the first amongst Sinologists to disconnect openly the text from the appendices.' There is disconnection enough already in all conscience: what we want is a Sinologist who will connect for us, and not muddle us more.

As to the second paragraph, on the Authorship of the Book, there is nothing new here either, except that strikingly new interpretations are put upon very old and simple sentences, and simple Chinese characters are printed in strikingly new and erroneous forms. Because 重 (even tone) means 'to multiply' in one place, our author assumes that 重² (departing tone) has not its ordinary meaning of 'give (or have given) weight to' in another. So 自, 'certainly,' is confused with 自, 'self;' the particle 蓋 is confused with the verb 蓋, and so on. What confidence can we possibly have in M. de la Couperie's threatened new version, when it is manifest that he cannot understand the description of the old one? Take a few instances:—

Page 790 (c). 庖犧氏作而八卦列其畫. This (if correctly quoted) is incorrectly translated: 'Pao-hi made the eight Kwa, and arranged their lines.' The correct construction of the words given is:

'P'ao-hi flourished, and eight Kwa were delineated in order.' The word 興 in the next sentence 軒轅氏興 has precisely the same meaning as, and in prose corresponds with, the character 作. As additional proof of this meaning of 作, we have further on, in the same chapter from which M. de la Couperie quotes: 包犧氏沒神農氏作斲木爲耜: 'When P'ao-hi [i.e. Fuh-hi] was no more, Shên-nung arose, [i.e. reigned or flourished], and [taught the people how to] hew wood into spades [or some such implements]. Finally, the modern newspaper expressions 風大作, and 雨大作 prove conclusively that the style not only was but is perfectly good to this day.

Page 790 (d). Here, again, we have two corresponding sentences wrongly translated. The translation is: 'P'ao-hi delineated the Kwa in order to establish [instruction by means of] symbols. Hien-yuen [generations later] formed characters in order to establish education [in a manner not symbolical, but practical].' M. de la Couperie translates as follows: 'Pao-hi drew the Kwa in order to establish their symbolism. Hien-yuen began the characters in order to set up their instructions.' The original is, or should be, 庖犧氏畫卦以立象軒轅氏造字以設教.

Page 790 (e). This sentence is improperly mutilated. The original runs: 'After P'ao-hi had [like the traditional Adam in the garden] studied nature above and below him, it was then first that he proceeded to make the eight Kwa: 於是始作八卦;—the word 作 here taking its more usual meaning of 'make.' In page 789 M. de la Couperie finds an almost precisely similar statement 'unscholarly.' It runs 伏羲始畫八卦, or: 'Fuh-Hi then first delineated the eight Kwa,' and not: 'Fuh-Hi begins to delineate the eight Kwa.' The expression 始此, or 'here for the first time [is mentioned &c., &c.],' with other analogous expressions, is to be found on nearly every page of Chinese His-

tory. It is to be noticed, too, that M. de la Couperie uses 畫 instead of 畫, and omits the character 氏 in passage (d).

Page 790 (f). It is not plainly stated whence the information about Shên-Nung is derived: 'that he blended the Yih, and returned each to its place: 交易而退各得其所. In any case, this is both a misappropriation of the subject and a gross mistranslation of the meaning; for the words, (taken in fact from the *Hi-tsz*, and there almost immediately following paragraph *e* mentioned above) mean: 'they bartered [their produce with each other] and withdrew, each one [thus] finding his [appropriate] walk [or sphere of industry in life].' The sentence directly follows the words: 'had markets, and attracted the people of the Empire, who assembled their produce, [when] &c., &c.' The sentence 與百工交易 also occurs in Mencius. Whatever Shên-Nung may elsewhere be shewn to have done, it is down-right effrontery to foist this extract referring to trade upon the entirely separate question of the Kwa. The expression 失所 or 'lose his livelihood' is in daily use at the present time. The extract (i) from 羅泌 [erroneously written 泌], the Lo Mi of Mayers' Manual [Lo Pi of M. de la Couperie] is, he says, to 'be entirely trusted, as it is not only the joint work of Professor Douglas and myself, but has also been revised by an eminent native Chinese scholar.' The three cooks between them have, notwithstanding, made a complete mess. The sentence 伏羲之時八卦自重亦自詳於施用特未見之文, is thus translated by M. de la Couperie. 'In this time Fuh-hi himself multiplied the eight Kwa, and himself discoursed upon them and distributed (*sic*) for use; but this text has no place in literature.' To begin with, M. de la Couperie has printed two errors in his text; namely 入 for 八, and 末 for 未. Secondly, the translation of the passage (if correctly quoted) should run: 'In Fu-hi's time the eight Kwa were

undoubtedly thought much of, and their utility was undoubtedly [clearly understood or] carefully studied, but they had not yet then been incorporated in [or reproduced in] written character. So, further down, 而後文辭始詳 cannot mean: 'and afterwards the arguments began to be discoursed upon,' but, (if correctly quoted) something like: 'and only after this (or first after this) was the accompanying written] text [tolerably] clear.' The character 反 in 反易上下 looks like a mistake—probably for 及; but one cannot be sure, one cannot find the passage without references. 拘四 is a mistake for 拘囚, and even if there are no other printer's errors, the whole passage is erroneously conceived as a translation.

The extract (l) on page 793 is even worse: 蓋益易之八卦 does not mean: 'extended the profitable changes proper to the eight Kwa,' but: 'did increase the eight Kwa of the Yih.' The character 蓋 does not mean 'extended,' but is a particle, like the Latin *quidem*: e.g. 答曰 某蓋賢者也 *Responderunt, illum quidem virum dignissimum esse*. The character 益 does not mean 'profitable,' but 'extended,' or 'increased.' The character 之 places 易 in the genitive, and does certainly not (if ever it can possibly) here mean 於.

On Page 793 M. de la Couperie says: 'We know by other traditions, &c.'; but he will not allow others to know anything by tradition, for on Page 797 he says 'it is difficult to know what may be the traditions' to which foreigners appeal.

In another paper upon the subject of the ancient language of China I have stated my opinion that paragraph 3 of the paper under notice, upon the 'Influence of the Evolution of Writing,' is a tissue of mischievous rubbish from beginning to end. I here repeat it, and say that it is altogether beneath criticism, as any Sinologist, eminent, mediocre, or obscure, will see at a glance. Fancy the height of a man's eminence who invites us

to see in the ancient 越茲蠢 (taken, we are told, from the *Shu-king*) the modern 'colloquial 尤甚茲動戈' which is said to mean moreover, 'Is this rising in arms?' In the first place, it is *not* colloquial; nor dog-Chinese; nor even possible Chinese. In the next place, the three characters 粵茲蠢 [or 越] (which M. de la Couperie has found here in a reversed form) not only *can* be understood, but are, when reversed, themselves almost bordering on colloquial: e.g. K'ang-hi's 蠢茲蠻荆, 'these restless barbarians of Hu-Kwang,' and, more to the point still, are illustrated in the following passage taken from a recent copy of the *Shên Pao* newspaper 蠢茲法夷: 'What are these restless Frenchmen about?' As to the character 粵, used as an initial particle, a recent copy of the *Shên Pao* contains the characters | 於壬六 in a letter from the King of Corea to the Viceroy Li, the meaning of 粵 or 越 being that of 及 in the sense of 'and then,' as in the extract above quoted from the 大浩.

The second part of M. de la Couperie's paper, treating of the various interpretations which previous writers have placed upon the *Yih-king*, is not to be found in Shanghai; but, whatever may be its merit in the way of originality and suggestiveness, it is too probably both untrustworthy and unsound, as it is based upon an unusually imperfect knowledge of Chinese. The notice vouchsafed in the *Saturday Review* possibly contains the whole of the ideas which M. de la Couperie has had the patience to follow up and illustrate. The vocabulary theory is undoubtedly ingenious and meritorious (as a bare idea); and, as illustrated by the character 師, is worthy of attention; but M. de la Couperie would do much better service to comparative sinology if he would devote his talents to running to earth some definite fox, instead of setting up a halloo and tiring the park with runs after imaginary

finds, only perceptible to his preternatural scent. This giddy trifling might well be left unnoticed, were it not that the conscientious labours of Dr. Legge have been sneered at by the *Saturday Review* in a tone and from a point of view totally unfair and unjustifiable. Dr. Legge's work, like good Nankin, will stand a world of criticism, and will wash and wring and

turn for many a long year, without losing much of its native warmth and goodness. Flashy flimsy writing, such as that which M. de la Couperie flaunts in the good Doctor's face, may be compared to the chill cottons of the period, all show and sizing, which turn into a pulp in the water, and into tawdry gauze before the light.

E. H. PARKER.

WEI YEN AND FAN TSÜ.

TWO RIVAL STATESMEN OF TS'IN DURING THE PERIOD OF THE 'WARRING STATES.'

1. THE HISTORY OF WEI YEN.

Wei Yen, 魏冉, was a native of Ts'u, 楚, and nearly related to the ruling House of that State. During the reign of the Kings Hwei-wên, 惠文, (B.C. 337-311), and that of Wu, 武, (B.C. 310-307), he had already served the State of Ts'in and is credited with having done so 'in a most virtuous fashion,' 最賢. As for the circumstances which had led him to take service in a State, which was so determined an antagonist to his native country, we are left to surmise them by inference from the fact that he was a younger half-brother of one of the wives of King Hwei-wên.

In spite of this relationship with one of the sovereign's consorts, he does not seem for some time to have played any prominent part in the public affairs. Chang I, 張儀, was, at that time, as Chancellor of Ts'in, directing the affairs of that State, and as he was a man of great capacities and preponderating influence, it could not be expected that any one else would come into prominence beside him.

It was not until the latter had disappeared from the theatre of public life (about

B.C. 310) that, on the occasion of the premature death of King Wu, Wei Yen had an opportunity to make his influence felt in the march of affairs. On this unexpected event taking place, there arose among the brothers of the deceased Sovereign a fierce struggle for the succession, which ended in Wei Yen's succeeding to place on the vacant throne Tsih, 稷, a son of his half-sister, known in history as King Chao-siang, 昭襄王, who enjoyed the unusually long reign of fifty-six years (B.C. 306-251).

As the new King was then a minor, his mother, who henceforth was called the Queen Dowager Siuen, 宣太后, assumed the regency and nominated Wei Yen Commander-in-Chief of the Ts'in army, with the special duty of protecting the capital of Hien-yang, 咸陽. This last measure points to strong fears, which were then entertained, of troubles being stirred up by the disaffected brothers of the young King. The following year, B.C. 305, a revolution broke out indeed, which, though quickly put down by Wei Yen, still necessitated the execution of the late King Hwei-wên's first consort and those among

his sons who seemed most dangerous for the public peace, while the wife of the late King Wu was expelled from the State.

As for Wei Yen, he had by his conduct in this critical time, won sufficient influence to be henceforth wholly entrusted with the cares of the government, which functions he discharged so efficiently that he actually managed 'to raise the State of Ts'in to a highly flourishing condition,' 威振秦國.

During the following years, Ts'in continued its aggressive policy towards its brother-States, and did so, as heretofore, by resorting alternatively to cunning and treachery or to the force of arms, just as circumstances made it appear most expedient. It was especially the State of Ts'u which continued to be made a victim of the faithlessness of Ts'in. King Hwai 懷 was still occupying the throne of the Southern State. The same Sovereign had formerly been shamefully cheated by Chang I, the then Chancellor of Ts'in. He was to be treated in a similar manner now while the most virtuous Wei Yen conducted the affairs of that State.

Ts'in had concluded an alliance with Ts'u, B.C. 304. The following year, the latter State was attacked by those of Ts'i, Hân and Wei, when Ts'u, in its distress, sent the heir-apparent to its throne, named Hêng, 橫, as hostage to Ts'in, with a request that Ts'in should come to its rescue. This the latter State hastened to do, when the enemy withdrew, B.C. 303. But, quite in conformity with the usual double dealing of the western State, we find it, so soon as the following year, having again a friendly meeting with its foes of yesterday and restoring a captured city to Wei, while an unexpected event suddenly troubled again the seemingly good relations between Ts'in and Ts'u. Hêng, the heir-apparent of Ts'u, who was living as hostage in Ts'in, had, in a private quarrel, killed an officer of the latter State and then fled back to Ts'u (B.C. 302). This caused the war to

break out again between the two powerful neighbours. Each of the three consecutive years was marked by attacks of Ts'in upon the southern State, which had the worst of it in every encounter. It sought consequently for an alliance with Ts'i, to which State the run-away hostage was now sent in that same capacity.

This caused the King of Ts'in, who had just captured further eight cities of Ts'u, to write a letter to his opponent, of the following import. 'I had formerly entered into an alliance with you, when we promised henceforth to treat each other as brothers and you sent your son, the heir-apparent, to be an hostage at my court, as a pledge for your peaceable disposition. But nevertheless your son murdered a valuable officer of mine and ran away without giving the least satisfaction. Of course I could not help being much incensed at such conduct and avenged myself by making inroads into your borders. Now I hear that you have sent your son Hêng as hostage to Ts'i, in order to conclude peace with that State. But Ts'in and Ts'u are neighbours and related by marriage; if nevertheless we are not peaceably disposed towards each other, how could we yet get the other States to submit to us? I would therefore much wish for a meeting with you at the Wu-kwan Pass, 武關, in order to conclude an alliance there.'

On the receipt of this missive, King Hwai took counsel with his ministers. Though he was strongly advised by some not to go, as Ts'in's faithlessness was notorious, he finally resolved to accept the proffered invitation, but with the result which could easily be foreseen. On reaching the appointed place, he was made a captive and led to Hien-yang, where the countries of Wu 吳 and K'ien-chung 黔中 (both situated south of Ts'in and west of Ts'u) were demanded of him as a condition for his liberation. This King Hwai refused to concede, whereupon he was kept prisoner until his death, which happened B. C. 296.

The year succeeding the treacherous conduct of Ts'in towards Ts'u, we find the former State at work again, gradually swallowing up its southern neighbour. A renewed attack on Ts'u resulted in the capture of 76 of its cities. But while Ts'in was gaining this success in the South, it suddenly became itself the object of a fierce attack from the East.

One T'ien Wên, 田文, more commonly known under the title of Mêng-ch'ang Kün 孟嘗君 (v. Mayers M., No 401), a most capable statesman and a native of Ts'i, had been engaged by King Chao-siang as Chancellor of Ts'in (B. C. 299). He had scarcely entered upon these functions, when his master became suspicious of him. 'T'ien Wên, though being Chancellor of Ts'in,' thus it was whispered in the King's ears, 'will certainly let Ts'i come first and Ts'in be last, when Ts'in cannot fail to be seriously endangered.'

This proved sufficient for the King to put T'ien Wên in prison with the intent to have him executed. Now T'ien Wên had formerly presented the King with a costly fur-coat, which one of the King's concubines had much desired to possess for herself. One of T'ien Wên's attendants, who was a most clever thief, then went to steal the coveted garment from the King's wardrobe and offered it to the woman. She thereupon prevailed on the King to let T'ien Wên depart again. The latter had scarcely reached the pass, when a courier arrived to bring him back again. According to the rules, the barrier was not to be opened before the cock-crowing. Happily there was a man among T'ien Wên's attendants, who was very clever in imitating the crowing of the cock, and managed thereby to get the gate opened in time for his master to escape.

On his return to Ts'i, T'ien Wên thought of revenging himself on Ts'in and succeeded in getting Hân and Wei to join him in a joint expedition against the western foe. The allied troops forced the Sean-kuh pass, when the King of Ts'in bought peace by re-

turning three cities, which he had formerly captured East of the Ho (B. C. 298).

This check caused Ts'in to desist for some years from its aggressive policy. It was during that lull, that Wei Yen was called to become Chancellor of Ts'in. The manner in which he came to be entrusted with these functions, is very characteristic of the crooked ways in which the most important matters were managed in those days.

A very capable diplomatist, a native of Chao, named Leu Hwan, 樓緩, had offered his services as Chancellor of Ts'in, and being a man of great renown, was about being accepted, when the King of Chao, fearing lest the appointment of that man by a rival State, might prove detrimental to the interests of his own State, sent a clever negotiator to Ts'in to extol the eminent qualifications for this office possessed by Wei Yen and his superiority over Leu Hwan. This the negotiator did with so much care, that the King of Ts'in did not perceive the stratagem and thus the latter was induced to dismiss Leu Hwan and to invest Wei Yen with the functions of Chancellor of Ts'in (B. C. 294.)

The first use Wei Yen made of the powers entrusted to him by this appointment, was to secure for the clever strategist Peh K'i, 白起 (v. Mayers M., No 544), the post of Commander-in-Chief of the forces of Ts'in. This meant as much as an energetic resumption of the aggressive policy of Ts'in towards its brother-States. Neither had he to wait long for an opportunity, to come to blows again. It was gratuitously offered by his next eastern neighbours, viz. the States of Wei and Hân, which, probably mindful of their victory gained some years before, now returned to the charge. But they fared very ill, being completely routed by Peh K'i in the battle of I-k'ueh, 伊闕,* where 240,000 of the allies are alleged to have been slain and their commander made prisoner (B. C. 293).

* In the present Ho-nan.

Two years later Wei Yen was ennobled as Marquis of Yang, 穰侯, receiving as appanage the two cities of Yang (in pres. Nan-yang fu, Honan) and T'ao 陶 (pres. T'ing-t'ao in Ts'ao chow fu, Shantung). (B. C. 291).

The following year we find Wei Yen himself leading an army in an attack on Wei and Han, when he proved himself to be as capable a strategist as he was a clever politician. The campaign ended with the annexation of four hundred *li* of territory which were torn N. of the Ho from Wei and of two hundred *li* S. of the same from Hân (B. C. 290.) To these acquisitions Pêh K'i added, the next year, as the result of a further campaign, 61 more cities of Wei (B. C. 289.)

It was probably that extension of his dominion, that made King Chao-siang consider that the time had come to disclose his ultimate designs by assuming the imperial dignity. Still, as he was yet far from exercising control over the whole Empire, he confined himself to taking the title of 'Western Emperor,' 西帝, and at the same time sent an embassy to the King of Ts'i, to offer him the diploma of 'Eastern Emperor,' 東帝. But the latter was dissuaded by his counsellor Sü T'ai, 蘇代, from assuming that dignity. 'I wish Your Majesty, said he, to accept the diploma without assuming the title. You will not fail thereby to win the hearts of the Princes. Through such humble behaviour you will in reality attain to honours.' The King of Ts'i acted on this advice: he accepted the diploma from the hands of the envoy, but so soon as two days later he renounced again the title, while the King of Ts'in, on hearing it, had no choice left but to do the same (B. C. 288).

During the twelve following years, a series of further successes were gained against the western States. Not only the next neighbours of Ts'in, viz. Wei and Hân, but also the more remote States of Chao and Ts'i, became now more and more

the object of its aggression. But by far the most important conquests were those gained from the southern State of Ts'u. Within three years (B. C. 280—278) its capital of Ying 郢 (10 *li* of the present city of King chow fu, Hupeh) was taken, and that part of it, which constitutes the present province of Hupeh and part of Hunan, conquered by the armies of Pêh K'i, the capital of Ts'u being removed to Ch'ên 陳 (pres. Ch'en chow fu, Honan). As for Ts'in, it began at once to initiate the administrative plan which it ultimately so successfully carried out, by constituting the territory conquered from Ts'u into the two provinces of Nan-Kiün, 南郡, and K'ien-chung Kiün, 黔中郡.*

For these services Pêh K'i was created Prince of Wei-ngan, 武安君.

Another State became soon afterwards likewise reduced to great straits. It was that of Wei 魏. The territory within the elbow of the Ho came into possession of Ts'in so that Wei was now reduced to its capital of T'ai-liang 大梁 (now K'ai-fung fu, Honan) with its surroundings. It was in the year B. C. 275, that Wei Yen in person undertook again a campaign against that State. Having first defeated an army of Wei and then one of Hân, which had come to its relief, he pushed so far forward as T'ai-liang, which he at once laid siege to.

A blow was then being dealt at Wei, which would certainly have made an end of it, when it became suddenly averted in a most unexpected manner. Wei Yen received a visit from an officer of that State, named Sü Ku, 須賈, who succeeded in saving his country from its impending ruin by convincing the Chancellor of Ts'in, in a clever harangue, how moderation in victory

* The former included the present Hu-peh the second the N. W. part of Hunan. As the former was called Nan-Kiün, that is the 'Southern province' we may perhaps conclude that at that time, Ts'in had not yet thought of pushing its conquests farther south than this province was situated.

would lead him more surely to his end, than by driving his opponents to despair.

It sounds incredible, but is nevertheless a fact, that Wei Yen was induced by this astute diplomatist, to withdraw his army, B. C. 275. We may surmise different political reasons, which may have decided Wei Yen to take that course, but it is also possible that a consideration of a private nature, may have helped to convince the mighty Chancellor, viz. the thought of his appanage of T'ao, which was situated E. of Tai-liang and would of course have been endangered through a protracted struggle with Wei.

For the 'most virtuous' Wei Yen seems, in the later years of his life, to have given room in his heart to a great amount of mean selfishness, which caused him to think as much or more of his own interests as of those of his Master. He had amassed riches, which had made him a wealthier man than his Sovereign was, and from fear of being eventually superseded by some one more clever than himself, he had years ago given stringent orders not to let any stranger enter the State of Ts'in.

Wei Yen was the more liable to be tempted to prosecute his private designs, as he had gradually obtained, together with his sister, the Queen dowager, complete control over the affairs of the State, while King Chao-siang was engaged in a *dolce far niente*.

As early as the following year, Wei again turned away from Ts'in and concluded with Ts'i an alliance against the western Power. This compelled Wei Yen to undertake a new campaign, which, as usual, ended in the defeat of the eastern State, while Wei Yen was rewarded for this new success with an addition to his own territory (B.C. 274).

The next year Ts'in returned to the charge engaging Wei, Hàn and Chao at the same time. All three were defeated, and each of them suffered the loss of some territory. In order to create a diversion, Wei Yen then returned to Chao the territory conquered from it and offered to it a contingent of

troops, under the condition that it should join Ts'in in an intended attack on Ts'i. On receiving this intelligence, the King of the latter State became greatly frightened and caused his counsellor, Sü T'ai, secretly to address the following remarkable letter to Wei Yen:—

'I have heard people say that Ts'in intends to help Chao with a contingent of 40,000 men, for the purpose of making an attack on Ts'i and I have no reason to doubt the correctness of this news. Now my Sovereign says, "The King of Ts'in is an enlightened man and skilled in concocting schemes, while the Marquis of Tang is a wise counsellor and familiar with business; they will certainly not reinforce Chao with 40,000 men to attack Ts'i." And why so? That which unites the three States of Tsin 秦 (viz., Chao, Wei and Hàn) is their deep enmity for Ts'in. If after having a hundred times turned away from you, deceived you, made themselves guilty of all sorts of faithlessness and misdeeds, you nevertheless now proceed to conquer Ts'i for the benefit of Chao, yet, as Chao will then still continue to be your staunch foe, Ts'in will certainly derive no benefit from giving it such help. This is the first point to be considered.

'Those who counsel Ts'in will certainly say, "the conquest of Ts'i must necessarily weaken Tsin (v. above) and Ts'u, when we will avail ourselves of their weakness to conquer them too." But Ts'i is already an exhausted State. To lead the hosts of the Empire in an attack on it, is like using a catapult, capable of throwing a thousand stones weight, to open a boil; death must in such a case be the necessary result. How could then Tsin and Ts'u become weakened thereby? This is the second point to be considered.'

'Should Ts'in enter the campaign with only a small army, then Tsin and Ts'u will not believe in its earnestness. Should it, on the contrary, put a large force into the field, then Tsin and Ts'u will take measures

to oppose it and Ts'i will become frightened and not take refuge with Ts'in, but with Ts'in and Ts'u. This is the third point to be considered.'

'Should Ts'in offer some territory of Ts'in, therewith to entice Ts'in and Ts'u, these two States will of course not fail to occupy the same with their armies, but Ts'in will thereby only have reinforced its enemies. This is the fourth point to be considered.'

'No matter whether Ts'in and Ts'u will then, with the help of Ts'in, plot against Ts'i or with the help of Ts'i plot against Ts'in, in any case Ts'in and Ts'u will prove the wiser States and Ts'in and Ts'i the foolish ones. This is the fifth point to be considered.'

'If therefore you wish to take advantage of the possession of Ngan-Yih, 安邑,* (still existing as a district city, P'ò chow fu, Shansi), you need not fear anybody. With the possession of that city, Ts'in may at any time cut off Shang-tang, 上黨, (a possession of Hân north of the Ho), from Hân. Now to get hold of the intestines of the empire or to enter a campaign with the prospect not to return from the same, which of these two chances do you consider of greater advantage?'*

'It is for these reasons that my Sovereign says, "The king of Ts'in is an enlightened man and skilled in concocting schemes while the Marquis of Tang is a wise counsellor and familiar with business; they will certainly not reinforce Chao with 40,000 men to attack Ts'i."

The great influence exercised in these days by clever diplomatists and their consequent value for the Ruler in whose service they stood, can hardly be exemplified better than by this case. What the whole army of Ts'i, led by the best of its strategists, would hardly have succeeded in, one crafty negotiator succeeded in attaining. Wei Yen became so strongly convinced of the foolishness of the undertaking he was just

embarking in, that he at once withdrew his forces and returned to Ts'in (B. C. 273).

The following year Ts'in was likewise dissuaded by a Minister of Ts'u, from invading the latter State. Pêh K'i had been ordered to attack it with contingents of Wei and Hân, while both these States were, since their defeat of last year, obliged to follow in the wake of the victor. Now it happened that a Minister of Ts'u, named Hwang Hieh, 黃歇, Prince of Ch'un-shin, 春申君, was just at that time staying in Ts'in. On hearing of the projected expedition against his native State, he feared that, weakened as it was by the former wars, it would not be able to resist a new attack, and therefore he resorted likewise to the power of arguments and the cleverness of his pen, to avert the impending danger. He wrote to the King Chao-siang the following letter.*

'The States of Ts'in and Ts'u are the most powerful of the Empire. Now I hear that Your Majesty intends to attack Ts'u. That will be like two tigers fighting each other. When two tigers are fighting, then old horses and dogs are deriving profit from it. It will therefore be best on good terms with Ts'u. May I be allowed to give my reasons for saying so. It is known that every thing, after it has reached its utmost point, retrogrades again, just as the seasons do, and that when one's aim is accomplished, there is the danger of the whole fabric crumbling down again like a card-house. Now your State extends from West to East over the whole Empire, an extension which has never yet been attained by any other State. Besides you have now command over Hân and Wei, you have broken through the fastnesses which separated Ts'in from Ts'i, you have cut off the backbone of Ts'u and Chao. Though the States entered into confederacies five or six times, still they dared not really

* According to the shorter account in the Annals, with only a few additions from the Sze-Ki, 春申君傳.

* Had been ceded by Wei to Ts'in B.C. 286.

to come to the rescue of each other. This is solely due to the awe Your Majesty inspired them with.'

'Should Your Majesty now be able to maintain your achievements and continue to command respect, to give up your aggressive propensities, to foster benevolence and justice, so as to avoid further troubles, then the three Kings (Yü, T'ang and Wên) would be surpassed by the fourth, the five Leaders (五伯 v. *Mayers M. II. No. 152*) would be excelled by the sixth.'

'But should your Majesty, without regard for the multitude of people, rely on the strength of your armies to reduce to submission the princes of the Empire, then, I am seriously afraid, there will be trouble in store for you. In the Yih King it is said, 'When the fox crosses a stream, his tail must necessarily get wet!' This denotes that it is easy to begin something but difficult to bring it to a conclusion.'

'Moreover the State of Ts'u is the natural auxiliary of Ts'in, while its neighbours are its real enemies. Formerly you regretted not to have destroyed Ts'u, but you forget that by doing so you would only have strengthened Wei and Hân. I am rather sorry for your Majesty's sake that you have not taken possession of these two States.'

'For ten generations, the fathers and sons and brothers of Hân and Wei consecutively died at the hands of Ts'in, but Hân and Wei have nevertheless not ceased existing. This constitutes a real sorrow for Ts'in. Now your Majesty trusts to their professions of submission and intends to assist them in an attack on Ts'u, this is just like Wu 吳 assisting Yüeh 越.'

'I strongly advise your Majesty rather to be on good terms with Ts'u. If Ts'in and Ts'u are united, then Hân and Wei cannot fail to become vassals of Ts'in, while that tract of Ts'i, situated north of the Tai River, must easily become your prey too, when your Majesty's possessions will reach from one sea to the other,* and your authority

* A commentator says: 'From the western

spread over the whole Empire. For Yen and Chao, on the one side, will then be cut from Ts'i and Ts'u, on the other side. You need only shake Yen and Chao, and joggle Ts'i and Ts'u, when all four States, without waiting for the feeling of pain, will submit to your rule at once.'

King Chao-siang once more listened to arguments, though the very thought of the side they were urged from ought in itself to have been sufficient to render him more than circumspect in accepting them. For, whose interests could Hwang Hieh be expected to further, except those of his native country which he was serving as Minister? And could those interests be otherwise than diametrically opposed to those of Ts'in? The only way to explain the readiness of the western King to yield to the representations of the foreign diplomatist, is that he admitted that the latter was really speaking in the interests of Ts'in, and betraying those of his own State, an admission which, considering the low state of morality then prevailing over the whole Empire, was, sure enough, not quite impossible.

However that may be, king Chao-siang, after reading Hwang Hieh's epistle, at once recalled Pâh K'i, sent counter-orders to Hân and Wei and agreed with the Ts'u Minister upon the conditions of an alliance to be concluded with the southern State. Hwang Hieh returned, with the draft of the treaty in his pocket, to Ts'u, where its stipulations were of course most gladly ratified. One of them was that the heir presumptive to the throne of Ts'u, named Hwan, 完, should stay as hostage in Ts'in, whither Hwang Hieh forthwith accompanied him (B.C. 272).

Two years later we find Ts'in at work again, but this time to embark on a much more hazardous enterprise and without an officious adviser coming forth to warn against it. It attacked, single-handed, the

Sea to the eastern sea.' Could the lakes of Koko-nor possibly be meant by the 'western Sea?'

State of Chao which was quite as strong an enemy as Ts'u, and which it had previously shrunk from attacking in concert with two other States.

The campaign was opened by the army of Ts'in laying siege to Ngoh-yü, 關與,* but owing to the clever manoeuvring of the commander of Chao, called Chao Sheh, 趙奢 (v. Mayers M. No. 49), the army of Ts'in was completely routed (B.C. 270).

At the same time an attack was made on Kiang Show, 剛壽,† a city of Ts'i. No further particulars seem to be known about this second venture, except that it was undertaken on the suggestion of Wei Yen, who intended thereby to aggrandize his own dominion of T'ao.

It is characteristic for Wei Yen's turn of mind, that this is the last conquest chronicled as having occurred before his rival's name appears in the 'Annals.' As has already been stated above, the purpose to aggrandize his own territory seems at that time to have wholly taken possession of his mind and this caused him repeatedly to make visits in the East.

Once when he was just leaving Ts'in by the eastern Pass to proceed to T'ao, he met a carriage in which was concealed a man, who was soon to relieve him from the cares of his office. This man was Fan Tsü, 范雎 (v. M. M. 129 ‡), to whom we must now turn our attention.

2. THE ORIGIN OF FAN TSÜ.

Fan Tsü was a native of Wei, owned the appellation of Shuh, 叔, and belonged to that class of diplomatic knight-errants, called the 游說之士, who were at that time wandering through the States,

* Dr. Williams says, in his Syllabic Dictionary, that Ngoh-yü is the old name of Ho-shun hien in the west of Shansi.

† A city no longer existing, in Yen chow fu, Shantung.

‡ The cognomen of that man is 雎, Tsü, and not 隹, Sui, as Mr. Mayers puts it (v. the 佩文韻府).

offering their services as diplomatists to their Rulers.

It was not always easy to make one's worth readily known to the Sovereigns of the different principalities. It required no small means to get access to their persons. Not only was it necessary to present oneself in a costly court-dress and seated in a becoming court-carriage, but the way had also to be paved with expensive presents to be offered to the nearest attendants of the sovereign. Now Fan Tsü was poor and therefore sadly in want of all these requisites. He had therefore no choice left, but to begin with the more modest position of an attendant to an officer of Wei, called Sü Ku, whom we have already met with in the last chapter.

Once it happened that Fan Tsü accompanied his master on a mission to Ts'i, where they had to stay for a number of months. During that time King Siang of Ts'i, 齊襄王, had an opportunity of hearing Fan Tsü arguing opinions, and wished to show him his appreciation of his clever argumentation by presenting him with ten pounds of gold and some cattle and wine. Fan Tsü refused the gift, but Sü Ku, on hearing of the occurrence, rashly concluded that his attendant must have communicated some secret matter of Wei to the sovereign of Ts'i, and on his return, he communicated his suspicion to Wei Ts'i, 魏齊, the Chancellor of Wei. Without troubling himself with the least inquiry, the latter at once flew into a rage and ordered Fan Tsü to be so cruelly beaten that his ribs were broken and his teeth loosened. He escaped with his life only by feigning to be dead, when he was put into a basket and thrown on the dunghill, where the people came unceremoniously to ease themselves over him. It was not until night had set in, that a watchman, moved by pity for the poor fellow, rescued him from his desperate position and brought him into the house of a friend of Fan Tsü, called Chêng Ngan-p'ing, 鄭安平, where he concealed him-

self for a time, under the name of Chang Luh 張祿.

About that time, one Wang Hi, 王稽, came on a mission from Ts'in to Wei where he had occasion to make the acquaintance of Fan Tsü. On perceiving his capacities, he invited him to come with him to Ts'in. This Fan Tsü gladly accepted, when Wang Hi, on the completion of his business, concealed him in his carriage and proceeded towards the West.

On approaching the barrier of Ts'in, Fan Tsü saw a cortège issuing from the same and asked Wang Hi who it was. 'It is the marquis of Tang, the Chancellor of Ts'in, repairing to his possessions in the East,' answered Wang Hi. 'I have been told, replied Fan Tsü, that he is omnipotent in Ts'in and hates visitors from the other States. It will therefore be best for me to conceal myself in the carriage, to avoid being insulted by him.'

In a short time, both parties met each other, when Wei Yen greeted Wang Hi and standing erect in his car, asked for news from the East and whether he had any of those mischievous visitors with him, who know only to sow discord in the States. 'How could I dare to do so!' replied Wang Hi, and continued his route. He had not yet proceeded far, when Fan Tsü said, 'The Marquis of Tang is an astute fellow. He will soon regret not to have looked for himself, whether there be no visitor concealed in the carriage!' With these words he alighted from the vehicle and walked a distance on foot, when, after he had proceeded ten *li* and more, Wei Yen indeed sent back some horsemen to search the carriage.

3. FAN TSÜ IN QUEST OF AN OFFICE.*

Fan Tsü entered the State of Ts'in under the pseudonym of Chang Luh and Wang Hi recommended him under that name to the King of Ts'in. But the latter had been

* According to the shorter account from the Annals, with a few additions from the Sze-ki.

caused by Wei Yen to share his antipathy against the diplomatic visitors from the other States and evinced therefore no desire to receive the stranger. After having waited for over a year, Fan Tsü began therefore to lose patience and resolved to resort to other means to attract the Sovereign's attention. He wrote a letter to the King, in which he cleverly aroused the King's suspicion against his immediate *entourage*. The King now wanted to hear more about that matter and appointed his summer-palace for meeting him. Now there was an alley in the said palace exclusively reserved for the use of the King. Fan Tsü, feigning ignorance of this circumstance, straightway made for the forbidden passage, when an eunuch bounced on him and drove him back, shouting: 'The King comes!' 'The King?!' exclaimed Fan Tsü in a loud tone, 'where has Ts'in got a king from?! I only know of a Queen Dowager and a Marquis of Tang!' As he had calculated, the king overheard these words and at once bidding his attendants to leave them alone, he knelt before Fan Tsü, saying: 'with what instructions may you, Sir, favour us?', but the stranger muttered only an intelligible: 'Aye, aye!' It was not until the king had thrice repeated his request in the same unworthy posture, that Fan Tsü said, 'How could I dare to impart any instruction to Your Majesty, being myself but a wayfaring servant only remotely connected with you? Nevertheless, what I wish to set forth is all intended to assist you: yea, relates to your most intimate affairs. I wished to exert my ignorance loyally on your behalf, but did not know your disposition towards me. It is for that reason, that I let Your Majesty ask me three times, before I dared give an answer. I am quite aware that, while being to-day called upon to speak in your presence, I may to-morrow be executed behind your back. Still, if I succeed to procure but a little advantage for Ts'in, I shall be ready to die. The only fear I have, is that after my death, the people, seeing that, in spite of my

faithfulness, I had been treated in such a fashion, would then all shut their mouths and tie up their feet again, nobody daring again frankly to tell you the truth.

'Now above you there is the Queen Dowager, by whose sternness you are overawed; beneath you there are the flatteries of a wicked minister which delude you. You are living in the innermost part of your palace, you dare not go out of your guardian's hands, your life long you are being led astray, without being able to bring this wickedness to light. The more important result of this state of things will be the ruin of your House, and the lesser one will be that your person will become endangered. This is what I fear will happen. As for myself coming to shame or taking a bad end, this is of no moment for me. Should I even be put to death, yet if but Ts'in be well governed, I shall still consider death to be preferable to life.'

Here King Chao-siang interrupted the clever haranguer, by again kneeling before him and saying, 'what do you mean, Sir? Heaven is using you for the object of preserving our House; but what use is it to speak so vaguely? Above, I hear you mention the Queen Dowager, below, I hear you mention the minister of State, but now we wish you fully to apprise us of all the circumstances without the least distrust.'

But in the meantime Fan Tsü had become aware that a number of the King's attendants were secretly listening to their conversation and dared not therefore refer to the evils within the State, but confined himself to dilating upon its foreign policy. Seeing the king's eagerness to hear more, he continued as follows: 'The Marquis of Tang wants to overleap Han and Wei, in order to attack Ts'i; this is no sound scheme. It is much better to conclude alliances with those who are far away and to attack those who are near. If then you conquer one inch of territory, it will be yours; if you succeed in conquering one foot, it will be yours too. Now Han and Wei are situated in the very

midst of the States, in fact they are forming the pivot of the Empire. If Your Majesty wants to obtain the leadership, you must begin by attaching them to you, so that you yourself may constitute that pivot. Ts'u and Chao will then certainly become overawed, when Ts'i cannot fail to join you, while Han and Wei must quite as necessarily become yours.'

'For a long time past,' remarked the king, 'I had sought to attach Wei to myself, but it is so very fickle, that I did not succeed.'

'Then you must compel it by the force of arms!' replied Fan Tsü.

This the king readily assented to, and, in order to enforce the policy so resolved upon, he now appointed Fan Tsü to be his 'Guest Minister' with the special duty of 'a confidential military counsellor' (B.C. 270).

The new policy was inaugurated by two successive expeditions undertaken against Wei, which resulted in the capture of Hwai, 懷 (B.C. 268), and Hing-k'iu, 邢丘 (B.C. 266). Neither of these places seems to have been clearly identified; the first one is referred by some to somewhere within the present Hwai-k'ing fu (Honan), and the second to Ying chow fu (Nganhwei), but from all accounts it seems that they must have been important strategical points.

After the latter conquest, Fan Tsü considered his position strong enough to make an attempt wholly to supplant Wei Yen. Embracing a favourable opportunity, he addressed the king in the following fashion: 'When I was still living in the East, he said, I heard that in Ts'in there was a Queen Dowager and a Marquis of Tang, but I never heard that there was a king. He is the king, who manages the affairs of the State, who directs its destinies, who wields the power over life and death. Now there is the Queen Dowager, who acts as she pleases without regard for you; the Marquis of Tang dispatches ambassadors, without even giving you notice. Hwa-yang, 華陽

陽,* King-yang, 涇陽,** are making attacks without restraint, Kao-ling, 高陵,** goes to and fro without asking for permission. That four nobles like this could remain in office without endangering the State, is a thing which has never yet happened. To be subordinate to these four nobles, is tantamount to having no king. The envoys of the Marquis of Tang are acting just as if they had been sent by you. He rules over the Princes, issues credentials for the whole empire, reduces enemies, attacks States, without anyone daring to refuse obedience. If a victory is gained, if a conquest is made, the benefit accrues to the Chancellor's appanage of T'ao. If a defeat is sustained, the people are left to bewail it while its last consequences are borne by the ruling House.

'The Book of Odes says:

When the tree bears many fruits,
Then the branches must break down!

But to see the branches breaking down, hurts one's heart. To enlarge one's appanage endangers the State, to honour the ministers lowers the Ruler. Chao Ch'i, 淖齒, governed Ts'i and killed King Min, 湣王 (B.C. 284). Li Tui 李兌 governed Chao and imprisoned the King's father (B.C. 295). When I look at the conduct of the four nobles, it seems just like that of Chao Ch'i and Li Tui. Moreover the first three dynasties were caused to decay through the Rulers leaving the affairs of States in the hands of their ministers, and through their giving themselves up to the pleasures of wine and hunting, while those on whom devolved the cares of the government, let themselves be moved by feelings of jealousy. To attain their private ends, they employed mean people and removed the worthy ones. They thought not of their master's interests, while the latter could not be brought to their senses and thereby lost their States. Now as to the different officers, from

* A brother of the Queen Dowager and the Marquis of Tang.

** Both brothers of king Chao-siang.

the Directors of Boards down to the personal attendants of your Majesty, they are one and all your Chancellor's creatures. Seeing you so isolated at the court, I cannot help fearing lest the State of Ts'in may not remain in possession of your descendants for ever.'

On hearing these representations, the King became much frightened, but could not help agreeing with the crafty councillor's views. He at once deposed the Queen Dowager, banished the Marquis of Tang, and the other of his relatives mentioned above, to their respective possessions outside the State of Ts'in and entrusted Fan Tsü with the functions of Chancellor, creating him at the same time Marquis of Ying 應侯 (B.C. 266).

4. A LAST WORD ABOUT WEI YEN.

King Chao-siang, on dismissing the man to whom he owed his throne, who had for forty years served him, first as Commander of his forces and afterwards, for twenty-eight years, as his Chancellor, who, though he may in the latter years of his tenure of office, have become too anxious for the furtherance of his private interests, nevertheless had on the whole deserved well of his country, had tact enough to avoid making his disgrace become too much apparent. He ordered the magistrates of the districts, through which lay his route, to provide him with vehicles and oxen to remove his household from Hien-yang to T'ao, when over a thousand cars were required for that object. When, on passing the barrier of the Eastern Pass, his luggage had to be searched, it was found that he possessed more jewels than there were to be found in the King's palace. Still he was allowed to depart in peace and safely reached T'ao, where he soon afterwards died of sorrow, when his appanage became re-united with the King's dominion.

A few years later a Prince of Wei, Wu-k'i, 無忌, (v. Meyers M. No. 847), indulged on this account in the following diatribe

towards the Western State: 'Ts'in shares the morals of the western barbarians. Its heart is of a same nature with that of wolves and tigers. It is of a greedy and perverse disposition of mind, caring only for its own advantage and devoid of all honesty. It is forgetful of the least notions of decency, justice and virtue. If its interests seem to require it, it disregards even its next relatives, just as birds and beasts are wont to do. Within man's memory, it has never shown any prominent trait of kindness, nor accumulated virtuous deeds. It is for that reason that the Queen Dowager died of a broken heart. The Marquis of Tang, the mother's brother had gained unprecedented merits. But he too ended in being driven away, without any guilt on his part. If one is able to act in such a way towards one's next relatives, how much more must this be the case towards a hostile State.'

As for Sze-ma Ts'ien, he devotes the following condoling utterances to the memory of the fallen grandee. 'The Marquis of Tang had been an uncle from the mother's side of the King Chao-siang. That Ts'in could enlarge its possession in the East, weaken the Prince's power so as to assume for a time the title of Emperor, that the people turned with bowed heads towards the West, all that was the merit of the Marquis of Tang. Still on his reaching the highest honours and acquiring the greatest riches, it needed only a few words of a mean fellow, to cause him to be overthrown and to die from sorrow.'

And in another passage Sze-ma Ts'ien says: 'The Marquis of Tang had seated King Chao-siang on the throne of Ts'in, had removed the dangers that were threatening him, had gained P'eh K'i for the commandership of the forces of Ts'in. In the South he had taken Ying, the capital of Ts'u, in the East he had enlarged the territory in the direction of Ts'i. All this constituted merit of no mean sort. Though his presumption, sensuality, arrogance and covet-

ousness were quite sufficient to draw calamity upon him, yet he was not so bad as Fan Tsü made him appear to be. Neither could the latter prove a more faithful counsellor to Ts'in. He was only anxious to get the position of the Marquis of Tang, and for that reason he caused the King of Ts'in to forget alike his duty towards his mother and his obligations to his maternal uncle. Fan Tsü was indeed a dangerous scholar!'

5. FAN TSÜ CHANCELLOR OF TS'IN.

a. *His revenge on his enemies and his gratitude towards his benefactors.*

The first we hear of the newly-created Marquis of Ying's doings, after his sudden accession to the chancellorship of Ts'in, was an act of revenge.

All this length of time he had been known in Ts'in under the assumed name of Chang Luh and, thanks to this circumstance, his enemies in Wei continued to consider him as dead.

Now it happened that the same Sü Ku, who had caused Fan Tsü to be so ignominiously treated by the chancellor of Wei, was sent on a mission to Ts'in. As soon as Fan Tsü heard of his arrival, he put on a common dress and presented himself to Sü Ku.

'What! is Fan Tsü still all right?' he exclaimed on perceiving his former attendant.

'Just so!' answered Fan Tsü.

'Are you perchance delivering harangues in Ts'in?' asked Sü Ku laughingly.

'No! After I had incurred the displeasure of the Chancellor of Wei, I fled hither. How could I dare to deliver harangues?'

'What is your occupation then?'

'I am in service.'

Sü Ku felt compassion for his former attendant and made him stay over dinner. Perceiving him to be but poorly clad, he divested himself of one of his overcoats and gave it to Fan Tsü as a protection against the cold.

After a while Sü Ku continued the conversation as follows:—

'Do you know his Excellency Mr. Chang,

the Chancellor of Ts'in? I have heard that he is much in favour with the King, and that the affairs of State are all managed by him. The success or failure of my mission will therefore greatly depend on him. Do you happen to have any friend who is acquainted with him?

'My master knows him and I am myself just going to call on him, when I may ask for an audience for you.'

'My horses are fagged and my carriage is broken, replied Sü Ku, and I cannot, without an appropriate carriage, think of leaving the hostelry.'

'Never mind, I will procure you all you want from my master,' said Fan Tsü, and at once went to fetch a coach with four horses.

He bade Sü Ku mount and drove at once to the Chancellor's palace. On entering its outer gate, the envoy of Wei remarked to its great astonishment how all the people they met respectfully went out of the way. On reaching the Chancellor's own pavilion, Fan Tsü alighted and entered the building to announce the envoy's visit.

Sü Ku waited a long time for his return. Finally he asked the doorkeeper: 'why does Fan Tsü tarry so long?'

'Fan Tsü? Who is that? No person of that name has gone in.'

'What! He who came together with me in this carriage and went inside to announce me?'

'He? But he was our Chancellor, His Excellency Mr. Chang!'

Sü Ku was terrified. He at once denuded the upper part of his body and kneeling down asked for punishment. Now only Fan Tsü sent for him and received him seated under a splendid dais, surrounded by numberless attendants. Sü Ku prostrated himself before him and acknowledged having merited death by his sins. 'I have not been able, he said, to foresee that your Excellency would attain such a high position. Henceforth I dare not occupy a public post again. I deserve to be

thrown into a cauldron of boiling water. May I be allowed to retire among the barbarians. My life is in Your Excellency's hands.'

'How many are your sins?' asked Fan Tsü.

'They are more than the hairs on my head!' answered Sü Ku.

'They are only three in number,' replied Fan Tsü. 'Under the impression that I was harbouring treacherous designs, you drew on me the wrath of Wei Ts'i. That is your first sin.—When Wei Ts'i did me the insult to throw me on the dunghill, you did not check him. That is your second sin.—When the drunken people eased themselves on me, how could you bear it? That is your third sin.—Still your life will be safe, for you were mindful of our old friendship and gave me your overcoat. For that reason I will forgive you.'

Still he was not to be let off so easily. For later on, when Sü Ku was going to leave Ts'in again, Fan Tsü invited him to a splendid entertainment at which the envoys of the other States were likewise present. But Sü Ku was shown to a seat some steps below the hall of honour and instead of being called to partake of the fine dishes provided for the feast, chopped beans were forced down his throat by two of the executioner's attendants. When the repast was over, Fan Tsü moreover addressed him in an angry tone in the following way. 'Tell the King of Wei,' he said, 'hastily to send to me the head of Wei Ts'i, or else I will come and butcher the inhabitants of T'si-liang.'

On his return to Wei, Sü Ku related these facts to Wei Ts'i, the Chancellor of that State, who at once took to flight and sought for a refuge in Chao. When Ts'in demanded his extradition, he fled again to Ts'u, but while passing through Wei, feeling his case to be a desperate one, he cut his own throat, whereupon his head was sent to Ts'in.

But Fan Tsü, who knew how to avenge

the cruel affront once offered to him, failed not to remember also those who once helped him towards attaining his present honours. So he caused Wang Hi, to whose protection he owed his safe entrance into Ts'in, to be intrusted with the governorship of the territory East of the Ho, and procured for his friend, Chêng Ngan-p'ing, who had formerly offered him a refuge in Wei, a commandership in the army of Ts'in. 'Whoever had but offered him a meal, was now rewarded by him, while he who had but dared to look angrily at him once was equally paid out for it.'

b. The State of Ts'in during Fan Tsü's tenure of the Chancellorship.

The first few years after the accession of Fan Tsü to the post of Chancellor of Ts'in, the aggressive policy of Ts'in, towards its eastern neighbours, continued to be persevered in with varying success. An attack on Chao proved a failure, because the latter State got help from that of Ts'i (B. C. 265), while a further number of cities were wrested year by year from that of Hân (B. C. 264—262). As for Wei, though Fan Tsü had formerly expressed the opinion, that it was to be conquered first, it was for a time left in peace. Its possessions within the elbow formed by the Ho, had years ago become a prey to Ts'in; the territory around its capital of Tai-liang was all that was left to it and this was covered on the West by the State of Hân. This is without doubt the reason, why, for a time, we hear nothing of an attack on Wei.

But more important events were soon to take place. As a result of the last campaign against Hân (B. C. 262), the city of Ye-wang 野王 (in present Hwai-k'ing fu, Honan) had come into the possession of Ts'in. Through this conquest that part of Hân which is situated south of the Ho became separated from its possessions in Shang-tang 上黨, (which may have included more or less of the present prefectures of Tseh chow, Lu-ngan, Tsin chow and Liao chow, all in the present Shansi).

The people of Shang-tang, on becoming aware that their lines of communication with the seat of their government had been cut, expressed a desire to join their northern neighbour, the State of Chao. Not only would their isolation thereby be made an end to, but other political considerations seemed also to counsel such a measure. On the occasion of a deliberation held by the Governor of the province with the elders of the people, the former propounded the following arguments. 'As communication with the south has become interrupted, it will be best for us to join Chao. For if Chao accepts us, Ts'in will not fail to attack it, when it cannot avoid asking for an alliance with Hân. Once that Hân and Chao have become firmly united, they need no longer be in fear of Ts'in.'

The king of Chao, on receiving the offer to admit Shang-tang into his State, summoned his counsellors together to talk over the matter. One of them, the Prince of P'ing-yang, 平陽君, earnestly opposed the measure. 'What the Sage fears most, he said, is to gain anything which he is not entitled to.'

'If people are delighted with my virtue, replied the king, how can you say that I am not entitled to it?'

'Ts'in is swallowing up the territory of Hân just as a silkworm devours the leaves of the mulberry, retorted the Prince. Now that the former has succeeded in cutting Hân asunder so as to prevent the communication between its two halves, it expects of course to get possession of Shang-tang without striking a blow. If Hân now refuses to join Ts'in, it is only in order to implicate Chao in its own misfortune. That Ts'in should undergo the toil, while Chao would earn the profit—even a weak State would not like to receive such treatment from the hands of a mighty one, how much less would a mighty State submit to it at the hands of a weak one! Moreover, would that not be a profit we are not entitled to? I opine therefore that we should not accept the proffered territory.'

But another Prince, that of P'ing-yüan, 平原君 (v. Mayers M. No. 563), took the other side, and urged his Sovereign to accept it, and this opinion having finally prevailed, the annexation of the said territory was proceeded with (B.C. 262).

The prediction of the Prince of P'ing-yang was soon to be fulfilled. As soon as these facts became known in Ts'in, its king dispatched the General Wang Hi, 王翳, to attack Chao and to wrest from it the annexed territory. This he easily succeeded in doing, when its inhabitants, fearing the wrath of Ts'in, fled to Chao. But the army of that State was still opposing the western invader. It was commanded by Lien P'o, 廉頗 (mentioned Mayers M. No. 49), who perseveringly remained behind his entrenchments to await a favourable moment for striking a blow. These tactics had formerly been adhered to with much success by Lien P'o's predecessor and drawn on Ts'in the defeat mentioned above (B.C. 270). Ts'in therefore felt some anxiety on that account.

Fan Tsü then had recourse to bribery to attain his ends. By a free use of gold, the next attendants of the king of Chao were induced to persuade their Master to supersede Lien P'o by the incapable and infatuated Chao Kwoh 趙括 (v. *ibid.*) This was done in spite of the warnings given to the King by his wise counsellor Lin Siang-ju, 藺相如 (v. Mayers M. No. 393), and even by Chao Kwoh's own mother.

As soon as Chao Kwoh was in possession of the command, he led his army in an attack against the army of Ts'in. The King of the latter State, foreseeing the opportunity for striking a great blow, had sent his best commander, Pêh K'i, to take charge of the command of his army. As soon as the two so unequally matched military leaders were in presence of each other, Pêh K'i's superior skill became at once apparent. He drew his adversary into an ambush, when the army of Chao was surrounded and beleaguered in a hastily thrown up entrenched camp. The king of Ts'in then led himself an army of

new levies to prevent succour reaching the camp from outside, while Pêh K'i kept the enemy closely invested. Fearful struggles ensued now between the two contending parties. The soldiers of Chao sold their lives dearly, for the army of Ts'in lost more than half of its combatants. But after a lapse of 46 days, the provisions of Chao became exhausted, when its soldiers were reduced to eating human flesh. The weakened troops could then no longer offer resistance. The camp was stormed, Chao Kwoh lost his life, and his army surrendered to the alleged number of 450,000 men, who were all put to the sword and their bodies thrown into the gullies so extensively found in the *loess* deposits over the whole North of China. Ch'ang-p'ing, 長平 (in present Tseh chow fu, Shansi), was the theatre of that struggle which ended with such terrible butchery (B.C. 260).

The following year, Ts'in returned to the charge, when the whole of the present province of Shansi was conquered and the new acquisition at once organized into the two provinces of T'ai-yüan and Shang-tang (B.C. 259).*

In his distress, the King of Chao now took a leaf out of the book of Ts'in and with a success equally good. As the latter State had formerly by means of bribes prevailed on him to replace the capable Lien P'o by the incapable Chao Kwoh, which change had brought on the eastern State the terrible disaster of Ch'ang-p'ing, so the King of Chao now resorted likewise to artifice to cause the much dreaded Pêh K'i to be superseded in the command of the army of Ts'in.

The King of Chao sent his astute counsellor, Su T'ai, to interview Fan Tsü, when Su T'ai addressed the latter in the following way. 'Now that Chao is all but lost, he

* The south-west part of present Shansi had formerly been conquered from Wei and must then have been organized into the province of Ho-tung 河東郡, though I have not found the fact mentioned anywhere.

said, there is nothing left to prevent the King of Ts'in from assuming the imperial dignity, when the Prince of Wu-ngan (i.e. Pêh K'i) cannot fail to be called on to combine the functions of the 'three Dukes' (v. Mayers M. II. No. 35) of old. Would you then like to become his subordinate? If you wish to avoid falling into that unenviable position, it will be best to accept a further cession of territory from Chao as a condition of peace, when the merit of the acquisition will not be attributed to the Prince of Wu-ngan but to yourself.' Fan Tsü allowed himself to be befooled. He at once represented to his Sovereign the hardships his army had already undergone and how much preferable it would be to get possession of the proffered territory without bloodshed, rather than to run again the risks of a new war. King Chao-siang readily entered into the Chancellor's views, to the great displeasure of his generalissimo, who from that time fell out with the Chancellor (B.C. 259).

So soon as the following year Ts'in undertook a new expedition against Chao, when not less than its very capital of Han-tan 邯鄲 (still existing as a district city in Kwang-p'ing fu, Chihli) was to be the price to be gained. But Pêh K'i, mindful of the trick which Fan Tsü had played him the year before, reparted himself sick, when one Wang Ling, 王陵, was intrusted with the command of the invading army. But the absence of the clever strategist soon made itself felt. The King of Ts'in then asked Pêh K'i to assume the command, but he refused again under the pretext that the victory of Ch'ang-p'ing had been too dearly bought to make it advisable to enter again upon a similar venture. His lieutenant, Wang Hi, was therefore sent in his stead, and he pushed on the siege of Han-tan so vigorously, that the King of Chao became alarmed and sent to the other States for help. Two of them, those of Ts'u and Wei, granted his request, though very reluctantly, and each of them dispatched an

army to the relief of the brother-State's capital. The army of the latter State was under the leadership of the valorous Wu-k'i, 無忌, Prince of Sin-ling, 信陵君 (v. Mayers M. No. 586 and 847), B.C. 258.

After the reinforcement of the army of Chao by the contingents of Wei and Ts'u, Wang Hi was no longer a match for the allied armies. He suffered repeated reverses, which caused the King of Ts'in once more to urge Pêh K'i to assume the command of his army, he being considered the only man capable of bringing the campaign to a useful issue. But Pêh K'i persisted in his refusal and even went so far as to resign his dignities and to retire into private life, when the King, on the suggestion of Fan Tsü, sent him a sword, therewith to take his own life.

Fan Tsü not satisfied with having caused the country, he was serving, to lose a faithful and first-rate officer, committed now the still greater blunder of recommending in his stead a man, for whom he felt much personal obligation, but who was not possessed of the capacities necessary to fill the post effectively. It was that Chêng Ngan-p'ing, for whom he had formerly procured an appointment in the army and whom he proposed now to fill the post vacated by Pêh K'i.

The King, acting on the advice of his Chancellor, appointed Chêng Ngan-p'ing to the command of his army, but he had scarcely reached its headquarters, under the walls of Han-tan, when he was routed by the allied armies led by the General Wu-k'i. Chêng Ngan-p'ing surrendered with 20,000 men, while Wang Hi fled with the rest of the beaten army to Ts'in. In consequence of this severe reverse, the provinces of T'ai-yüan and Shang-tang were for a time again lost for Ts'in (B.C. 258).

According to the stern laws of Ts'in, the official, who recommended another for appointment, was responsible for the latter's behaviour and capacity for the office he had been recommended for, and, in case of a fai-

lure, the *protégé's* fault became that of his protector. Now Chêng Ngan-p'ing had sadly betrayed his patron's confidence, who ought therefore to have atoned with his own life and the lives of three generations of his descendants for his mistake.

Fan Tsü therefore sat down on a straw mat asking for the punishment he had incurred; but King Chao-siang, who by that time had grown an old man, this being the 50th year of his reign, would have found it difficult to dispense with the services of his Chancellor. He eluded the application of the law in the present case by issuing an edict the purport of which was, that, whosoever mentioned the name of Chêng Ngan-p'ing, would be considered as guilty of the same offence which the latter had committed. On the other hand he heaped on Fan Tsü new tokens of his favour, so as to comfort his heart again (B.C. 257).

The following year witnessed the extinction of the once illustrious House of Chow. The Emperor Nan Wang, 赧王, had occupied the throne of Wu Wang for fifty-nine years (since B.C. 314) and become grey from age, but not from the cares usually connected with the government of a great country. For the imperial domain, which his ancestors had reserved for themselves and which had in the course of time already become much reduced in extent, had since B.C. 446 and 421 become divided into two small Duchies, governed by two relatives of the Emperor and called 'Western Chow' 西周 and 'Eastern Chow' 東周 respectively. There was left, therefore, to the last representative of the dynasty of Chow, but an empty title together with the memories of his House's former grandeur.

In the year we have reached in this narrative, the King of Ts'in, not the least disheartened by the check he suffered the preceding year, wishing probably on the contrary to revenge himself on his eastern neighbours, and to re-establish the *prestige* of his arms, had undertaken a new cam-

paign against the States of Chao and Hân and again wrested from each of them some tracts of territory. He partially retrieved thereby the losses incurred the former year, when suddenly the Emperor, or rather the Prince of Western Chow, who, as Chancellor of the Emperor, acted in the name of the Emperor, emboldened by the last year's victory, did for the first time, what ought to have been done centuries before: he summoned the vassals of the empire to common action against the greedy neighbour of the West. But the measure proved but like the last flickering of a dying light. The King of Ts'in, who hitherto had respected the imperial domain, or rather the two Duchies into which it had become divided, now threw up the last pretence of subordination, and invaded that part of it which constituted the 'Western Chow,' whose capital of Loh-yang or Ho-nan was likewise the Emperor's residence. The Duke of 'Western Chow' then took fright and hastened to make his submission to Ts'in. 'He prostrated himself before the King and confessed his wrongs, at the same time delivering up the whole of his 36 cities, (which constituted the 'Western Chow'), with their three myriads of inhabitants. Ts'in, having accepted them, allowed the Duke to return to Chow, where he and Nan Wang died the same year, B.C. 256.*

Nan Wang having died without leaving any male posterity, the imperial throne became now virtually vacant. But as their occupants had for centuries back been nothing more than crowned nullities, who had exercised not the least influence over the course of events, the death of the last of them could not materially affect the state of affairs.

Still one would have thought, that the

* This is the narrative of the end of the House of Chow as contained in the Sze-ki and to which I give the preference before that in the Annals. The latter curiously attribute to the Emperor himself the part played by the Duke of 'Western Chow.'

removal of the last legitimate representative of the imperial dignity, would have impelled the Western Power to renewed exertions for the attainment of the long aimed-at object. But on the contrary there happened just at that moment a lull, of some years' duration, in the contest which had so unremittingly been going on for many years between Ts'in on one side and the other States on the other.

King Chao-siang was now in the 52nd year of his reign and though he had been a mere boy when he succeeded to his father on the throne of Ts'in, he must nevertheless by that time have been an old man. As for Fan Tsü, he was then probably yet in the prime of life and had directed the affairs of Ts'in but for 15 years, while the rival whom he had ignominiously driven from office had done so for 36 years. But on the other hand he had experienced bitter disappointments, which seem to have strongly told on his constitution. We have seen before, how one of his two *protégés*, Chêng Ngan-p'ing, had betrayed the confidence put in him by his grateful protector. The second one was now to follow in the same track. Wang Hi, who through Fan Tsü's protection had been appointed Governor of the province of Ho-tung, 河東 (the present prefectures of P'ing-yang and P'o-chow, in Shantung), now became traitor in his turn by having secret intercourse with the other States, whereby he incurred capital punishment.

It was soon after the latter events that the King, on receiving his ministers, was seen to heave deep sighs. The Chancellor asked for the reason of His Majesty's sadness.

'The Prince of Wu-ngan (i.e. Pêh K'i) is dead, replied the King Chêng; Ngan-p'ing and Wang Hi have both turned rebels; there is no capable commander left to me, while the enemy's States are very many. It is on account of that circumstance that I feel anxious.'

This lamentation of course amounted to as much as a reproach addressed to Fan Tsü. For it was he who had caused Pêh K'i's

withdrawal from public life and his subsequent untimely death, while the two officials, who had become traitors, had both been recommended by Fan Tsü to the posts they had so unworthily held. On becoming aware therefore of the change in his Master's mind towards him, he could not help feeling uneasy and thought of some means to divest himself of his functions in order to get out of the danger which he felt was threatening him.

Just at this conjuncture there appeared in Ts'in one of those diplomatic knight-errants, out of whose ranks that State had with the exception of one, viz. Wei Yen, gained all the crafty statesmen who had consecutively, with so much success, pushed its ambitious policy. The new-comer was one Ts'ai Tseh, 蔡澤, who had unsuccessfully canvassed the whole of the other States without getting the sought for employment, and who finally had directed his steps towards the West. On arriving in Ts'in he directed his attendants to spread a rumour to the effect that he had expressly come with the intention to supersede Fan Tsü in the Chancellorship and that he was so clever a fellow as to want but one single audience from the King to attain this end.

When Fan Tsü heard these reports, he was not a little curious to make the acquaintance of that personage. He invited him to his palace when he began by scolding him for his presumption. 'Should you indeed be so late in perceiving the true state of affairs?' replied Ts'ai Tseh. It is the law that regulates the four seasons, that each one who has accomplished his task, should make room for the next one. Should you be anxious to share the fate which befell the Prince of Shang 商君 (v. *Mayers M. No. 845*), Wu K'i 吳起 (v. *Mayers M. No. 866* *) and the great officer

* The last sentence of this article in Mr. Mayer's Manual ought to be read as follows. 'Having fallen in disgrace he fled to Ts'u, where he rose to the post of Chancellor, but lost his life during a revolt which broke out on the death of the king, B.C. 381.'

Chung 大 夫 種 (faithful servant of Yüeh who, in spite of his valuable services, ended by being ordered to take his own life) ?

Fan Tsü replied hypocritically, 'why should I not be able to suffer the same? If an accomplished man can, by his being killed, establish his renown, he will not grudge to die.'

'To preserve life and renown alike intact, replied Ts'ai Tseh, constitutes the highest attainment. To preserve only one's renown intact and to lose the life, comes but next in order. How could the attainments of those three men equal that of Hang Yao, 閔 天, and Chow Kung, 周 公*! There is a saying that the sun, after it has reached its zenith, goes down again, and the moon, after it had been full, decreases again. To advance and to retreat again, to expand and to contract again, to change just as the seasons do, this is the common way of a Sage. Now you have revenged yourself on those who hate you and rewarded those who shewed you some favour; though your wishes are thereby fulfilled, still you know not to alter

* Both these men are reckoned among the 亂 臣 十 人 v. Dr. Legge's Classics I., p. 78. The former is not much known, but the second is the famous Duke of Chow, v. M. M. No. 67.

your plans. This I venture to consider as constituting a serious danger for you.

Fan Tsü took the hint and alleging sickness, he gave in his resignation, at the same time recommending Ts'ai Tseh as his successor (B.C. 255). There is little doubt that by this step he had but prevented his disgrace and escaped a fate similar to that which overtook Wei Yang, Wei Yen, Pêh K'i, and after him engulfed yet some more of Ts'in's best and most truthful civil and military officers.

As for Ts'ai Tseh, one would have thought that he had been actuated by motives of selfishness, when he induced Fan Tsü to lay down the Chancellorship, that he did so only with a hope to become his successor. Should this have been the case, then he would, rather in an honest way, have repeated towards Fan Tsü the trick by which the latter had contrived to supersede Wei Yen. Still this was not the case. Ts'ai Tseh was a straightforward character. In inducing Fan Tsü to retire into private life, he was prompted by the clearness with which he foresaw his imminent downfall and, in offering himself as his successor, he sought only the best of the State of Ts'in. Still that office seems not to have been congenial for his honest nature, for he laid it down again after only a few months' tenure.

CH. PITON.

CHINESE WORD STUDIES.

1. *Dom*. In primitive ages, while language was in course of formation, a sound would be obtained by blowing a hollow tube which might be imitated as *dom*. Let this be a bass note heard from a bamboo or reed tube adapted by length and breadth to produce it, one man would imitate another in making this sound. If the tube were laid aside for future use and were sought again, by what name could it be asked for except some name such as this, *dom*? When it was still without a name, the sound it produced would become its name. Thus the sound caused by the casual amusement of primitive man would become a word and would be added to the list of other words then being made or already made.

Chinese letter changes are very numerous and they are capable of being traced historically in the development of the new language from the old. Among the most marked changes open to our observation is that of the final *m* to *ng*. Another is the change of the vowel *o* to *a*. A third is the change of *d* at the beginning of a word to *t* or to an aspirated *t*.

These things premised, when we attempt to trace our new word in its subsequent history, we may compare it with other words. A cave in modern Chinese is *tung*. Here the *ng* comes from letter change. But old dictionaries tell us that the ancient Chinese sound was *dong* down to the Tang dynasty. Earlier it would be *dom*. It is possible that by analogy the sound produced by calling

aloud in the cave would be enunciated by the man who imitated it on some occasion as *dom*. *H* as a final is suited to reverberating sounds such as are heard from drums and in hollow places. By this application to a cave, the meaning attached to the syllable *dom* as represented by a hollow tube, becomes extended to any hollow space such as a cave in limestone rocks where there is a single chamber or a long succession of lofty chambers connected by low passages. The word *dom* may continue from this time forward to have the two meanings, tube and cave, or they may separate and each of them attach to itself some special element of sound to serve as a distinctive mark. The single root then forms two derivatives. They are 筒 *t'ung* 'tube,' 洞 *tung* 'cave.'

The priority in origin may belong either to the sense tube or the sense cave. Thus we have no means of determining* which preceded the other.

The word *dom* as applied to tube would easily become the name of a reed, a cane, a tub, a barrel. We find 桶 *t'ung*, tub, barrel. We also find 糖 *t'ang* for *dom*, sugar, alluding to the hollow stalk of the sugar cane. *Teng*, rattan would derive its name in the same way from the tubular grasses or other plants which it resembles

* In forming the characters 筒 *t'ung*, 'tube,' 洞 *tung*, 'cave,' the former was made first, P'ing-sheng being older than Ch'ü-sheng.

in shape. The pith of the so-called rice paper pictures, and paper flowers, is produced in Formosa. It is the *Aralia papyrifera*. The plant is called *T'ung-t'sau*. The character is 通 *t'ung*. It is so named from the tube-stem. The pith is used for lamp wicks, and when saturated with oil burns for a long time. This pith is ironed into sheets for sale and thus it may be adapted for its various uses. The hollow tube in which it grows gives it its name.

So it is with the very 通 *t'ung*, 'permeable,' 'piercing through.' A tube is the readiest illustration of this idea. The word for tube became therefore a verb for the notion of going through to the other side or an adverb permeating thoroughly, 聰 *ts'ung*, intelligent, is the same thing intellectually speaking.

But *dom* having become the name of a tube, tube or cask, and vessels of this kind being used for measuring, the same root came to be used as a word for measuring capacity, and for the verb to measure. The initial *d* became *l* and this change having already taken place before the characters were made, a new character was invented for this modification of sense. The character is 量 *liang*. *L* occurs for *d*. Probably this is another form for 東 *tung* 'east,' through *chung* 重 *heavy* (See Chalmers, pp. 97, 151), the sun shining through a tree is the picture in *tung* east. The sun is repeated in *liang* in order to distinguish it from *chung* heavy which was also anciently *dom*. *Dom* heavy, was so named either from the noise a heavy substance makes in falling or from the vessel containing the heavy material. *Liang* is used for grain because grain is measured in a vessel called *dom* and because the act of measuring is also *dom*. *Tung*, east, means 'ascending.'

The idea of capacity came to be known as 容 *yung*. *Yung* is changed from *dom*. *D* becomes *g* as *m* becomes *ng*. To contain is expressed either by *yung* or *liang*.

The change from *d* to *l* seems to be connected with a new modification in the sense

of the root. It is probable that, when the idea of measuring was evolved, a modification in sound took place at the same time through an unconscious effort of language to attain greater clearness. In the evolution of the idea 'heavy,' a new intonation made its appearance. This and other words passed into the so called Shang-sheng class. This variety in sound arose about the time of Wán-wang and his successors, the period of the Odes, and of the invention of the old seal characters. But the character was older than this period and it may therefore be concluded that in this instance a new tone had no direct connection with change in sense.

There are some other important words derived from the tube, with the name *dom*. Thus *chang*, 'long,' old sound *dom*. The character for this word is not easy to explain, but that is less important than to show how the word itself would originate. An early measure of length in common use would be such a staff as a bamboo pole of the length of the human body. Now this would give rise to a word long, or length, and a verb to measure the length of: all these ideas would be suggested by the pole made use of, since new words would come crystallized out of this single substantive, and this substantive would get its name originally from this sound of a hollow tube. The ancient Chinese measures of capacity being principally tubes, and being also used as measures of length, this seems a reasonable way of accounting for the origin of the words here mentioned. At the same time the tubes, it must be remembered, were in use as rough measures long before they acquired exactness. All we can say with certainty is that tubes were much in men's hands in primitive ages to measure with, and that the primitive vocabulary in that portion of it which includes decimal arithmetic and ideas of measurement implies civilization. The country where this formation of words took place would possess the bamboo, the reed and other tubular plants, so that mea-

suring implements, easily made suitable for use, could be had everywhere.

An early and important change in sound was the tooth initial passing to the throat initial. *T* or *d* became *k* or *g*. The sound *dong* or *dom*, occurring for a hollow space, cylindrical, or spherical, regular or irregular, is not the only name which is applied to hollow space. Whence come *kung* and *kuang* both aspirated? In Chinese sound history these are so many examples of identical sense expressed by initial *k* or *l* as the speaker pleases, that we are driven to the hypothesis, that *k* came from *d*. Our root *kung* or *kom*, hollow, may be the sound given from a hollow place by reverberation. There is nothing unlikely in the circumstance that primitive men, in attempting to define the prolonged sound of a cave or tube, may have adopted *gom* originally for this purpose, but we have historical light in the history of Chinese sounds and we are called to notice the many grounds there are for believing in an extensive migration from the tooth sounds to the throat sounds. Under the guidance of these facts, the suggestion occurs that *k'ung*, hollow, was later than *l'ung*, tube, and that the mother sound is *dom*. This change from tooth letters to throat letters probably took place partly before and partly after the formation of the characters. Thus *kam* to reflect objects, mirror, overlook, has the same phonetic with *lam* to see, leading to the inference that *k* was originated from *d* after the invention of this phonetic. In most cases the phonetics used in words, like in sense but differing in initial, are different, and wherever this is the case, we ought to conclude that *j* or *k* had become separated from the corresponding tooth letters before the invention of the characters. That is, *kom*, hollow, was derived from *dom*, cave, tube, previous to the civilized epoch of the earliest Chinese history from B.C. 2800 to B.C. 2000.

Another group of words, derived from this root *dom*, is probably that which embraces *neng* 能 to be able, 壬 *jen* or *nim*, carry

a load. A load 壬 or 挺 *l'ing*, to grow straight up, an upright pole. The same pole which has given us words as a tube, if used to carry things and for this purpose laid across the shoulder, would originate the verb to carry, *tam*, and *nim* with the substantive *nim* a load. But *tam* has become *tang* in the modern language, and so we have three words for carry, viz. 當 *tang*, 擔 *tam* and 壬 *jen*. Of these, as we might expect, the second only occurs after Confucius,* at a time when *ng* was formed from *m*, and it was therefore found convenient to have two characters. One represented the old final *m*, retained in colloquial usage. The other represented the new final *ng*, used in reading the ancient books. In school instruction the teacher exercises an influence in fixing the sound and through the exercise of this influence modifies it. Colloquial words are controlled by nature and teachers do not try to exercise any special influence. On this account words used by schoolmasters change faster than those belonging to the common dialect of the house and the market. There can be no doubt of the action of this law, because in all dialects there is more or less tendency to variation through growth of a book sound and the use of a literary language in which the uneducated do not share.

To bear a responsibility is a derived sense, to express which all three words may be used. To bear and to be able to bear are nearly allied. Ability to bear is *neng* or *k'an* (k'am). 堪 *k'an* to bear is found in *nan k'an*, hard to bear. The meaning of ability to bear is found in *k'an jen* fit for a post. When *k'an* and *neng* are compared in their senses it is easy to see that *neng* is simply a word to 'carry' if viewed in regard to its origin. So of *ch'eng*, as used in 稱 壬 *ch'eng jen*, it may be assumed that since it here means 'fit for an office,' it also meant in the first place ability to carry, and so was the same word as *tang* carry, if fol-

* It is found in Tso-chwen and Chan-kwo-ts'e.

lowed back to a time when *ch* was still not in use. Anciently like other words in *ch* its initial was *t*. In the sense to weigh, to fit, to be suitable for, this word is pronounced in the tone C'hü-sheng. In the sense to praise, to state, to pretend, it is in the tone Shang-ping. The one is lifting up by encomiums in a moral sense. The other is an act performed with the steelyard whether viewed as adjusting or weighing. At the time A.D. 200 to A.D. 400, when the C'hü-sheng was being formed, it was found necessary to individualize and limit the sense of weighing and this was done (unconsciously) by giving to the word the new intonation.

Here it is suggested by the circumstances that words of lifting may quite naturally have originated from the name of the lifting instrument. In this case a hollow carrying pole of bamboo named *tam* or *tang* (surd from sonant) gives occasion in lifting for making a new word *c'heng* to lift. We find 稱 *c'heng* in Shang-ping 'to praise,' 呈 in Hia-ping, to present to a superior, 上 *shang*, in Shang-sheng and C'hü-sheng, to offer, present, go up to, 撐 *ch'eng* in Shang-sheng, to lift out of, raise, 撐 *o'heng* to prop, to shore up, to pole a boat. The man who poles a boat uses his pole as a lever, the fulcrum being at the bottom of the stream. The act is still an upward motion, a lifting. Considering what the elements of sound here are, we are probably justified in referring the origin of these words to 丈 *chang*, *dom*, with a limitation of sound consisting of the change from *d* to *ch*, pure or aspirated, to *sh* etc.

If we watch carefully the process of word making in such examples as these, we may learn the real principles by which primitive men unconsciously proceeded. If several new words were gradually being made at the same time, they would adopt a traditional sound such as would in each case tend to distinctness. A full round sound *dom*, as heard from a tube would be the root. The surd initial *t* coming from *d* expresses the act of carrying on the shoulders. This

idea is more colloquial than literary, and therefore the final *m* remains for long ages unaffected. If we go to the market and listen, men say *tan* (*tam*) for a load while *tang* is reserved for pledges or the shop where pledges can be deposited. The more refined word is acted on by the principle of special literary activity tending to produce variation. The final is therefore *ng*. We find this principle working in other senses of *tang*, such as bear and sustain morally, ought, act as a soldier, a messenger, etc. The energy used in forming these intellectual or moral ideas, led to variation in the final. When men began using a horizontal pole to measure things by placing weights at one end and objects at the other, they invented a verb to express this idea. To make this verb, great mental energy was required. This led to variation in the initial in two ways. There was the surd for the sonant, and there was the aspirate too. The *t* is expressed with the addition of a breathing from the throat, and the difference between *t* and *t'* consists in nothing more than this. It was probably the increased mental energy called forth by the adjustment that originated in this instance the aspiration as an addition to the surd. So in *c'heng* to pole a boat, the process of specialization led to more emphasis in pronouncing and hence the appearance of the aspirate.

The change from *d* to *l* seems to be the result of local divergence gradually extending through the language. In *c'heng lan*, to bear, we find a phrase composed of two words which were once both of them *dom*. It is written 承攬. *Ch'eng* in Hia-p'ing has come from *dom*. The *d* here has changed to *l*. The origination of the form *lam* was anterior to the change from *m* to *ng* as the persistence in South China of the *m* in *lam* shews.

When primitive men were handling the pole or tube of, say, ten short feet in length, it might help in word-making in various ways not yet specified. It might be upright,

oblique or horizontal. When set upright, it would take some special meanings. Thus we have 挺 *t'ing* in Shang-sheng, a club, project upwards, rise up and stand firmly. The corresponding throat letter *h* is found in 興 *hing*, a Shang-ping word, to rise. The upright stem of a tree is 莖 *t'ing*, peduncle, stem, and 梗 *keng*, stem, petiole. So also *keng* to stir up with a stick, giving origin to *t'iau keng* a spoon, the implement used in stirring, and *keng*, the broth which is stirred, being the same as *t'ing*, may be probably supposed to be formed out of the dental series. The root is, as it should be, sonant in the Hia-ping tone, *dom*. This becomes *t'ing* in the mandarin Hia-ping. The other specialized senses are marked by surds in regard to their series and as the result of the evolutionary process appear as *hing*, *keng*, *t'ing* in the shang sheng and many others.

If this mode of stating the ancient process of word making, in instances of this kind, be correct, the notion of uprightness should be found inherent in other words of a like formation. Thus 亭 *t'ing* a portico is a building resting on pillars. So with 庭 *t'ing*, hall, with or without the roof radical. Insects called *t'ing*, *tang*, *ling*, or *ting*, have long thin bodies which stand straight out and are the cause of the name. Such are the dragon fly and the mantis. The dragon fly is *tsing ling*, or *tsing t'ing*. The characters used are 蜻, 蛉, 蜻, 蜓. The character *t'ing* probably refers to their beautiful dark green colours. The other three are all modifications of *dom*, and refer to the general shape, the long thin club-like appearance of this animal. The praying mantis is *t'ang lang* and is also called so doubtless from the club-like shape of its body.

In using the character 亭 *ting* we have met with the phonetic 丁 *ting*, nail. Since *ting* is a surd, it is a derivative. But the word 打 *ta*, to beat, anciently *tang*, is a surd also. The old form should have been *dam* an imitation of the sound heard in hammering. We have in this inquiry found

two sounds in nature having the same form *dom* or *dam*, whether heard from a tube when blown into, or from a mallet used in hammering. The best solution of the problem thus presented is that both roots are there actively influencing contemporaneously the early formation of words and occasionally coinciding.

The word *ch'ung*, insect, has never left the Hia-ping tone class. The old sound is *dom*. This is, we may well suppose, an imitation of the buzzing of bees, wasps, and 'dumbledozes.'

Thus we have three origins in nature for the root *dom* as an imitation of sound. There may be others not a few.

Copper, 銅 *t'ung*, is from an older *dom*. This may reasonably be derived from the sound of copper when struck.

T'ing is one of the words for thunder. It would be anciently *dom* or very nearly so. No one would withhold his consent from the opinion that this is an imitation of the natural sound.

A puffed up or swelled object of skin or leather gives a sound when struck, which is more or less like *dom*. In the word tomtom and in drum we find it in English or other languages. The word for fat is either *pang*, *fei*, or *ch'uang*. The last of these, when reduced to its primitive shape, is *tem*. We also have 整 *cheng*, adjust, round and complete. The brass tambourine, called 鉦 *cheng*, is named from its circular shape. A sonant initial occurs in 成 *ch'eng*, to complete, which is *dom* originally. *T'ung* 童 a boy, virgin, means pure, unbroken, round and complete. Hence the pupil of the eye is so called and is written 瞳 *t'ung*. With this is connected also 誠 *ch'eng*, sincere.

A slight blow struck on a drum or gong gives a sound which we express by clash, clang, tum, dom, and the like. Sound becomes connected with swelling when the surface which is struck is of a hard and elastic nature and capable of reverberation. Then the same root also takes certain meanings when there is no sound. If a convex

surface which easily gives out a sound like *dom* is therefore called *tem* or *dom*, the same name *tam* or *dom* may be given to objects which resemble it in shape but do not give out a sound.

We have *chung* a grave* 塚, 腫 drop-sical swelling, 踵 heel, to follow. All these have a rounded hemispherical shape. *Chung* to follow, and its sister word 從 *ts'ung* 'from,' thus obtain an intelligible origin. They come from heel as 根 *keng* to follow also proceeds from *ken* the heel. They have all surd initials except *ts'ung* 'from,' which is in the Hia-ping tone and belongs to the sonant series in the old middle dialect. Its being in the sonant series indicates perhaps a greater antiquity than if it had a surd initial.

Chung, a bell 鐘. Bell metal was very early manufactured. Its sound is *tom* which came probably from *dom*. It should be noticed that Chinese bells which have no tongues are of necessity hung with the opening downwards. Hence the swelling shape is always upwards. The sound therefore from which *chung* a tomb, and *chung* heel, are named, may possibly be that of bells, if not so named from their roundness.

A word for red is 彤 *t'ung* in the sonant series and therefore *dom*. This may be named from copper which was anciently *dom*. That one word for red is thus derivable from copper, is important because it furnishes us with an etymology for 心 *sin* heart. This word is *tim* in old Chinese as it still is in the Cochin-Chinese dialect. It may then mean red. If we may assume this, we may also obtain an origin for 中 *chung*, middle, to strike in the middle. Nothing is commoner in Chinese than to use the word 心 *sim* for middle. For this *tom* or *chung* is but another form. As a verb the act of striking the middle point as with an arrow, or by literary ability in an examination, is *chung* 中 in the Chü-sheng. This peculiarity of tone is a variation compara-

tively modern and necessarily not older than the time when the growth of the C'hü-sheng (A.D. 200), commenced.* The word for loyal is also *chung* 忠. This word means the central virtue, absence of onesidedness, true in heart.

Chung, heavy, is *dom* being sonant in its initial in the old language, and in the old middle dialects. It would be called *dom* because a heavy object, when it falls, makes a sound which primitive men expressed in this way.

Chung, (*dom*) for the second time, 重 or 從 in the Hia-ping tone is from *ts'ung*, to follow. So also is 衆 *chung*, many, a contracted expression for persons following in succession. As the character pictures three persons walking under an eye, so the word itself pictures the idea of following, and out of this educes a plural symbol.

A circular and spherical shape is traceable in several words which are reduced by law to the form *dom* or its derivative *tom*. Thus in addition to 整 *cheng*, complete, round, before discussed, we have 總 *tsung*, a ball of hair, a whole, a collection of skeins, collection, 粽 *tsung*, dumpling 葱 *ts'ung*, onion is named from its globular shape, just as 蒜 *swan* garlic is so named because it also has a globular shape, expressed by *twan*, *swan* or *hoon*, *s* being interchangeable with *t* and *l*. The idea of collecting is expressed by 攏 *lung*, bring together in one heap. Here the notion of a heaped up roundness is attached to the word.

Another slight variation was that of sameness. Why was the sound *dom* applied to express this idea? We have 同 *t'ung*, same, together, 象 *siang*, image, 像 *siang* like, 狀 *chwang*, from 床 *c'hwang*, a frame, whether bedstead, turning lathe, divan or other. These are all in the sonant series. The first and last are in the Hia-ping class; the others in the C'hü-sheng. Among surd initials we find *t* in 等 *teng*, equal, and in

* Chinese tombs are chiefly hemispherical, shaped like a heel, or conical.

* This date is given by Twan-yü-ts'ai in Lu-shu-yün-piau.

當 *tang* opposite, hinder, and 相 *siang*, mutually, like. Now it may be remarked that for reflection to take place, objects must be opposite to each other. The mirror is opposite to the object reflected. Also in a frame the pieces of wood dovetailed together are parallel and opposite. The thinking mind of the observer, having before him two like persons or things, conceives the notion of sameness, or that of likeness or that of correspondence. He says 等 *teng* or 同 *t'ung* and has a certain perception of equality, or identity. He may think of the objects as being placed together, and as presenting the same appearance or as being opposite. Gradually each of these varieties of idea will acquire a crystallized expression in some word, which obtains prevalence on the principle of the survival of the fittest. This word must have some speciality of initial or final or tone to render it capable of being readily understood. The creative power of language continues till this result is reached. At the beginning of this process there was a sound heard from the collision of resisting objects. We find a common root to the words, eight in number, mentioned in this paragraph. That root is in this case *dom*. It is a musical sound emitted by two hard substances having smooth surfaces and capable of reverberation when they happen to meet with a certain momentum. The air makes the concussion audible to our ears. The mind makes the sound her handmaid. She modifies it by means of the organs of the voice and by her own divinely bestowed faculties assigns a separate meaning to each modification. Men succeeded in forming words in this way, because of their anxiety to communicate their thoughts to each other and also partly from the desire to realize them more distinctly to their own mental vision.

The word-maker having two like objects before him, let us say two men of the same height and costume, applies his mind to the fact that one follows the other. The sound

dom is used by him at first. He gradually modifies it to *dzom*, *dzong*, *ts'ung*. Again he attends to the notion that one is the repetition of the other and, by the intensity of his emphasis, the sound *dom* also becomes *dzom* etc. with the meaning 'repeatedly,' 'again.' Two persons or things are seen by him in close proximity. He evolves the idea of the word 'together' and the sound gradually becomes *dong*, *t'ung*. The mind is drawn to the similarity between the objects as when one is an image of the other, for instance the shadow of a man seen behind him. While thus adding emphasis, *dom* becomes *zom*, *zong*, *zang*, *ziang*, *siang*. Also the intonation becomes C'hū sheng. He has now word for image. This word is a substantive. The mind now makes use of another power. The order of words is transposed. It is necessarily an endowment of each mind to be able to transpose words. An energetic mind will perform this transposition in such a powerful way that the character of a noun as a noun will be shaken. The image will gradually become an adverb and adjective. *Siang* image, becomes *siang* like, because a word follows it. The mind's attention is drawn to the new object, and is less fixed in the old word. The old word then becomes a sign of likeness, that is *siang*, like. Let the mind fix its attention on the interaction or community of action between the objects. The word 相 *siang* with a surd initial is the result of the tendency to variation which accompanies the exercise of mental energy. Again the mind limits its attention to reproduction of the shape. The word *dom* becomes *djom* *djong*, *chwang*. These sounds successively take the meaning shape. A frame work of wood or bamboo would take the same name and become *ch'wang*. Image came before shape. Shape was suggested by image. The mechanic of those times engaged in the reproduction of the object. The word *chwang* 狀 *chwang* (or 形 *hing* from the corresponding guttural root) was the crystallized

form of his thought, the word evolved by the tendency to variation accompanying energy. This hypothesis makes *siang* image, the source of *chwang*, shape, but a flame of wood or bamboo is a complicated structure. There are very many roots used to express the relations of the parts to each other. The formation of words was contemporary with civilization and the one was as gradual as the other. In the frame made up of opposite pieces placed geometrically, the opposition of the parts may also have given origin to the name. The Chinese roots for shape are *hing* 形, *ti* 體, *shi* or *shak* 式, *yang* 樣, *chwang* 狀, *ying* 影. These may be reduced to three, viz. *gom*, for *hing* and *ying*, *tak* for *ti* and *shi* and *dom* for *yang* and *chwang*. Among these *tak* may be evolved from *dik* opposite 敵 and *dom* from the sonant predecessor of 當 *tang* opposite. The idea of symmetrical opposition therefore may also have given origin to the name, this conception being prominent in the relation of the parts. The mixing of roots is often hopelessly involved. The last two words to be now considered are 等 *teng* equal and 當 *tang* opposite, oppose. The mind fixes its attention upon the equality or symmetrical shape or symmetrical placing of two objects and *teng* or *siang tang* are the words resulting.

Summary. In attempting to shew how a sound *dom* produced from a tube's mouth would give a name for a tube used as a carrying instrument, we have found our new word mingling with the sound of a cave when the human voice is there made use of. The hum of insects, the noise of hammering, ring of metal, thunder, sound of swelled skin when struck, are all sounds heard in nature which mingle with the same root *dom*

and give rise to a great variety of words. The Darwinian laws which have suggested themselves are the following.

Substantives precede verbs because primitive men were unpracticed in deep thinking and when they heard a sound could only give a name to an object visible to the eye.

Tendency to clearness in human speech leads to variation, and the modification in the sound corresponds to the energy and emphasis used by the speaker.

Educational influences cause words to change faster than in cases where colloquial speech is left to itself.

The name of the implement originates the name of the action.

Words descriptive of orientation and position we have found arising from the name of the implement when in a certain position.

More briefly these laws are:—1. Substantives originate verbs. 2. Tendency to clearness causes variation in the sound of roots and originates new words. 3. Educational influences tend powerfully to variation. 4. The implement gives the name of the action. 5. Implements in a certain position originate words descriptive of position.

Among these laws those numbered 4 and 1 may be viewed as identical.

Among other causes of variation are the wilfulness of those who have a will and like to use it, and the imitativeness of those who let their wills sleep and are content to follow. Wilfulness without imitativeness would never originate new words, for no one would then adopt them. They would be lost like seeds which are carried by the wind to fall into the sea. So that there is a great power in sporadic variation. The origin of a multitude of words is to be traced to wilfulness aided by imitativeness.

JOSEPH EDKINS.

THE CHINESE *Ch'ih* MEASURE.

There is nothing more needful to the progress and prosperity of China as a nation at the present time than exact science. A European, who had lived for years in the country teaching the natives to fight, said lately, 'The bane of the Chinaman is his habitual use of the words *ch'a puh to*, or not much difference.' Instead of trying to attain precision in making their instruments and using them, the Chinese are generally content with *ch'a puh to*. They are not quite unconscious of the importance of exactness, but, as the Scotch housewife said, they 'canna be fashed,' or else they find that vagueness serves best their selfish ends. It is a very old theory with the Chinese that weights and measures ought to be uniform throughout the Empire. Indeed the desirability of uniform weights and measures has been obvious to most legislators in every country. Moses fixed the talent and the cubit, and so did Solon. But the results of legislation on this subject have generally been rather melancholy and discouraging. The ancient cubit of Moses had given place to a longer one in the time of Solomon; and the variety of talents and cubits in use at one time in the western world was perhaps nearly as great as the variety of catties and *Ch'ih*s is in China at the present day.

We have, however, improved upon our forefathers somewhat in these matters, and it is surely high time that the Chinese had begun to improve. It is in hope of helping

on such a change that this article is written.

I. *History*.—In the account of the wonderful works of the Emperor Shun, some four thousand years ago (see Legge's *Shoo-king*, page 36), which is defective chiefly in credibility, we read that 'he made uniform the standard tubes, the measures of length and of capacity, and the steelyards.' Dr Legge gives, in a long note on this passage, details, gathered up from different sources by the worshippers of Shun in different ages, about the standard tubes, which were originally musical pipes but were made to serve as standards of length, of capacity, of weight, and of music; and concludes by saying,—'Shun would carry with him from the capital,' in the tours of inspection which he made over the Empire, 'standard tubes, measures, steel-yards and beams, and weights.' What a model-Emperor Shun was! But China has never seen such another in historic time, though it is said by Confucius that King Wán also 'carefully attended to the weights and measures.' We will suppose that he did, in a general way, without accepting details concocted centuries after. There are no monuments. The tubes have perished. At first they were made of bamboo, by the great Hwangti, it is said, long before Shun. But afterwards they were even made of gem, as well as of brass; yet, from the burning of the books (A.D. 220) downwards, their length has been uncertain, though volumes

have been written about it. Lü Puh-wei, a person of bad notoriety in connection with the Book-burner, knew and put on record the proportions which the tubes held to each other, and Sz'-ma Ts'ien, the first historian (A.D. 100), has given us the figures. The longest tube which gave the key-note, so to speak, to the whole set of twelve, was called *Hwang-chung*. These 'standards are the root of all affairs,' says Sz'-ma. 'Great is *Hwang-chung*!' exclaims one of K'anghi's scholars (御制律曆淵源). 'It is the root of all affairs.' But, alas! although the order of the seasons and the stability of the empire seem to depend upon it, its absolute length cannot be known.

As a curiosity I reproduce here Sz'-ma Ts'ien's numerical statement about the tubes. It is the parent of many others, but as his printers and editors have done him injustice, it is to be feared few give him the credit he deserves. First we have the five notes of the primitive musical scale, as follows:—

9 times 9 make 81 the note	宮 Kung.
$\frac{3}{4}$ of 81 ,, 54 ,,	徵 Chi.
$\frac{2}{3}$,, 54 ,, 72 ,,	商 Shang.
$\frac{3}{4}$,, 72 ,, 48 ,,	羽 Yü.
$\frac{4}{5}$,, 48 ,, 64 ,,	角 Kioh.

We must suppose 81 to be 8.1 inches (standard unknown). The proportions are quite correct for a musical string of uniform thickness and tension, though not for a set of tubes. Tubes made of these relative lengths would make intolerable discord; and one cannot help suspecting that the whole thing is a theory and nothing more. K'anghi's scholar just quoted candidly confesses that he had made tubes of bamboo of the proportionate lengths, and they would not work. The tube made half the length of the first, or $\frac{1}{2}$ = 4.05 to sound the octave to it, was actually a whole tone too low in pitch. Perhaps the Jesuit Missionaries suggested to him to make the experiment. And he proceeds to give a very lame explanation, to the effect that in tubes constructed on this principle (i.e. 5ths ascending and 4ths

descending) the fifteenth tube, and not the thirteenth, *should* sound the octave to the first, there being seven *yang* notes and seven *yin* notes in the chromatic scale as produced by tubes; whereas on a stringed instrument there are only twelve in all, and the *yin* and *yang* are improperly mixed up. (!)

But to proceed with Sz'-ma Ts'ien:—

- I. Hwang-chung 黃鍾 in length 8 inches and of 7 parts 1, 宮 Kung.
- II. Ta-lü 大呂 in length 7 inches 5 parts and of 3 parts 1.
- III. T'ai-ts'au 太簇 in length 7 inches and of 7 parts 2, 角 Kioh.
- IV. Kiah-chung 夾鍾 in length 6 inches 1 part, and of 3 parts 1.
- V. Ku-sien 姑洗 in length 6 inches and of 7 parts 4, 羽 Yü.
- VI. Chung-lü 仲呂 in length 5 inches 9 parts and of 3 parts 2, 徵 Chi.
- VII. Jui-pin 蕤賓 in length 5 inches 6 parts and of 3 parts 1.
- VIII. Lin-chung 林鍾 in length 5 inches and of 7 parts 4, 角 Kioh.
- IX. Yi-tseh 夷則 in length 5 inches 4 parts and of 3 parts 2, 商 Shang.
- X. Nan-lü 南呂 in length 4 inches and of 7 parts 8, 徵 Chi.
- XI. Wu-yih 無射 in length 4 inches 4 parts and of 3 parts 2.
- XII. Ying-chung 應鍾 in length 4 ins. 2 parts and of 3 parts 2, 羽 Yü.

I have translated verbatim to show how the printers' errors have involved the whole thing in obscurity. All the 7s (七) in the fractional parts ought to be 10s (十); there are other errors in the numbers; and the names of the five notes are distributed at random. The numbers in tenths of an inch and the notes should stand thus:—

81,	75 $\frac{3}{4}$,	72,	67 $\frac{1}{2}$,	64,	59 $\frac{3}{4}$,
Kung,		Shang,		Kioh,	
56 $\frac{3}{4}$,	54,	50 $\frac{3}{4}$,	48,	44 $\frac{3}{4}$,	42 $\frac{3}{4}$.
	Chi,		Yü.		

These numbers correspond to the notes of the chromatic scale, overlooking temperament of which the Chinese knew nothing, and they have been calculated again and again to several places of decimals, by

students of the ancient 'pitch-pipes'. But all this brings us no nearer a standard measure of length than we were. Some say the *Hwang-chung* was the *Ch'ih* (尺) of antiquity, some say it was 8.1 inches as Sz'-ma Ts'ien, but most prefer 9 inches. It is said that an inch is determined by placing alongside of each other ten grains of millet. K'anghi's scholars resort to this method and are confident that they have succeeded. The grains measured by their shorter diameter make ancient inches, and, by their longer diameter, modern. This is the reason why the modern *Ch'ih* is so much longer than the ancient. (!) But there are common sense ways by which a nearer approximation may be made to the ancient standard than this. The K'anghi mathematicians represent the ancient *Ch'ih* as over ten English inches, but it cannot have been much over seven. Another still more absurd way of determining the *Hwang-chung*, and the unit of length chosen by the sages of antiquity, is to judge by the ear whether the pitch of the tubes is proper for national music or not. If the music is too high and plaintive, it cannot have been the music of Shun (see 晉書律歷志).

I hope the reader is satisfied that it is no use trying to find out the weights and measures of Shun, of the Hsia dynasty, or of the Shang. Williams' *Commercial Guide* is vitiated by having included in it serious statements as to the lengths of 'the *Ch'ih* of Hwang-ti'; 'the *Ch'ih* of the Hsia dynasty,' and 'the *Ch'ih* of the Shang dynasty.' Where are the traces of them?

We begin with the Chow dynasty and the century of Confucius, say 500 B.C. Confucius spoke of a child as 六尺之孤 'an orphan of 6 *Ch'ih*' (*Analects*, p. 74). On this Dr Legge remarks, that the commentary says, the ancient cubit was shorter than the modern, and only = 7.4 inches of it, so that 6 cubits = 4.44 of the cubits of the present day. 'But,' he adds, 'this estimate of the ancient cubit is probably still too high. King Wán it is said was

10 cubits high, i.e. 7.4 modern cubits or more than 8½ English feet.' Here, when Dr Legge speaks of the modern cubit, he means the *Kau'ng Ch'ek* which the piece-goods merchants in Hongkong use and which is 13.9 English inches, or the Customs *Ch'ih*, which is 14.1. The Canton *P'ai-ts'in-ch'ek* would make King Wán over 9 feet English, that being 14.63 inches of our measure. But King Wán's stature was perhaps mythical; there are better cases. A certain man who is not said to have been a giant, addressing Mencius, asked, 'It is said, "All men may be Yaous and Shuns;"—is it so?' Mencius replied, 'It is.' The man went on, 'I have heard that King Wán was ten cubits high, and T'ang nine. Now I am nine cubits four inches in height. But I can do nothing but eat my millet, &c.' (*Mencius*, p. 300). And lest this should be thought an exceptional case or an exaggeration, there are many more. Dr Legge tells us in his *Life of Confucius*, that his father was said to be ten *Ch'ih* high. Sz'-ma Ts'ien, in his biography of the Sage, says, Confucius himself was 9 *Ch'ih* 6, and a descendent of his, whom Sz'-ma might have seen perhaps (2nd century, B.C.), was, he says, 9 *Ch'ih* 6 also. These we may suppose were all tall men, all above the average at least, but only a few inches over six feet English probably. If 9 *Ch'ih* were equal to 6 English feet, then Confucius would have been 6 feet 5, and the *Ch'ih* = 8 inches. We shall be nearer the truth if we suppose him to have been 6 feet, and the *Ch'ih* = 7.5 inches.

There is abundant evidence to shew that the Chinese *Ch'ih* has been gradually increasing in length for the last two thousand years. I should rather say that *Ch'ih*s varying from seven to nine English inches in length have grown to those of the present day varying from eleven to sixteen English inches (see *Commercial Guide*). These are, we may suppose, for the most part natural growths. A measure of length for a particular branch of industry or commerce would

not take a sudden leap. 'Nature makes no leap.' We shall try to account for this remarkable phenomenon of the growth of the *Ch'ih* further on.

It is obviously a mistake to speak of the *Ch'ih* as a 'cubit' or 'covid.' We call it a 'foot' for convenience, but it was really a 'span.' In the *Ritual* of the Senior 'Tai' (first century B.C.) it is said 'Spread out your figures and know inches, spread out your hands, and know *Ch'ih*, stretch out your arms and know a fathom' (布指知寸, 布手知尺, 舒肘知尋). In the Chow dynasty the standard of length was 'the measure of a man'. The fingers, the hands, the arms, were measures of length; and so long as 'a finger-breadth', 'a span', 'a fathom' were understood in their natural sense, and the parts of the human body habitually used for measuring purposes, the variation was confined within certain limits. Measuring rules were perhaps not so common as they are now. I invite the attention of Sinologists to the structure of the three characters 寸, 尺, 尋, for confirmation of the view here given, but especially to the character 丈 which means at once 'ten *Ch'ih*' and a full grown man, as we might say vulgarly, a *ten-spanner*. *Chang* 丈 is etymologically connected with *ch'ang* 長 'long,' 'full grown.' The Chinese giant was appropriately named Chang.

In the Han dynasty we read of men being seven or eight *Ch'ih* high. The stature of the Emperor Kwang-wu (first century A.D.) is given as 7.3 *Ch'ih*. Probably the *Ch'ih*s then ranged about ten English inches; and from that time there began to be brass-standards made. But it does not appear that any attempts were made to enforce their adoption throughout the Empire, and if they were made they undoubtedly failed. Think of the Viceroy of Canton ordering the adoption of the Ta Ts'ing standard, as determined by K'ang-hi's mathematicians by millet seeds placed lengthwise=12.5 inches English measure; instead

of the half dozen now in use in different trades. Why, the carpenter's rule, the shortest of the lot, fixed by Lu-pān, their deity, is=13.9 in. English. Lu-pān was a contemporary of Confucius and ought to have known the true *Hwang-chung* (see *Mencius*, page 161).

There is a rubbing of a brass-rule given in the collection of monuments called 鐘鼎款識, evidently an old relic, but later than the Tsin dynasty (A.D. 265-419). A copy is here given. The antique characters on it say it is the same length as the *Ch'ih* of Chow, and two brass *Ch'ih*s of Han. But it is evidently too long for so early a date as Chow, being 8.8 English inches. There is abundant evidence in the *Tsin History* (晉書律歷志) that diversities existed then, and that the length of the Chow *Ch'ih* was unknown. Something is said about the discovery, in a field, of an old standard measure; but that did not settle the point.

II. *General Conclusions*.—1. Changes in the standard measure of length in any department of industry or commerce are gradual, and cannot be forced by ordinary legislation. When the laws of China affix heavy penalties to the crime of falsifying weights and measures, they mean nothing but wanton departures from the current standards. Short weight and short measure would be the faults most liable to be detected and punished.

2. The tendency to make the *Ch'ih* longer may perhaps be accounted for on the ground that to make it shorter was more obviously a crime, and the desire of capitalists to make profits by varying the *Ch'ih* was gratified as effectually by making a long *Ch'ih* for purchases and manufactures, and keeping to the old standard for retail, as by shortening the retail-measure, which was too mean a thing to be tolerated.

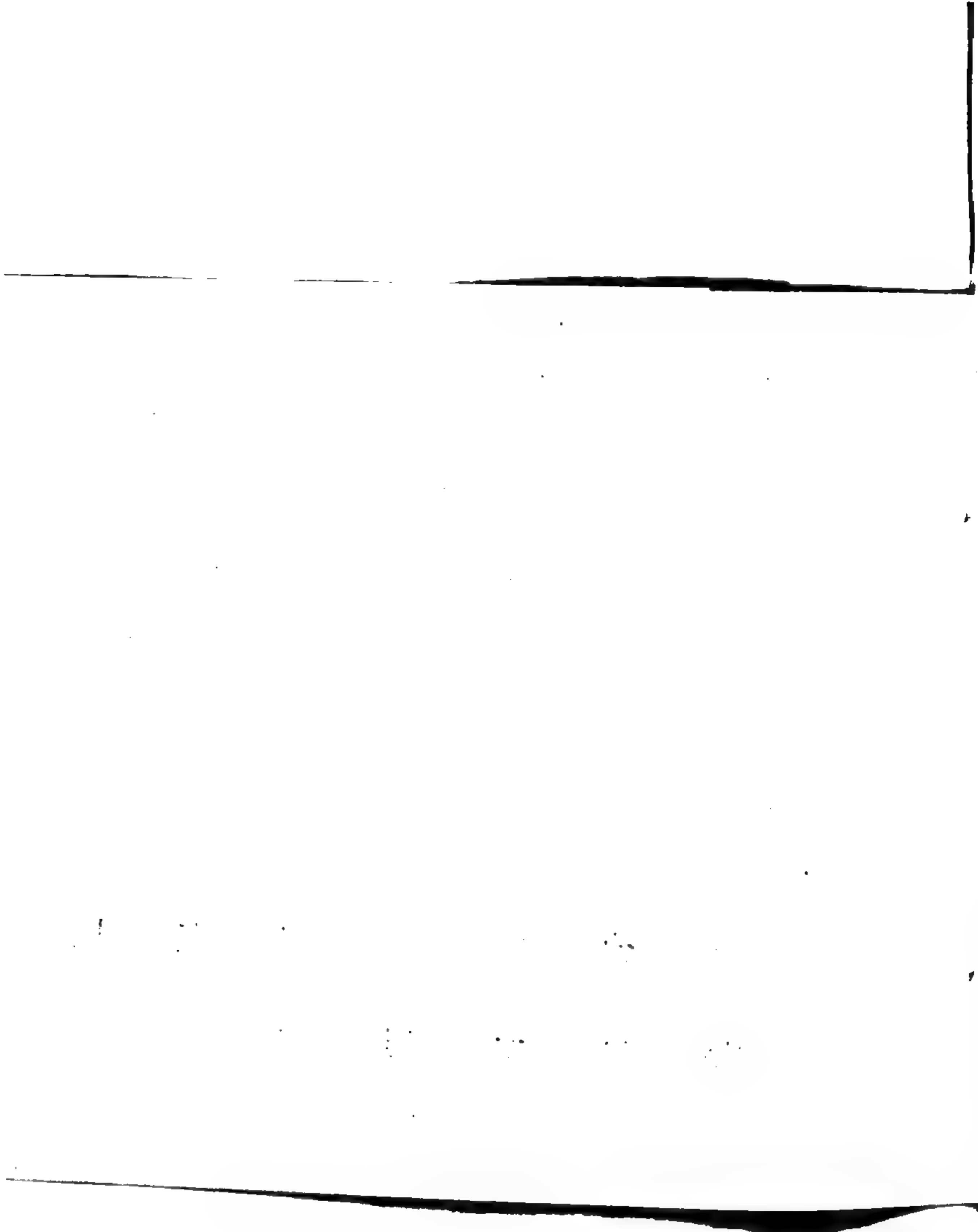
3. Legislation may be helpful, but only if it is adapted to the natural laws and conditions of commerce, and if no violence is done to vested interests.

4. The chief point to be attended to in legislating on a standard measure is the determining of a fair and hopeful average measure in extensive use, to which others may in time approximate. The standard of K'anghi's mathematicians, 12.5 English, is too short; and it seems a pity that Mr Wylie in his astronomy did not fix upon 180 *li*, instead of 200 *li* for a degree. The former would make the *Ch'ih* 13.5 English inches; while the latter makes it almost equal to the English foot. We cannot hope that China will adopt the English foot, so as to supersede the *Ch'ih*. We can only hope for the gradual approximation of the various divergent *Ch'ih*s to a standard which would be a fair average or compromise. Facts have hitherto pointed to 14 inches English, more or less, as such a fair average standard. An examination of the 84 different varieties of *Ch'ih*, printed in Dr William's *Commercial Guide*, will satisfy any one that even 13.5 in. English is above the average. But the facts that the foreign treaties generally fix the *Ch'ih* at about 14 inches, that the Hai Kwan *Ch'ih* is uniformly 14.1, and that the law of Hongkong, for forty years past, has been in perfect agreement with the law at the open ports in this respect, point strongly to *about* 14 inches as the future standard. The probabilities are between 13.5 in. and 14 in. English. The recent addition of half an inch to the legal *Ch'ih* in Hongkong, making it 14½ in. English, is obviously a mistake, which ought to be rectified without delay, so that the shrewd forecast of Dr Williams may not be hindered in its fulfilment:—'It is not unlikely that the use of this *Ch'ih* of 14½ or .1 inches at all the ports will gradually make it the standard throughout the Empire.' See *Chinese Commercial Guide*, page 283, Ed. 1863.

JOHN CHALMERS.

Note.—Twenty years ago, with the figures of Sz'-ma Ts'ien before me, I supplied the substance of the following note for Dr Legge's *Shoo-king*. Mr Faber, in a too

elaborate article, in the 1st Volume of the *China Review*, blamed Dr Legge unjustly, not knowing the English notation. And neither Mr Faber, nor Mr Van Aalst, when writing his recently published treatise on Chinese Music, seems to have been aware of the fact stated in the end of this note, that a tube made exactly half the length of another will *not* sound the octave to it. Yet the latter gentleman gives the result very accurately in 'the Scale of the *pien ch'ing*' (pp. 50, 51, *Imperial Maritime Customs*. 11—*Special Series*: No. 6.) It is very easy to get a couple of bamboo tubes and make the experiment. The half length tube will be fully half a tone flat. The note in the *Shoo-king* (p. 48) says, 'the tubes which produce the five notes of the Chinese scale are said to measure, in ninths of an inch' (according to the oldest authority tenths of an inch, as in the present article), '81, 72, 64, 54, and 48 respectively. The next number in this series, corresponding to the octave to *Kung* should of course be ½ of 81 = 40½; and we have thus according to our notation, G, A, B, D, E, G. The series is constructed, starting from 81 as a basis, by making perfect fifths ascending (3:2), and perfect fourths descending (3:4). Thus from 81 is obtained 54; 54 gives by the second proportion 72; 72 again gives 48; and 48 gives 64. Carrying on this process, increasing or decreasing each time as the case requires, the following set of twelve is obtained:—81, 75½, 72, 67½, 64, 59½, 56½, 54, 50½, 48, 44½, 42½. (The fractions are not very accurate). Twelve tubes of these several lengths constitute what I have called "the standard tubes" whose various application has been pointed out above. As regards the theory of music, could we be sure that the details which have been given, had really been wrought out in Shun's time, we could not refuse them our meed of admiration. The progress of the Chinese in music has not corresponded to such beginnings. A theoretical difficulty and a practical one have hindered them.



They have found it impossible in theory for A to hold the same proportion to D as D to a; and in practice they have found that while their calculations might be applied to stringed instruments, the tube a must be made considerably less than half the length of the tube G, in order to sound the octave to it. Their division of the tubes into 6 律 and 6 呂, moreover, has complicated the subject, and thrown around it the perplexity

of their reasonings about the yin and yang principles.'

There is on the whole good ground for the suspicion that the numerical theory of the musical tubes did not originate in the Middle Kingdom of Confucius at all, but came in afterwards from 'barbarians,' through the Tauists. (Compare Faber's masterly article on Tauism in last number of the *China Review*).

J. C.

CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARDS THE TOPOGRAPHY AND ETHNOLOGY OF CENTRAL ASIA.

I. EXTRACTS FROM THE P'EI-WEN YUN-FU.*

1. There were then two Bodhisattwas, one named Shakyamuni, and one named 彌勒佛沙. [Compare Dr. Hirth's book, page 90].

2. [In the reign of 宋武帝, about A.D. 420,] the States of 婆皇 and 婆達 both sent envoys to court with tribute. [K'ang-hi mentions 勃達 State in the T'ang dynasty].

3. In the first year of 天監 [A.D. 502], the King [of 中天竺] sent one 竺羅達 with a letter and offerings of vitreous spittoons, perfumes, 古貝 [do not confuse with cotton or 吉貝] &c.

4. The 天山 are the 祁連山 [see Nos. 38 etc. Well's Map, 1882, places the Kilien Range north of Kokonor] otherwise called 時漫羅 and 祁漫羅山, for the Tartar [屬] words [? *gilen*, *jimanra*, and *jimanra*] all mean 'Heaven.' These mountains extend east and west 3,500 or 3,600 li.

5. Sogd [粟特國] is west of the Onion Range,—the ancient [Am-ts'ai] 菴蔡 [see A. N. 60].*

* The letter A prefixed to a number refers to the 100 and odd extracts in the Jan.-Feb. Number.

6. The State of 婆利 is reached by going from Tonquin by sea south past 赤土 and 丹丹. [See Nos. 202 and 363. Porter Smith thinks Siam may be meant].

7. He took with him [from China] 700 pieces of divers silks, to barter for Bactrian [月氏] horses and storax.

8. The men of Ta Ts'in gather storax [蘇合]; they first press out its juice, and make a scented cake therefrom, after which they sell the lees to the traders from different countries, through whom it finds its way to China.

9. West of Khoten 500 li, there is a [temple called] 比摩寺, where Lao-tsz preached civilization to Tartars [化胡] and became Buddha. [Compare No. 135].

10. In the State of 高昌 there is a Mani [摩尼] temple; the Persian priests all adhere to its teachings;—what the Buddhist classics call heretics [外道. Compare Eitel, s. v. *Tirthakas*].

11. The King of 渠勒 State [once subject to Khoten, according to Bretschneider] rules at 健都 city, distant from Ch'ang-an 9,950 li. *Küen* is the analysed pronunciation of the first word [居言].

12. When he [Kumārajīvas, see *China*

Review, Vol. XIII, page 52], was twelve years old, his mother brought him to 沙勒 State. The King thought very highly of him, so he remained in the [? Sorak] country one year, studying, &c., &c. [Compare No. 68].

13. The capital of Persia is on the west of the River 達易, —Sulin city [蘇蘭], or the ancient T'iao-chih land. [Probably for 薩; as 利 for 利: the ancient Susa].

14. The State of 烏那曷 has its capital on the west of the River 烏訥, —the old Parthia Land. During the period Ta-yeh [A.D. 605-617], they sent an envoy with tribute of local articles. [Elsewhere Wu-hu is described in the Concordance as though it were part of Hainan or Annam].

15. K'ang State is the successor of K'ang-kü; and ever since the Han times it has continued to exist without a break. It is noted as a powerful State. The States of 米, of 史, of 漕 [China Review, Vol. V., p. 121, once part of Kipin], of 何, of 小安, of 那色波, of 烏那曷, and of 穆 have all become part of it.

16. On the north he [Ch'ên T'ang] attacked 伊列 [? Iatli], to the west he took Parthia; to the south he scattered the Bactrians [月氏], the 山離, and the 烏弋 [? A-ri or Aria, see Nos. 16, 41, 73]. Pauthier identifies the Yüeh-chih with the Yuts or Goths, and Remusat thinks they may have been Mongols].

17. The countries of Wu-yih and Shan-li are distant from Ch'ang-an 12,200 li. Starting from 玉門 and 陽關, and emerging by the southern route, passing through the Shan-shan, and again going south, one reaches Wu-yih and Shan-li, which is the extreme point on the southern route. [Compare Nos. 114-5, 271].

18. Mounting the 南山 [a term applied elsewhere to various ranges to the south of this or that traveller] we get a peep [down at the] 烏弋. [See No. 73].

19. Shan-li is distant from China 20,000 li.

19½. The [Government of the] Parthian State is seated at 和犢 city, and borders

north upon K'ang-kü: South it borders on Wu-yih and Shan-li. Its extent is several thousand li. [Voduk or some such sound may mean 'capital'].

20. The Parthian State [or Government] resides at Ho-tuh city, 25,000 li from Loh-yang. [Strabo says Arsaces, the founder of the Arsak monarchy, was a Scythian, but according to others a Bactrian].

21. In the 7th year of 開寶 [A.D. 974], the King [of Ta-shih] [? caliph] 訶黎非 sent an envoy [named] 不羅海. Two years later he sent another envoy 蒲希密. Both of them brought local articles as tribute. [These sounds may represent something like Petragai and Bohemet].

22. Pan Ch'ao sent his lieutenant Kan-ying right away to the extreme parts of the Western Sea. [弱臨西海. It is important to note the force of the character 臨 here, which elsewhere occurs (without 弱) in a different sense].

23. India [天竺] State is the 身毒 State of the Han [period]. It is divided into North, South, East, West, and Central [India, in all] five [Indies].

24. Even since the Nirvāna [? doctrine was introduced], the dignified precepts practised by the divine body [of priests] have been carried on without a break from the 新頭 River [Indus] to South India, even to the South Sea,—40,000 or 50,000 li. [See Giles' Buddhist Kingdoms, page 27].

25. The Buddhist priest Fah Hien says: crossing the Indus River [Sin T'ou] you come to 烏菴 State, which is North India,—the State whither Buddha came. [Sin-t'ou, being the 'Indus,' A-dzang may be 'Alexandria' on that river].

26. Wu-ch'ang State is north of 睢彌. North is the Onion Range, and south it reaches to India. The soil produces much 林果. They irrigate their fields, and [get out of them] abundance of rice and wheat. Most are Buddhists, and all their temples and pagodas are exceedingly gorgeous. [Strabo says, rice grows in Baotri-

ana, Babylonia, Susis, and in the Lower Syria].

27. The State of 朱居 is west of Khoten; its people live in the hills. There is wheat [or barley] and much 林果. [See No. 151].

28. There are two roads from 鉢和 State, [See No. 246]: one road goes west towards 嚧達, and one goes south-west to Wu-ch'ang. [See No. 322].

29. The King of 多摩菴 is [says the T'ang Shu] named 骨利. He always sits facing east. There are bows, swords, cuirasses and spears, but no horses.

30. The 劫者 occupy the centre of the Onion Range, together with the South and West parts, at the Shê-mi's North-west [? point] 梹怛. They are 12,000 li distant from the [T'ang] capital. In the 2nd year of 武德 [A.D. 619] they sent an envoy to offer a precious girdle, glass, and crystal cups.

31. The 多彌 are also a tribe of Western Tanguts [羌], subject to the T'u-fan, and called 難磨 and on the banks of the Yak River. Their land has much yellow gold. In the 6th year of Chêng-kwan [A.D. 632], they sent an envoy for audience and to bring tribute. [See No. 56].

32. Yü-t'ien is an old State of the Western Region. In the 9th year of 天監 [A.D. 510] of the Liang Dynasty, it first communicated with Kiang Nan [江左], and sent an envoy to offer local articles. In the 7th year of 大同 [A.D. 541], they again offered a foreign carved precious Buddha.

33. The Indian [天竺] State of 迦毗黎 [Eitel's Kapila]. In the 5th year of 元嘉 [A.D. 428], the King sent an envoy with a letter and offering, of diamond finger-rings and 摩勒 gold-rings. [Muraṅka in Sanskrit for emerald].

34. The Uigurs [回紇] were formerly Hiung-nu, [see Nos. 247 & 251] also called 高車部 during the Toba times. Some say they are the 敕勒, also erroneously written 鐵勒. [This word may mean

Terek, or Törk, or Tark]. [In T'üeh-küeh or Turkish] 特勒 means 'young men,' [See No. 276], and 葉護 means 'high officer.' [Compare the Hamaxocci of Strabo who moved to pasturages dwelling in ἀμαξο or huts fixed on wheels].

35. India [身毒] State offered a chain bridle, and a cornelian stone as 勒 [? curb].

36. The King 尸羅逸多 [? Sila Yeta] of Central India chastised the [Kings of the] four Indies, who all faced north and did him homage; and when the T'ang Buddhist Hsien Chwang visited his country, and described the glorious conquests of T'ai Tsung, the King was pleased, and said: 'I must turn east in homage to him.' In the 15th year [A.D. 641], he took the style of King of 摩伽陀 and sent an envoy to hand in a letter. [See Eitel's Magadha].

37. T'ien Chuh State is the 身毒 State of the Hans. The Kings of Central India are surnamed 乞利咤 or 利利 [? Kahari], and have reigned for many generations [down to later Han times].

38. In the T'ien-shan range of 延州 [in Shen Si] there is a [Syrian?] temple [秦國佛寺] in the Court of which there is a grave said by tradition to be King 尸毗 [Sivi's] grave. King Shibi comes out of the Buddhist book 大智論 [? Mahāmāṇikya], which says he cut his flesh to feed the hungry hawks withal: [cf. Giles' Buddhist Kingdoms, page 98].

39. The *Ficus religiosa* comes from Magadha, the former Central India. [See No. 36].

40 [The Turk] Asina Shehr, in chastising Kuldja, entered by way of Harashar, and took 40 days to advance and capture the King . . . Over 70 cities submitted . . . He returned and then persuaded the King of Khoten to come to his Court [阿史那 is evidently Sayce's 'Assena, the ancestor of the Turks'].

41. Ta Yüeh-chih [Bactria] was originally a nomadic State [the people] moving about with their herds, and having habits like those of the Hiung-nu. [Strabo says that anciently the Sogdiani and Bactriani did not

differ much from the nomades in their life and manners, yet the manners of the Bactriani were a little more civilized].

42. The Han [books] say the Western States consisted of the citied and the nomadic . . . The nomadic did not erect cities, but considered that being on horseback [made] a State.

43. South-east from Dwarf State one year by boat you come to Naked State.

44. South of Kuldja is 石 State. Early in the Chêng-kwan period [about A.D. 630] one Hung Ki caused the Western Turks to join 石 State in rebellion.

45. The Woman Prince State also originally had a male for Prince. Japan being engaged in intestine strife [the rivals] joined in raising a female to the Throne, giving her 1,000 maids to do attendance, but there was only one male to supply victuals and transmit orders in and out. Going east by sea 1,000 *li* from Wan Prince State, there are other States, all of Japanese [倭] stock. Then there is Dwarf State on the South, where men are three or four feet high; and, again, Naked State. Black-teeth State is again to the South-east, reachable by boat in a year.

46. The State of 林邑 [see No. 107] was the 象林縣 of the Hans, [of. No. 171] that is, where Ma Yüan cast the [boundary] pillar [in north Tonquin]. [? 柳州].

47. In the second year of 孝監 [sic, A.D. 455] the State of 槃槃 sent an envoy for audience and to offer tribute. In the first year of 中大通 [A.D. 529], the State of P'wan-p'wan handed in a letter with a Buddha's tooth, and an ornamental pagoda. They also offered garu wood, sandal and a score or so of such scents.

48. Fu-nan [扶南] State [see No. 76] produces silver, gold, copper, spelter, garu-wood, perfumes, elephants, rhinoceros, peacocks, kingfishers, five-coloured parrots. On its South frontier, [distant] over 3,000 *li*, is 頓遜 State, situated on the sea headlands. [Porter Smith suggests Tenasserim]. Here there is the Wine Tree, like the [cocoa-

nuts] 安石榴; they collect the sap from its flowers, and let it stand in jars, and after a few days it becomes wine.

48½ When Chang K'ien returned from the West the got some 榴 seeds from 塗林安石 State. [See No. 365].

49. The 騾 are the ancient 朱波: they use gold and silver to make money, which is half moon shaped and called 登伽佗: it is also called 足彈佗. [Porter Smith thinks Chu-po is Burmah. Compare Nos. 83, 93. Remusat says *tamga*, 'money,' is a Mongol word, imported into India by way of Turkestan].

50. Batau [拔豆], in the Western Regions, is distant 51,000 *li* from Ta-t'ung Fu [代]: its east reaches to 多佛當 State, and its west to 旃那 State, between which two there is a distance of 750 *li*.

51. In the Western Sea [? meaning Ceylon] there is a market [鬼市], where they trade without seeing each other, placing the price by the side of the article; it is called the giaours' market [鬼市].

52. Khoten is below the 南山. [See No. 18] its rivers run north, and join the Onion Range Rivers, [both then] flowing east to 蒲昌海 [Lob Nor], also called the Salt Marsh. Further east it again unites with [? another branch of] the Khoten River.

53. Ta-Ts'in State is west of the Western Sea, and therefore is called the 秦海 [See Nos. 78 and 134. Here is the key to the confusion about the Weak Water].

54. The king of 呼衍 was always hanging about between Ts'in Hai and 蒲類 [Barkul] and forcing the Western Regions to join him in marauding. Let us begin by assembling 2,000 men from the 酒泉 dependencies [modern 肅州] at the 昆侖 Defiles, [? Kia-yü Pass], and first of all attack King Huyen, cutting off his communications; and, after that, despatch 5,000 Shen-shen troops to threaten the rear of the 車師. [See Nos. 84, 156.]

55. [The Emperor] sent [his generals] out by way of 敦煌 and the K'un-lun Defiles, [after which] they routed the 白山 caterans at 蒲類海. The Emperor then entered 車師 [Land]. [Von Spruner considers P'u-lei and P'u-ch'ang to be one and the same].

56. North of the 繇勃達 Range, a good 1,000 li, you make the east of 細葉 stream, called the Hot Sea: though the country is cold, it never freezes. Arrived at the 吐 [P 吐] 渾 frontier, you next pass along [經] the Warm Stream and the 烈膜 Sea 440 li, cross the Yellow River; then another 470 li to 衆龍驛, and cross the 西月 River 200 li to the western frontier of 多彌 State. [See No. 31].

57. The P'u-lei Hai is now [5th century A.D.] called the 婆悉 Sea. It is south-east of the [then] present 蒲昌縣 in 庭州.

58. The frontier of 盤陀 State; [then] go west six months, cross the Onion Range, and again go west three days to 鉢猛 city; three days more to the 不可依 Mountains, where it is very cold, with accumulations of snow, summer and winter.

59. The 沙陀 [a term applied also to the desert of Tsi-tsi-har] are another tribe of Western Turks of the 處月 stock. At first the Eastern and Western Turkish tribes divided the old Wu-sun territory, and mixed with the Ch'u-yüeh and the 處密. There was a civil war in the 7th year of 貞觀 [A.D. 633], when the latter removed east of the 蒲類. Here there was a great desert called Sha-t'o, hence they were called the Sha-t'o Turks. Meanwhile the Turkish Khakhan 乙毘咄 陸 founded what was called the 'northern court,' west of the 鐵昌山. [This is Bashbalik or Urumtsi].

60. The Emperor 莊宗 [A.D. 923-6] was first called 朱邪, as he emanated from the Western Turks. His descendants further called themselves Sha-t'o, and used Chu-sie as a surname. [See von Fries' re-

marks upon the K'i-tan dynasties, and my observations on the same].

61. The State of 渴盤陀 is a small State west of Khoten, with analagous habits; they wear cotton [吉貝] cloth, long gowns with small sleeves, and trousers narrow at the ankles. The land is suitable for 小麥 [P oats] which serves as their grain. They have many oxen, horses, camels, and sheep, and produce good felt. The King's surname is 葛沙. [See No. 138].

62. The surname of the 薛延陀 is 一利咥, the most warlike of the 鐵勒 tribes.

63. The [T'ang] 天竺 and the Han 身毒 is also called 摩伽陀. The *Ficus religiosa* [Bodhidruma, Eitel] comes from Mogado State, in the 摩訶菩提 Temple. It is the 思惟 tree [Patra, Eitel].

64. The Emperor 高宗 [A.D. 150-83] sent Wang Hsian-ts'eh to the Mo-ho-p'ut'i temple in this [摩揭它] State, [which therefore must be the same as the above].

65. The Lion State's ships are the largest, requiring ladders to get up and down, several tens of feet. They are all filled with precious goods, and, on arrival, the Governor reports to the Emperor [from 南海 or Canton]. [Mr. Giles, quoting Mr. Beal, calls the Lion States Ceylon, pp. 92, 105].

66. The [evidently Indo-Scythian] Bactrians [月氏] first occupied the tract between 敦煌 and 祈連, but, being defeated by the Scythians [匈奴], they went far away, and fixed their capital on the Oxus [溫水]. Tun-hwang is the ancient 瓜州, and produces splendid melons. [Perhaps this horde of Yüeh-chih is the 溫 or Wên family, from whom Remusat derives the European Huns or Finns].

67. From Tun-hwang to 遼東 11,500 li. [Mr. Playfair places this first, Lat. 39.40 W. Long. 95.5 Thus it must be outside the 陽關].

68. If we can penetrate the Onion Range

[here evidently the hills south of Issekul], we can attack Kwei-tsz [Kuldja or Ili].

69. Kumârajiva's father declined the hereditary premiership, left home, and crossed the Onion Range [to come] east [which seems to shew that he was not a Hindoo]. [Compare No. 12, and Eitel's Buddhism s.v. *Takchasilâ*].

70. Below the Story Mountain there is the River 石門, which rushes south-west, and, further south, enters the Onion Range, cutting across Ki-pin State to the west.

71. The Onion Range [of hills] is lofty, and on them all onions grow [a peculiarity which, as Bretschneider shews, is shared by the Mongol hills].

72. Lion [State] is in the south-west Sea, over 2,000 *li* in extent; they are able to tame lions; hence the name. [Dr. Hirth very pertinently suggests that 海中 is hence often intended to mean Ceylon].

73. The [State of] 烏弋 has lions, rhinoceros, and 桃拔. [See Nos. 16, 115].

74. The State of Shen-shen was originally called Lou-lan. The King rules at 杆泥 city, distant 1,600 *li* from 陽關, and 6,100 *li* from Ch'ang-an. This State produces jade, and much watergrass, *tamarix sinensis*, 胡桐, and white grass.

75. The River again goes east and crosses 滿犁 State, which is distant from Su-lê [Kashgar] 550 *li*.

76. There was a trader from 罽陽 State, who had come [thence] to India, and found his way to 扶南. He said India was about 30,000 *li* distant [from Fu-nan].

77. From 玉門 west to the Caspian [西海] is all Tartaria [西域]. From 高昌 right away to Persia is Tartar territory [西域地].

78. The course of the stream reaches west to 合黎. This is meant by the 屬水既西 of the *Shu-King*. All the rivers run east except this, which runs

west; hence the fact of its running west was noted. [Compare Nos 53, 134].

79. I-men-sün [異牟尋] completely routed the Turfans at 神川. He entered and offered a map and local articles, asking for the restoration of his 南詔 title. The [T'ang] Emperor gave him liberal presents, and, in the summer of next year, granted him his patent as King of Nan-shao. [See No. 2407].

80. The Black Horde [黑黨] have quite recently occupied the West of the 赤水. Their chief is styled 敦善王, and when the T'ukuh-hwan 吐 and 吐谷渾 [See No. 120, and Giles' *Buddhist Kingdoms*, Page 120] submitted, the King of Tun-shân also sent tribute. [This Water must not be confused with the Meikong, or with that west of Ta I's'in].

81. The 東女 are another tribe of Tanguts [羌]. Early in the period 顯慶 [A.D. 656-61], they sent an envoy to court. During the 開元 period [A.D. 713-756], both the King and his son again came to Court. An imperial message commanded them to dine with the Ministers at 曲江 [in modern Kwang Tung], and the King 曳夫 was made 歸昌王.

82. In the 12th year of 貞觀 [A.D. 638], the Kings of 鳩密 and 富那 sent envoys with tribute.

83. The 驃 are the ancient 朱波, their east adjoining 真臘, and distant from the [T'ang] capital 14,000 *li*. [See Nos. 49, 93, 190].

84. The Chu-po are on the 赤水 [Meikong? See No. 80].

84½. During the period 元封 [B.C. 110-104], Si-kün, the daughter of Kien, Prince of Kiang-tu, was sent as a royal princess to marry [the King of] Wu-sun, [? Eusenii]. [Bretschneider mentions the country of 兀孫 west of Karakorum in the 13th century].

85. The cities of Turkestan joined in an attack upon the Huns, took 車師 State, captured its King and population, and left,

The [Hun Khon or] Shen-yü then set up 昆 's younger brother 兜 as King of Kishih. [See Nos. 54, 156].

86. The State of 拘彌 is distant from 于真 300 里.

87. East of 于闐 300 里 there is the River 建德力. East of the River is 汗彌居達德力 city, also called Kü-mi city, which is the ancient 寧彌.

88. The words 昆莫 are the King's style; his name is 獵驢. They are later written 昆彌. [See A. No. 11].

89. There were set up two K'un-mi of Wu-sun. [Remusat's Kheoun-ni].

90. The State of 杆彌 rules Yü-ni city, now [Han times] called 寧彌. [Thus Kümi and Yümi must both be the same place]. [Bretschneider says Yü-mi (erroneously Han-mi) and 皮山 were once subject to Khoten. *C. Review*, V. 17].

91. The King of West 且彌 rules the 于大 Valley, east of the T'ien-shan, and again the King of East Tsü-mi rules the 克虛 Valley [also] east of the T'ien-shan.

92. The style of the King of 真臘 [Cambodia] is 笏屈. During the period 大歷 [A. D. 766-80], the Assistant King 婆彌 and his wife came to Court and offered 11 tame elephants.

93. During the reign 貞元 [A. D. 785-804], the State of 驃 [? Siam] offered songs known amongst the barbarians. [See No. 198].

94. A foreign 澡灌 [Buddha's bowl] on which was the inscription 'this was offered by Kuldja State See Giles' *Buddhist Kingdoms*, pp. 19, 105] in the 2nd year of 元封 [B.C. 109].

95. Fuh-lim State produces gold, silver, pearls, western embroidery, 1,000 year jubus [dates], horses, single-humped camels, *pa* olives, [巴欖], and grapes. [Bell of Antermony mentions stores of grape-wine at Shamachy near Baku, kept in jars underground].

96. He tastes the '*pa* olives' himself, and prefers to [or is able to ? 寧] price them :

he ferments his own grapes, and does not take office [納官]. [*Palam* is still the Canton sound, and *παλάμη* the 'date palm' seems intended]. [Bretschneider thinks it is almonds, called in Persian *badan*].

97. The water-lily is colourless beside the full flower of the *pa-lan*, and amber is opaque beside the juice of the grape.

98. Amongst [the T'u-fan] animals are the single-humped camel [獨封駝], which can travel 1,000 里 a day.

99. The King of Kuldja sent an envoy to hand in scents, drugs, flower-blossom-cloth, famed horses, single-humped camels, big-tailed sheep, &c. [Bell found that the Kal-mucks of the Ural had dromedaries with two humps and that the Buraty Mongols of Lake Baikal had sheep with broad tails].

100. In the fourth year of 咸平 [A.D. 1001], the King [of the Ugurs] sent an envoy with a jade bridle, famed horses, humpless camels, 寶 [? meteoric] iron, swords, cuirasses, and vitreous vessels as tribute.

101. The people, male and female, of 車離 State are all 18 feet high, and mount elephants and 橐駝 in battle.

102. The Kuldjans [Compare No. 99] every new year have camel [橐駝] fights for seven days, and judge the prospects of the next harvests by the results of this fighting.

103. The Shen-yü [or Khan of the Hung-nu] every year enjoys the sport of horse-racing and camel fighting at 龍祠.

104. The people of Cambodia [or 真臘] call the master *pat'o*, and the mistress *mit'o*; 巴 means father, and 米 mother. [These sound like Sanskrit words.]

105. Bactria [大月氏] produces the one-humped camel [一封橐駝, which evidently cannot be 'the two-humped Bactrian camel'].

106. During the period 永徽 [A. D. 650-6], the State of 土火羅 offered birds seven feet high like camels; they flapped their wings in moving along; they could eat iron, and instantly digest it when given in their food [unmistakably the ostrich].

107. In the 7th moon of the 7th year [of 宋文帝 A. D. 424-54], the States of 林邑 and 訶羅佉 and 師子 sent envoys, with tribute. [The last seems to be Ceylon, Strabo's Taprobane, whence there was a trade to India in ivory and tortoise-shell].

108. Kokonor [青海] is over 1,000 *li* in circuit, and has small hill-islands in it. After it is frozen in winter, fine mares are placed hereon, and recaptured next spring; the foals they bring forth are called 'dragon-seed.' They once got some Persian mares and turned them into this sea, on which they bore foals which could [afterwards] travel 1,000 *li* a day,—called by tradition Kokonor colts. [See No. 183, and A. No. 56].

109. Li Tsing [Mayers No. 374] routed the 天柱 horde at 赤海. [See Nos. 227 and 364].

110. The 湟 River flows again southwest across the 卑禾羌海, north of which [P Dalai-dabasu] there is a salt lake which tradition calls 青海. [See No. 299].

111. [In the reign of Han P'ing Ti, A.D. 1-6], the State of 黃支 offered rhinoceros.

112. The State of Hwang-chih is south of 日南, distant from the [Han] capital 30,000 *li*.

113. From 夫甘都盧 State you go by bark about two months to Hwang-chih State, where the customs are much like those of 珠厓 [Hainan].

114. The rhinoceros of 烏弋 [see No. 72] scent the east-wind, and receive official [keepers].

115. The territory of Wu-yih is hot, and in the jungles there are 桃拔, lions, and rhinoceros. Commentary: the *t'ao-pah* is also called 符拔; it is like a deer with a long tail; those with one horn are by some called the heavenly deer; those with two horns are by some called 辟邪.

116. Bactria [月氏國] sent an envoy to offer 騊 (or 扶) 拔 and lions.

117. The *fu-pah* is like a giraffe [驢] without horns. [See No. 73].

118. An-sih [Parthia] State offered lions and *fu-pah*. [See Nos. 73, 115].

119. Yen-k'i [Harashar] State is due west of the [T'ang] capital 7,000 *li*; of rich households it has 4,000; of good soldiers 2,000; it has always been subject to the Western Turks. Its habits are in favour of a wandering life.

120. The 伊吾 [Hami] utilised the settlements of the Lon-lan. [See Nos. 130, 188].

121. The salt lands of Persia produce coral trees one or two feet in length. [Bretschneider mentions the same at Samarkand].

122. Coral is produced in Ta Ts'in State. There is an island in the 漲海 called Coral Tree Island, on the bottom of which there is coral, which is produced on and coils about the stones. When it is first produced, it is white and tender like mushrooms. The people of that country go in large barks, in which are iron nets, which they first plunge into the water, and after a year coral is produced in the meshes of the net: its colour is still yellow, and its branches interlaced, and it is three or four feet high, the largest being a foot or more in circuit: in three years the colour is red, when they [the fishers] start the roots with an iron rake, fasten the iron net to the boat, and raise the net with a windlass, cutting and chiselling at will. If the [proper] time is let go by, the coral becomes rotten and maggoty. [Compare Maunders' account of Marseilles coral: 'The net is composed of two rafters, . . . with leads fixed, . . . intermingled with loose netting. This instrument is let down, . . . when the coral is strongly entangled: . . . For this six boats are sometimes required. . . . Red coral is found in the Mediterranean, . . . the Ethiopic Ocean, and about Cape Negro.']

123. In this State [Persia] there are amber, cornelians, pearls, &c.

124. Came [B.C. 975 circ.] from 渠胥 State, to offer an amber phoenix six feet high.

125. Resin flows into the earth; in 1,000 years it becomes the fungus [*Pachyma*

cocos], which in 1,000 more becomes amber. [Compare Beeton: 'Amber is supposed to be a fossil gum or resin.']

126. [The *Shu-king* mentions the] 渠樓 western 戎 [Tartars]. Commentary: there was a district of this name in 朔方郡. [See No. 294].

127. The [Han] Emperor [Wu Ti] ordered the K'ü-seu, and the 氏羌 in the north to be brought to submission.

128. The Great Han [Empire] was bounded east by Pacific [東海], and west by the K'ü-seu. [? Cyreschata on the Oxus]. The terms 河中 and 媯水 are used for both Samarkand and the Oxus, and for parts of Shan-si.

129. The State of 鐵汗 had its capital over 500 li west of the Onion Range,—the ancient K'ü-seu: its capital was four li square, and it had several thousand good soldiers. [See No. 183].

130. Wu Ti wishing to open communications with the countries about 大宛, his envoys covered the roads, but the Lou-lan and the 姑師 threw obstacles in their ways. [Nos. 54, 85].

131. Great 扶南 junks came from West India State to sell green glass mirrors.

132. The Turks occupy the south of the Altai [金山] to 吐門; becoming powerful they changed [their sovereign's] title to Khagan [可汗], which is as it were [the] 單于 [of the Scythians]. [Compare No. 237]. [Remusat points out that this division of the Hiung Nu was subdued by the Twan-jwan about A.D. 545].

133. The State of 聶耳 is east of 無腸 State, right out in the middle of the 赤水. [Compare Nos. 80, 84].

134. He conducted the Weak Water as far as 合黎, and its surplus waters entered the 流沙. [His Empire] extended East to the sea and west to the Liu Sha. (Khara-nor?).

135. North-west [of the 吐谷渾 see Nos. 80, 193], there are shifting sands [流沙] for several hundred li. In the summer, when hot winds blow, the lives of tra-

vellers are endangered. The older camels know when the wind is coming, and bleat with outstretched necks, burying their noses and mouths in the sand. The men take this as a sign, and at once swathe their mouths and noses with felt to escape disaster. [Here follows an anecdote about Lao-tai's disappearance here. Compare No. 9, and Mayers' Manual No. 336]. [Remusat says the T'u-kuh-hwên and the Juan-juan were the descendants of the Sien-pi and the Wu-hwan, but at the same time suggests that they may have been Mongols].

136. The shifting sands are 80 li [west] from 沙州; the sand shifts with the wind.

137. The thorough-breds come from the extreme west [西極] thus evidently not being 'Western Paragons,' as Mr. King-smill has suggested].

138. The State of 渴盤陀 is a small State west of Khoten; its Kings are surnamed 葛沙. [See No. 61].

139. Another name for Su-leh [Kashgar] is 佉沙, [pronounced, it is explained, K'a-sha, and evidently intended for Kashgar, if the date of the authority (唐書) will suit]. [See Eitel's Buddhism, p. 48, Kashgar or *Cusia regio*].

140. The 敗沙 military district [T'ang dynasty] is the former Khoten State, 200 li north of the Onion Range, [which here seems to mean the K'un-lun Range. See Nos. 5, 58].

141. The 北庭 military division [Ur-umtai or Bishbalik] is the former Kuldja State. During the period Hien-K'ing [about A.D. 660], the command was removed from 西川 hither. It is 1,000 li north hence to the 屬沙 stream on the 突騎施 frontier.

142. The State of Sagd [粟特] is west of the Onion Range; anciently its name was 奄蔡. [See No. 5].

143. An-ts'ai is also called 溫那沙 [Wên-no Desert], and is in the great marsh [大澤], north-west of K'ang-Kü. [See A. No. 60; the Tatü of Khoresmia, or AK-Kum desert and Kara-Kul?].

144. Lesser Bactria [小月氏國] has its capital at 富樓沙 [See Eitel. *Puru-sha*]. [See also Giles, *Buddhist Kingdoms*, page 18, where the Cashmerian State of King Kanishka is so called.]

145. From 靈州 [Lat. 37.40, Long- 105-11], you cross the Yellow River, and, travelling 30 *li* first touch the desert and pass the frontier of the 黨項, known as the 細腰沙 and 神樹沙, when you come to the 三公沙 or old [Chinese] quarters of the 'Bactrian' military Division. From this desert you go over 400 *li* to the 黑堡沙

146. The 北庭 desert is capable of assimilating all metals with its stones.

147. The Bactrian Tartars [月氏胡] of 湟中 whose king was killed by the Scythians. The scattered remnants of the horde went west and crossed the Onion Range; but the weaker ones entered the hills to the South, and found an asylum with the Tibetans or Tanguts [羌], hence receiving the name of Little Bactrians. [It is to be noted that the word 湟 is applied to two rivers, one near Kokonor, and one in Shan Si. Bell of Antermony says the great Bucharica is situated about the 40th degree of latitude and is the country of the Usbeck Tartars who are Mahometans. The Little Bucharica is situated to the east of the great, and extends to the frontiers of China, on the side of the desert Xama, 沙漠 and Kingdom of Tibet which is their confine to

(To be continued.)

the south; this last is subject to the Kontaysha [evidently Remusat's Khountaidji of the Dchoun-gar] grand Chan of the Kalmucks. The Bucharicans have no connection with the Mahometan or Pajan Tartars; those of the Great Bucharica are tributary to the Chan of the Usbecks; those of the Little Bucharica pay tribute to the Kontaysha. The Bucharicans have many customs and ceremonies much like those of the Jews, nor is their dialect, physiognomy and size much unlike them. They do not know themselves whence they draw their origin. Remusat says the Kalmucks of Russia, who speak Olet, are derived from the Olets of Koko-nor and the Aetai, who are called Dourbets, Tourgots Dchoungar, and Khoshots.]

148. The 鬱金 [? turmeric] comes solely from Ki-pin State. The flowers are yellow. The people of the country offer it at the Buddhist temples. [See Eitel. *Kurkuma*.]

149. India State has diamonds, sandal, and *Yuh-Kim*, which it barter with Ta-ts'in, Fu-nam, and Tonquin. In the 15th year of Ch'ing-kwan [A.D. 641], it sent an envoy to offer 火珠, *Yuh-Kim*, and *Ficus religiosa* trees.

150. Lion State [Ceylon, see Nos. 72.10], is a State by the side of India; formerly there were no men; only demons, spirits, and dragons inhabited it; but the people of all the States, hearing of its charms, emulated each other to get there. Some took up residence, and so it became a great State.

E. H. PARKER.

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS

AND LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

The Willow Pattern. By the Rev. Hilderio Friend, late Missionary in Canton, China. Author of 'Flowers and Flower-lore;' 'Devonshire Plant-names;' 'The First Year of My Life,' &c., London: T. Woolmer, 2 Castle Street, City Road E.C. and 66 Paternoster Row, E.C.

It is not often that an original tale written by a European and dealing with Chinese life falls into our hands to review; for the title, as the author informs us, is about the only borrowed part of the whole work.

On the attractive covers a neat facsimile of the wondrous willow pattern plate, which so delighted our youthful imaginations, is given. The only other borrowed portion is the traditional *locale* of the famous original willow pattern story. We are not aware that a description of this spot has ever been given before to the English reader. We therefore reproduce it in the author's own words (page 74): 'In the last court-yard we come upon another small pond of water, across which is built a very curious narrow bridge, whose zig-zag form is supposed to resemble a wriggling dragon. There is in addition a small archway formed of stone, by which one side of the pond is spanned. It conducts to a strangely constructed piece of rockery and a bower, both of which are erected at the foot of a wide-spreading tree. This pond, with its bridges, rockery, harbour

and tree, is the original from which the famous willow pattern picture, familiar to us all from childhood, was taken.'

The whole book is replete with references to the customs and habits, superstitions and folk-lore of the Chinese, which are explained as they occur; and to those who are interested in knowing how the heathen Chinese lives in his narrow streets and in his distant home, this book will give an immense amount of information. Occasionally even those who have passed the most of their lives in the Far East, will find some custom mentioned with which they were unfamiliar, or some explanation given to a usage the significance of which was unknown to them before.

The account of a Chinese mansion particularly delighted us, and that alone would have given us the assurance that the writer was an accurate observer, were we not already, from personal acquaintance with him, aware of the fact.

We are glad to see that the fund of information he gathered, while resident in China, the result of most diligent and unremittant study and observation, has thus been turned to a most useful account; for we predict amongst its readers not only young people, for whom it was primarily written, but those of an older growth, who still feel young enough to take an intelligent interest in other nations besides their own.

France and Tongking. A Narrative of the Campaign of 1884 and the Occupation of Further India. By James George Scott (Shway Yoe). With maps and plans. T. Fisher Urwin, 26 Paternoster Square. London, 1885.

This book, an octavo volume of 381 pages, is far more interesting than the title suggests. The narrative of the French campaign in Tungking is well written, in a manner neither overwhelming the reader with too many details nor wearying him with dry recitals of military manoeuvres. In fact the story of the war is but the thread by which a most varied supply of practical observations, noted down by an eyewitness on the spot, regarding the folklore, race characteristics, geography, religion and commerce of Tungking is strung together. The interest never flags as the story goes on, for every chapter brings new variations, new combinations of events and observations. There are passages in this book which we consider valuable contributions to the ethnology of Tungking, especially the sketches of the character of Chinese settlers in Tungking, and of the native Annamese, pp. 247-271. The author is of opinion that the Chinese are looked up to by all the nations in the East and are indeed incomparably the finest race in the East, intellectually, industrially and physically, but nowhere, he adds, in Siam, Burmah, the Straits or even in India, are Chinamen looked upon with this almost superstitious reverence which in Tungking actually shows itself in the tone of voice in which a mandarin is referred to: 'In Annam proper the mandarins actually tried to keep them out as much as possible, and limited their places of residence to Hué and its suburbs, and a few coast ports. The Chinamen had nothing to protect them but their pride of race and their absolutely crushing superiority to the people of the country. But that was enough. They walked erect through the streets, and gave way to nobody, great or small, mandarins or mandarins' men, the

latter being perhaps the more wonderful achievement of the two. They married all the prettiest women, and got all the commerce. They talked in terms of the most contemptuous pity of the natives of the country and were only the more respected for it. Even the Annamese of Saigon had the same feelings of awe for the Chinaman.' The writer deals in an equally forcible style with the Annamese natives of whom he draws a most vivid character sketch, emphasizing the demoralizing effects of the state of chronic rebellion to which the country has been subject for ages past and of the barbarous sternness of the Hué rule, coupled with the absence of educational agencies, and the absence of an aristocracy or middle class, the people being constituted simply by two classes, the mandarins who rule tyrannically and the plebeians who obey passively and implicitly. To these demoralizing circumstances our author traces back the crass ignorance, the abject timidity, the lying hypocrisy, turpitude and chicanery which characterize the Annamese as a people. The only redeeming features which the author mentions are the love of home, and the reverence for ancestral shrines and tombs, which the author observed among the Annamese. As to the conspicuous amiability and placidity which most French writers maintain to be salient features of the Annamese character, our author thinks that it is all put on in the presence of the dreaded foreigner, and that the Annamese is meek and tranquil only before those whom he fears.

Some sketches of religious ceremonies performed by Buddhist priests in the presence of the author, or by the common people themselves, afford very interesting comparisons with the religious rites of the Chinese. A detailed description of funeral obsequies, as performed by Annamese, affords likewise valuable materials for a comparison with the Chinese original ritual from which the Annamese evidently depart in many points, though on the whole guided by the

leading ideas of the ancient rites of the Chow dynasty. The author mentions also here and there curious coincidences of Chinese and Annamese superstition.

That ancient Chinese cash are very much prized as amulets in Tungking is natural enough, but why the cash dating from the time of Wang Mang, the usurper (A.D. 9; not B.C. 9 as our author writes, p. 43), should be now-a-days worn by Annamese women to ensure the birth of a son, is a curious puzzle. Wang Mang had no son, and his daughter, whom he proclaimed as Empress, proved childless, whereupon he caused her to adopt an infant descendant of the dethroned sovereigns, proclaimed him Emperor and himself his Regent, but soon deposed him again. Accordingly we are at a loss to account for the superstitious interest attached to Wang Mang's coinage.

Another curious point is mentioned in this connection, viz. that in Annam there are always some old coins let into the back of the images set up in the places of worship. The subject of sneezing also brings out the oddities of Annamese folklore. When an Annamese baby sneezes or faints, the whole body of relations present call out 'rice and fish.' Our author supposes that this is done, 'to call back the infant's spirit and its wits.' He adds that sneezing once is with the Annamese a presage of wealth, and that sneezing twice means trouble.

Perhaps some one among our readers can explain the puzzle propounded by the author in the following passage (p. 61). '(There was) a kind of pillar with a flame pointed summit, on the lower faces of which there were black marble plaques with some inscription in Annamese. (There was also) a white-washed wall on which was painted a kind of solar system, with numerous examples of the emblem of Tao, the supreme intelligence. Over the gateway was the representation of a heart cut in half, supported on the backs of three well-modelled frogs. It was impossible to get any Annamese to explain what this somewhat singular group

meant. In happier times some one may find a solution.'

It is to be regretted that the author had no opportunities to take observations as to the progress and condition of those Chinese frontier settlements which for centuries past have been gradually pushing on their advances from the hill country, all along the Chinese frontier, through the independent Shan or Black Flag tribes into the valleys of the Song-tam, Thai-binh and Song-ca rivers, a movement which will henceforth be checked by French rule, unless an intermediate neutral Zone be agreed to. Anyhow this Alsace in Tungking is sure to produce endless trouble in the future.

As to the Black Flags themselves, the author seems to have very hazy notions regarding the meaning of this term. On one occasion (p. 35) he speaks of 'Black Flag Chinamen' and then of 'Black Flags who were genuine Hak-ki.' On another occasion he calls Liu Jung-fu himself 'the sturdy old Black Flag' (p. 183). The author's references to Taoism and to Chinese Buddhism are occasionally disfigured by errors in descriptive detail, such as are quite pardonable in a book hurriedly written as the author says, in his preface, that his book was. Likewise, if the London editor of the book, referring in his prefatory note to the characters 仕吉 (Scott), printed on the cover of the book, says they represent the sounds 'Tsz Kut,' it is only what was to be expected. Finally we doubt whether the fact that many inhabitants of Ke-sö are of a curious foreign-looking type (p. 110) can be due to the fact (even if it were a fact) that two hundred and fifty years ago there was a considerable settlement of Japanese in Ke-sö, unless the settlers were occasionally re-inforced by recruits from Japan and abstained from intermarriage with natives. But apart from these comparatively slight flaws, we have found, on a careful study of the book, nothing but what caused us to admire the powers of observa-

tion and description evinced by the author of this volume.

E. J. E.

The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal. Vol. XVI. No. 3. April, 1885.

There are only two articles of general interest in this number of our missionary contemporary, one written by Mr. T. W. Kingsmill and the other by Dr. D. J. Macgowan. Mr. Kingsmill's paper is a temperate reply to some criticisms of Mr. Parker who, in a previous number of the *Chinese Recorder*, remarked that 'Mr. Kingsmill's translation of the Shi-ki chapter on Ta-yüen, in the Shanghai Asiatic Society's Journal for 1879, though it contains three or four unusually serious mistranslations, and several over-sanguine philological identifications, is not so very bad a production after all.' To these strictures Mr. Kingsmill now replies that, as to alleged serious mistranslations, he may fairly be entitled to form an opinion of his own on the ancient language, but that he will gladly correct any error if there is any. Mr. Kingsmill next points out that students of Chinese might do well if they, instead of confining their studies in the ancient topography and ethnology of Eastern Asia, would take the trouble to search also the Indian, Mahomedan and Parsee works on the subject. Mr. Kingsmill then proceeds to give a list of those identifications, propounded by him in the Asiatic Society's Journal, which, he thinks, may be considered as absolutely established, viz., that the Hiung-nü were Turks; that Yu-t'ien is Khotan; the position of Charohan, Shen-shen or Lowlan; that Ansih is Parthia; that the Yueh-ti are the Ephthalitæ; that the Wu-suns are the Asii or Asiani; that Ta-yüan is Yarkand. Finally Mr. Kingsmill points out what he considers to be 'a considerable number of errors' in Mr. Parker's translations, beginning with 'the unpardonable error of calling the Hiung-nü Huns,' and winds up with the sage remark that 'Chinese students could much ad-

vance our knowledge if, instead of carping at one another's efforts, they would each be prepared to accept the proved conclusions of the others.'

Dr. Macgowan contributes a brief note on the so-called square bamboo, referring also to the bearded or hairy bamboo.

E. J. E.

Illustrated Catalogue of the Chinese Collection of Exhibits, for the International Health Exhibition, London, 1884. China. Imperial Maritime Customs. II. Miscellaneous Series. No. 12. Published by order of the Inspector General of Customs. London, 1884.

The admiration we expressed in the foregoing notice for the thorough and efficient manner of execution which marks all the publications of the Statistical Department of the Customs Service of late, gives place, in the case of this Health Catalogue, to a feeling of intense disappointment. Dilettantism marks every paragraph of the descriptive introduction to the catalogue, and the illustrations are rather puerile. In justice to the Department from which this Catalogue issued, it is, however, necessary to state that this Chinese contribution to the International Health Exhibition had to be got up hurriedly within a few weeks and that it was, indeed, a task which had its special difficulties. There is one portion of the Catalogue which should prove of interest to Sinologists. We mean the List of translations and other works published by the Translation Department of the Shanghai Arsenal, since 1871. This list contains the title, name of author, translator, and date of publication of 3 books on history and politics, 1 on geography, 4 on natural history and philosophy, 18 books on mathematics, 3 on astronomy and meteorology, 5 on mechanics and engineering, 18 on navigation, military tactics and gunnery, 2 on geology, 5 on chemistry, 1 on medicine, 5 serials of a summary of foreign events from 1874 to 1878, and 5 works on industrial arts. Mr.

J. Fryer, Mr. Y. J. Allen, and Mr. C. T. Kreyer are the principal translators. Extracts from Mr. van Aalst's essay on Chinese music, which we reviewed in a former number, conclude this Catalogue.

E. J. E.

The Chinese Painted By Themselves. By Colonel Tchong-Ki-Tong, Military Attaché of China at Paris. Translated from the French by James Millington. London, Field & Tuer. Hongkong, Kelly & Walsh.

We have a strong suspicion that this book is a fraud. It is a smartly written criticism of the drawbacks of European civilisation and the best defence we have ever seen of the vices and archaisms of social life as preserved to the present day in modern China, and the whole book affords very piquant and interesting reading, but that is all. The book is neither true to European civilisation nor to Chinese social life. It is most likely written by a clever and experienced Parisian journalist, with the help of some notions and quotations supplied by an educated Chinaman, but we feel morally certain that the book, as such, is not the composition of a Chinaman, and the Chinese people are certainly here not 'painted by themselves.' The whole picture of social life, that we have here, is painted by a Frenchman to the manner born, who dipped his brush into *couleur de rose* when painting scenes of Chinese life and into *couleur acifiante* when sketching the European background of his picture. The book is, accordingly, in our opinion, interesting as a smartly written skit, but valueless as an exposition of Chinese social life.

The following extracts will sufficiently indicate to our readers that we have good reasons for the assertion that no Chinaman could have written what this book furnishes in the way of criticisms of European civilisation and if we can prove that, the value of the apologies which this book tenders for

all the vices of the Chinese social system is *co ipso* determined. This is what the *soi-disant* Chinese Colonel, Tchong-Ki-tong, has got to say of European life and thought: 'The first fool one meets gives a physiognomy to the whole nation whose customs are to be described . . . Manners represent the sum total of past history . . . I use a steel pen and not a China ink brush and have learned to think and write in the European manner . . . Criticism is in fact the salt of discourse; we cannot always be admiring, and now and then one is tempted to think like the peasant who was angry with Aristides because he was tired of hearing him continually styled "the just" . . . It is not surprising that in Western Societies, where the family is disintegrated, fraternity should have lost its character . . . To my mind the word "charity" is the bane of many human sentiments. The pretension to please God and His saints—that is to say everybody, is an excuse for the neglect of the most obvious duties . . . The finest verses cut a sorry figure beside the simple truth. Observe a sunbeam thrown upon the gaudy decorations of a theatre! . . . In his soaring towards God, man's imperfect nature causes frequent falls. But the initiatory flight is the highest. Religions are less complicated as we ascend the stream of Time; they seem to simplify themselves and tend towards that unity which is our ideal of harmony and beauty. It seems as if at first they must have been worthy of the Deity. But that condition diminishes as the world grows older, and at length casts only feeble rays athwart the lengthening shadows upon the pathway of humanity, as on the evening of a fine summer's day. I have felt that impression in studying our old books and reading the admirable maxims of our sages . . . God understands all languages and especially that which is expressed in silence by the movements of the spirit . . . Religions are at the same level as intelligence . . . In the West one must have excuses to explain marriage . . . The

less imposing the ceremony, the less important appears the act. For this reason marriage in Europe has lost its charm . . . Nowadays in the West everybody looks like everybody else, and nobody cares much for anything . . . Laws are the monuments of evolutions—I had almost said revolutions . . . Divorce is not so dangerous as it looks. The fear of it makes it terrible, like the children's bogey. To render it harmless it suffices to know that it is a remedy worse than the disease . . . I have noticed that in Europe the State is more particularly preoccupied with making programmes than in teaching methods . . . Forgetfulness of the dead is a rule in the West . . . Ah, I detest those *immortelles*, those never-fading flowers, without freshness or perfume, that symbolize the hypocrisy of remembrance. They save the trouble of coming again . . . In European society one must either be very much amused or very much bored. There is no medium. I should like to call the Western world the Empire of Extremes in contrast to the Empire of the Centre. I beg pardon for the joke, but it expresses my thought . . . I am a passionate admirer of wit. It is the only thing that distinguishes and suffices. One gets tired of everything except that . . . Has there not existed a source common to both races (Chinese and Europeans), springing, as it were, from a watershed between them and fertilizing the opposite regions of East and West? . . . How great would be my satisfaction if, by the study and comparison of our origins, we could at last throw a light upon the far-off world of tradition, and reconstitute the genealogy of humanity! Will science never be able to address to man those noble words of peace, 'Ye are brethren?'

We should think the foregoing quotations are sufficient to show to any one who knows the workings of the Chinese mind that the writer of these clever *bon-mots* is certainly not a Chinaman. That being so, it is obvious that the value of all the rest that the book

has to say about China, when it pretends to represent 'the Chinese as painted by themselves,' is simply nil.

E. J. E.

Catalogue of the Chinese Collection of Exhibits for the New Orleans Exposition, 1884-5, China. Imperial Maritime Customs. III. Miscellaneous Series. No. 14. Published by order of the Inspector General of Customs. Shanghai, 1884.

The Statistical Department of the Inspectorate General (Imperial Chinese Maritime Customs) is doing an important work, and in an unpretending form, in the interests of China and general commerce. It may safely be said that, even from a sinologic point of view, the publications of this Statistical Department are year by year increasing in scientific value. In the present case, such a simple matter as drafting a catalogue of commercial exhibits illustrative chiefly of the cotton industry of China, is here handled in a most thorough manner both from a commercial and from a sinologic point of view. For we have here, in the first instance, a catalogue of 1,164 specimens of manufactured goods, illustrative of the various uses to which cotton or fabrics into the composition of which cotton enters have been put in China. And this catalogue gives for every single article its English name, its Chinese name, its place of production, its value in American gold currency and in Haikwan taels, its length and width, and additional descriptive remarks. But, in the second instance, we have in an introductory chapter a most interesting essay on the cultivation and manufacture of cotton in China, and a series of footnotes, scattered throughout the volume, illustrative of various subjects, such as the mode of extracting oil from cotton seed, the characteristics of Chinese dress, the rites of mourning, the use and shapes of shoes in China, the practice of compressing the feet of females, etc.

The anonymous author of the introductory

article gives it as his opinion that cotton, though mentioned among the articles of tribute in the Shoo King, 2200 years B.C., does not appear to have been planted in China earlier than about 200 B.C., that it seems to have got its first strong foothold in Kwangtung, whence it spread into Fohkien, that in A.D. 1364 cotton cultivation was officially encouraged in Chehkiang, Kiangnan, Kiangsi, Hupeh, Hunan and Fohkien, and that now-a-days cotton is grown over a wider field than any other crop in China, the most important cotton-producing regions being, however, in Kwangtung, Chehkiang, and Kiangsu. The author estimates the average yield of every *mou* of cotton fields ($\frac{1}{2}$ acre) at 200 pounds of seed cotton, yielding about 67 pounds of clean cotton or, at the rate of \$13.43 per picul, about \$6.76.

In speaking of manufactured cotton, the author remarks upon the simplicity of methods in vogue in China, and upon the absence of large establishments and labour-saving machinery. The following paragraph is worth quoting. 'A comparison of Chinese cotton cloth with foreign fabrics results not altogether in favour of the latter. It is to be expected, from the roughness of the machinery and the primitive methods employed here, that the threads should be less even, and the weaving less regular; and in fineness of texture and smoothness of surface the foreign cloth is certainly superior. In stability, however, the native fabric is far ahead of the common foreign piece goods. The first cost of English shirtings and T-Cloths is less than that of native cloth, but if the relative lengths of time which the two kinds will last be considered, it is doubtful which would prove the cheaper.'

E. J. E.

The London and China Express, 20 Febr. 1885.

This periodical, which continues to maintain its well-earned reputation, contains, in its issue of 20th February last, a detailed

report of a meeting of the Statistical Society of London, held on 17th February, which is of unusual importance for Sinologists. At that meeting Sir Richard Temple read a paper on 'The Population Statistics of China,' and a feeble discussion of the question appears to have taken place, of which we need not take any notice. But Sir Richard Temple's paper is of the greatest importance, and we proceed briefly to analyse it, for the benefit of our readers, and to record Sir Richard Temple's conclusions in a manner suitable for handy reference, referring our readers for details to the report given by the *London and China Express*.

Sir Richard Temple remarks, at the outset, that the number of the Chinese people, being one of the very largest items in the population statistics of the world, deserves to be ascertained. He then suggests, in view of the doubts raised as to the trustworthiness of the Chinese census, that the census taken under the British Government in India affords a means of testing the official Chinese population returns, because, in the first instance, the areas of the two countries, India and China proper, exclusive of the Central Plateau (tributary States), are about the same ($1\frac{1}{2}$ millions of square miles), secondly because in both countries the population is most irregularly distributed, thirdly because both countries are under similar conditions, physical, ethnical, climatic, geographical, and finally because in both countries there is a strong tendency to multiplication of the race. Accordingly, Sir R. Temple argues that, as we possess reliable data regarding the Indian people, revised by the general census of 1881, we may fairly apply the averages deduced from the Indian census to test the Chinese official returns of the population of China and to reckon what, according to Indian averages, the Chinese population is likely to be.

In the first instance, then, we find that, according to Chinese official returns, the to-

tal population of China proper (1,533,470 square miles) is reported as amounting to 349,885,386 souls or 227 to the square mile. To test this item, we refer to the population returns of India giving a total of 253,941,309 souls inhabiting an area of 1,377,450 square miles, or an average of 184 souls to the square mile. Applying now this average to the known area of China proper, which is 1,533,470 square miles, the population of China would, by analogy, have to be estimated at 281,191,600 souls.

In the second instance, the same process

of calculation may be applied, in detail, to the known area of every individual Chinese province, and its probable population may be estimated on the basis of the analogy afforded by individual Indian regions comparable in type with the corresponding Chinese province or its several portions. This is of course a complicated operation and space forbids our following Sir Richard Temple into all the details of his calculation, but we condense the principal factors and results of his arguments in the subjoined table which, we consider, will be useful for reference.

BASIS OF ESTIMATE.		Chinese Provinces.	Known Area in square miles.	Population Estimated on Indian Averages.	Population according to Chinese Official Returns.	
Indian territories.	Indian Average of population per square mile.					
Bengal	505	Pehchili	67,270	18,120,100	28,000,000	
Chutia Naghore	130					
Bengal and Chutia Naghore	408	Shantung ..	53,760	21,934,080	29,000,000	
Deltaic Bengal	505	Kiangsu ...	40,130	20,265,650	37,800,000	
Madras	230	Chehkiang ..	35,660	8,201,800	8,100,000	
		Fohkien	53,480	12,300,400	14,800,000	
Gujerat	260	Kwangtung	104,190	27,089,400	19,200,000	
Oudh and Behar	511	Honan	67,000	23,672,980	23,000,000	
Northwestern Provinces ..	373		Hupeh	70,450	24,891,980	27,400,000
Punjab	176		Nganhwuy	48,460	17,122,180	34,200,000
Punjab	176	Hunan	83,000	14,608,000	18,700,000	
		Kiangsi	68,570	12,068,320	23,000,000	
Central Provinces	116	Kwangsi ..	78,250	9,077,000	7,300,000	
Native States of Bombay ..	94	Kweichow ..	64,550	6,067,700	5,300,000	
Central India Agency	123	Shansi	65,950	8,111,815	14,000,000	
		Shensi	81,190	9,986,370	10,200,000	
Central Provinces	116	Yunnan	122,240	9,671,180	5,600,000	
British Burmah	42					
Rajpootana States	116	Kansuh	262,520	11,200,768	9,285,377	
Scinde	50					
Mysore	169	Szechuen ..	166,800	27,772,200	35,000,000	
Bombay Deccan uplands ..	145					
Central Punjab	249					
Assam	103					
Total			1,533,470	282,161,923	349,885,386	

It will be seen from this Table that the official Chinese returns of population do, on applying the test of Indian averages, by no means appear incredible. In three provinces only, viz. in the case of Shantung, Kiangsu and Nganhwuy, the Chinese returns seem excessive. On the other hand, in the case of some other provinces, the Chinese official returns appear to be too low, when compared with the Indian averages. Considering that these Chinese official returns date from the year 1812, that the returns were made for revenue purposes and are therefore likely to be based on under-statements on the part of the people, considering also that rebellions, wars and famines have repeatedly made serious ravages, but that, on the other hand, the Chinese are, on the whole, a prolific race, the chances are that the present population of China is fully equal to what the census of 1812 reported it to have been 73 years ago.

Adding to the apparently low estimate of 282,161,923 souls, derived from Indian averages, as representing the present population of China proper, the population of the tributary States, estimated at 15,000,000, the total population of the Chinese Empire appears to be, on the basis of Sir Richard Temple's calculations, at least 297 millions of souls.

E. J. E.

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NOTES AND QUERIES.

NOTES.

HEREDITARY EXTERRITORIALITY IN CHINA.—In 岷州, Kan Suh, there are certain families surnamed 后, who for ten generations have enjoyed local self-government under native hereditary 土司. Owing to the oppression of their hereditary centurion [土百戶], they have applied to be enrolled as regular Chinese subjects [改土歸流]; but the Chinese authorities seem to prefer selecting a more suitable relative of the ruling family, and continuing the old system.

THE TUG-OF-WAR A CHINESE GAME.—The sport of pulling the rope or 'tug-of-war' is apparently an old Chinese game. It was known 1,200 years ago as 拔河 or 'pulling the stream,' and was done in this wise. At each end of a long hemp cable were fastened a dozen smaller ropes, each of which was grasped by several men, and the game was for each side to pull the other over. The Emperor 中宗 had a good many Turks and Tartars in his employ, so possibly they introduced it.

THE CHARACTERS ZZ, JJ AND RR.—The relation of zz, jj, and rr to each other has elsewhere been fully explained. There can be no doubt that the Pekingese *tsorh*, *chirt*,

mingert, are simply 昨日, 今日, and 明日, the true explanation being, *not* that 兒 is used, but that 日 is (as often with words in Pekingese) first quite toneless when a final and unaccentuated, and secondly pronounced, *ért* (i.e. *rr* the liquid form of *jj*). So the Tientsinese 不知道 (the same vowel) is pronounced *pu rr tao* (the initial *t* in *jj* being elided), and the diminution 兒 is possibly a corruption of *tz*, a 子 (hard form of *jj*).

THE TERM HA-LA:—Will J. M. kindly state why the Mongol representative princes who come periodically to Peking are called 哈喇親王? A leg of mutton is called *hula pa* in Pekingese, and possibly the 羊肉的味兒 of the Mongols may have something to do with it.

FRANCO-CHINESE PROPOSALS OF PEACE.—With reference to the expression 講和 applied to the French proposals for peace, the following are three chief historical instances of its use:—

1. Hiang Yü surrounded the [Prince of] Han [his rival] at Yung-yang. The Prince of Han [then did] 講和.

2. Sun-tsz [the great military writer] says: Those who 講和 without a [previous] understanding [無約] have a scheme [in hand].

3. [The Hun King did] 請和 on his bended knees.

Several other instances may be found in the Great Concordance under the heads 調和 and 交臂.

Another expression 要求 ought to have been clear to even very second-rate Sinologists. It is a perfectly simple and common translation of the French word *exiger*. The first character is read in the even tone, and has no immediate connection with the same character in the departing tone. The fact that the *Hu Pao* gave 要挾, whilst the *Shén Pao* gave 要求, is further proof that 'exact by pressure' is the meaning. Persons with tolerable memories will recollect a *Chinese Note* upon the words 要約 or 'treaty exacted [from Ch'unghon by pressure], in which Shanghai translators were censured for misunderstanding the very first words of Chang Chih-ting's celebrated anti-Russian memorial. Persons who are dependent on teachers for translations of doubtful idioms should be warned not to be misled by the ancient expression 上要求於仙者, which is the only one given in the Concordance; but 要求 is so perfectly common and unmistakable in modern usage, that the Concordance does not think it necessary to give instances; it gives this one precisely because it is *not* the usual sense. In the *Li Sao* and other old Ch'u poetry 要 in the even tone, and 求, are both perpetually used in the sense of 'seek for.'

THE CHINESE TERM FOR SYRIA.—In further support of the theory that by 大秦 the Chinese meant the word 'Syria,' may be mentioned two facts cited by Rawlinson: first, that the earliest known name of Mesopotamia was *Shinar*, perhaps (he says) derived from the Hebrew 'two' and 'river' (*ar* or *nahr*), and known in another Syriac-dialect as *Aram-Naharaim* or 'Syria of the two rivers'; and secondly that the word Syria, more properly Tsyria, was applied by

the Greeks to the country about Tsur or Tyre.'

It is to be noted, too, that the word *Sin* or *Tsin*, the 'Moon-god' of the Assyrians, is 'of uncertain derivation,' and that the Arabian dynasty of Assyrian Kings (B.C. 1546-1300) mostly had the suffix *Sin* to their names. The Greek fancy, that the Syrians (Arameans) and Assyrians (Asshur or middle Tigris) were alike, is an error.

CALENDARIC SIGNS.—'By the Egyptians,' says Herodotus, 'each month and day is assigned to some particular god; and, according to the day on which each person is born, [they determine] what will befall him, how he will die,' &c. . . . 'They say, also, that the Egyptians were the first who introduced the names of the twelve gods, and that the Greeks borrowed those names from them;' . . . 'that the Egyptians were the first to discover the year, which they divided into twelve parts [of. 十二宮], and they say that they made this discovery from the stars, and so far, I think, they acted more wisely than the Grecians in that the Grecians insert an intercalary month every third year, on account of the seasons, whereas the Egyptians, reckoning twelve months of thirty days each, add five days each year above that number.' All this may throw light upon the Chinese 十二地支.

THE ZODIAC.—Sayce points out, however, that the Zodiac was a Babylonian discovery, and not an Egyptian one. The sun-dial and gnomon were invented by the Babylonians, who divided the day into 12 *caspumi* or 'double hours.'

GETÆ.—Herodotus says of the Massagetæ that 'there are some who say that this nation is Scythian.' The Getæ are usually identified with the 月氏, and (if memory serves us right) the word *Massa* is stated by some one to mean 'great;' hence 大月氏. As yet Bactria seems to us more likely to be intended by the Chinese 月氏, or Wak-

tsai, or Vaktri, and in the word Vietnam we have a parallel instance, for 越南 is still pronounced Woknang in Foochow. The final need not necessarily have always been a clear *t* or *k*. Even now, in Hakka, many words take a final *t* where a final *k* is used in Canton, e.g. 息, 得, (*sit* and *tet*). In Foochow *ngwok* 月, though usually quite clear, occasionally sounds as though pronounced *ngwot*. But 日 is always pronounced *wak*! Finally, the modern Italian is an instance of the natural law under which such words as *pacto* become *patto*. As to the identification of Ansik and Sin with Arsak and Syr, attention may be called to the fact that Bell of Antermony uses Xi-xigan for Tsitsihar.

HIRA.—In support of Dr Hirth's view that Hira [于羅] may have once been on the sea, Herodotus states that, before the reign of Semiramis, 'the river used to overflow the whole plain like a sea.' The Korean State Shinra [新羅] amply justifies the acceptance of *ro* for *lo*. Dr Delitzsch, according to Sayce, calculates that a delta of between 40 and 50 miles in length has been formed since the 6th century B. C.

MATRONYMICS.—The Lycians, according to Herodotus have a custom 'in which they differ from all other nations; for they take their name from their mothers and not from their fathers; so that if any one ask another who he is, he will describe himself by his mother's side, and reckon up his maternal ancestry in the female line. [Sayce, however, points out an error, as this is not the exception but the rule amongst primitive tribes.] And if a free-born woman marry a slave, the children are accounted of pure birth; but if a man who is a citizen, even though of high rank, marry a foreigner or cohabit with a concubine, the children are infamous.'

THE LETTER *v*.—That the Greek β was often, if not always, pronounced (as now) *v*, is evident from such words as $\beta\iota\tau\alpha\zeta$, Latin

Vitaxa. Moreover the Latin *b* (even if it was pronounced *b*) must have been an impure one, for Abgarus is often written *Avyapoc*. In modern Greek the word which we call Bazilyoos is really pronounced Vazilevas, and there seems no reason to suppose (without evidence) that this is not the old pronunciation. It is important for comparative Sinologists to know what the present pronunciation of Greek is. The initial γ is both *g* and *y*. The δ is as the English *th* in *then*, and the θ as the English *th* in *thin*. The α , ω , η , ι are all pronounced as English *e*, French *i*. The ϵ is as French *ai* or the *a* in *Mary*. All the other letters are much as the English schools pronounce them, but χ is pronounced as the Scotch and German *ch*.

TITLES OF PARTHIAN MONARCHS.—As amongst the Chinese monarchs' titles so amongst the Parthian monarchs' titles, (says Rawlinson) 'was that of the Brother of the Sun and Moon. The name of *šawr* was occasionally assumed, as it was in Syria.' As in China, 'after his death a monarch seems generally to have been the object of a qualified worship; statues were erected to him in the temples.' The Parthian queen Musa was called *šawr šawr* which may be compared to the style 天后 occasionally given by their lords and masters to Chinese Empresses.

SCYTHIANS.—Rawlinson states that the great Scythian invasion in the reign of Cyaxares (circ. B.C. 630) is a well-attested fact. The Scyths were probably (from a comparison between Chinese and Persian history) the Hiung-nu of the former, but the word Scyth was believed in the West to mean 'exile,' and there is not necessarily any etymological connection between the two names. The 莎 屠 or 渠 were evidently the nomads of Sogdiana, etymology here giving plainly the sounds So-gū or gu.

MERV.—It should be remembered that 10,000 Romans, taken prisoners by the

Parthians, were settled in that part of modern Turkestan then known as Margiana,—the modern Merv, called Mouru by the Hebrews.

A GREAT UNWASHED PHILOSOPHER.—The reign of the Sung Emperor 文, A. D. 424-454, is one of the few periods during the 4th and 5th centuries, during which the population rapidly increased, and general improvements went on under firm government. Anecdotes of the great unwashed are rare, but the following illustrates both the state of the country and the independent spirit of the Chinese. 'The Emperor's uncle was out hunting one day, when the party came across an old labourer clad in a rush-coat, who went on with his tillage as usual. The attendants shouted at him, on which he replied, 'Sport was disapproved by the ancients; on a fine sunny day like this one idle day is one day lost; why should you chase your birds for sport and drive off a poor old husbandman?' The Prince reined up his horse and said, 'This is a wise man.' And he ordered him a present of food. The old man declined and said, 'If your Highness will only not interfere with agricultural opportunities, all of us will have our bellies full. Why should I alone receive your Highness' food?' The old man then withdrew, and would not even give his name. [A wise and canny precaution, we think].

THE TERM FATHOM AND THE SOUNDING-LEAD.—It is quite on the cards that the idea fathom and the word 'sounding-lead' were both derived from the Chinese. It is recorded that an envoy to Corea used a 'sounding-lead' 鐵錘, in order to find the depth of water, and found 32 fathoms 三十二丈. The word 丈 is still used in Ningpo to mean 'a two-arm reach,' which is what 'fathom' means.

EYE MEDICINE.—The shed skin of the 蟬蛻 is used as a medicine for the eyes

MOVEMENTS OF THE POPULATION.—It appears that the Chinese settlers in the north of Shan Si (七) and Chih Li were introduced wholesale by Government during the reign of K'ang-Hi. In the 41st year of K'ien-lung, the latter were organized under the Jêho Government, and now it is proposed to give the former an educational 'settlement' with local facilities for examination.

PARTHIAN.—Like the Chinese 'the Parthians were not, in any full or pregnant sense of the word, builders.'

DACIANS.—The Dacians are regarded by some as having been a Turkish race, and it is possible, though as yet there is a lack of evidence, that they may be identified with the 大食 or Arabs, especially as Sennacherib is described by Herodotus as being 'king of the Arabians and Assyrians.'

PRIVILEGE OF CARRYING A SWORD.—According to the ordinary etiquette of the Roman Court, the Parthian prince Tiridates was requested to lay aside his sword before approaching his nominal sovereign, the Emperor Nero. That this was also a custom at the contemporaneous Chinese Courts is evident from the exceptional privilege, of 劍履上殿 occasionally granted to powerful subjects.

ROCK INSCRIPTIONS.—Several of the Chinese conquerors in Turkistan caused their victories to be commemorated by inscriptions carved in the rock. It is possible that they may have derived the notion from or communicated it to the Parthians, some of whom placed their military achievements on record by making them the subject of a rock-tablet.

TRANSLITERATION OF FOREIGN ALPHABETICAL LETTERS INTO CHINESE.—The following instances will shew that the precise value of the B, V, and W or U initials must have

been very doubtful in western Asia at the time when the Chinese became affected by Sanskrit methods. 'Bardanes or Vardanes' was written by Josephus (in the dative) *Οὐαρδάνης*. 'Tiberins' was written by him *Τιβήριος*. 'Vonones' on a Parthian coin is written *Οὐωνός*. 'Severus' is written by Dio Cassius *Σεβήρος*. Here we have the Roman *B* represented by both *V* and *W* in Greek, and it is plain that all three initials were much confused in human speech. Dr Hirth's coming paper will attempt to shew that 拂林 may well have been intended for Bethlehem, but whether the Chinese or western initial was impure, or both were, is a question for further enquiry. Benfey remarks that 'it is not possible to ascertain exactly the original pronunciation of the Sanskrit letters. However, the transcription of Hindu proper names in Greek and Latin allow us to establish with some confidence' certain rules.

FEDERAL CONTRACTS.—Herodotus mentions a custom several times alluded to in *Chinese Notes*. 'These nations [the Lydians and Medes] in their federal contracts observe the same ceremonies as the Greeks; and, in addition, when they have cut their arms to the outer skin, they lick up 'one another's blood.' [Comp. 啖血].

MARRIAGE RITES.—The rapes of Io and Medea and the seizure of Carian women by Ionian emigrants, described by Herodotus, throw additional light on the question of ancient marriage by capture, and the naming of whole tribes, like the Lydians from Lydus, whose descendants their rulers were, throws light upon the origin of surnames, and tribal names. The Babylonian sales of pretty and ugly women, and the regulations to prevent 'carrying them away to another city,' also throw light upon the subject.

HOSTAGES.—It is frequently stated in Chinese history that the western tribes of Tur-

kestan sent their sons to serve as pages at the Chinese Court, where they remained as a sort of hostage. The Parthian monarch Phraats sent two of his sons to the Court of Augustine at Rome, where 'they were supported at the public charge and in a magnificent manner.' The Roman writers speak of these as 'hostages' given by Phraates to the Roman Emperor; but this was certainly not the intention of the Parthian monarch.'

DISPOSAL OF DEAD BODIES.—It is mentioned by Professor Geo. Rawlinson, on the authority of Justin, that in earlier times Parthian dead bodies were exposed to be devoured by birds; and, on the authority of Herodian, that the burning of the dead seems to have been the rule in the later Parthian times.

SILK IN PARTHIA.—On the authority of Justin it is reported that Caracalla proposed a treaty with the Parthian King Artabanus, under which 'Parthian spices and rare stuffs would no longer need to be imported secretly and in small quantities,' these stuffs evidently being the silks of which, according to Chinese historians, the Parthians had the monopoly in the Syrian trade. Pliny says the use of silk in Parthia is noted as early as B. C. 54, and the silks were largely used by the Roman ladies.

MODERN USE OF ANCIENT TERRITORIAL TITLES.—Dr Hirth seems to be in doubt as to whether the ancient 疏勒 is the modern Kashgar. Perhaps this matter may best be set at rest by the consideration that the new independent department magistrate [直隸州] recently established by the Chinese at Kashgar takes Su-lê as his territorial title. The same class of official at Yarkand is called the magistrate of 沙車. [In the 4th year of 光武 this last country complained to China of the exactions of the Scythians or Huns, and Rawlinson mentions that just at this date the northern

hordes gradually occupied Sogdiana, whence they made inroads into Bactria; but he makes out Sogdiana to be further west between the lower Oxus and lower Jaxartes]. The same class of official at Aksu takes his title from the ancient 溫宿, the old name of that place.

PARTHIAN CIVILIZATION.—The Parthians first used linen for writing material, but, shortly before the time of Pliny, they began to make paper from the papyrus.

Every Parthian was entitled, besides his chief wife, to maintain as many concubines as he thought desirable.

The Parthian monarch had many eyes and ears throughout the country,—officers who watched his interests. Compare the Chinese 耳目.

The Assyrians, Babylonians, and Parthians placed jars, jugs, vases and lamps in the tombs, with the object of supplying the drink and light needful for the deceased on his passage from the earth to the realms of the dead.

HALAH.—The Chinese 夏臘, which Bretschneider identifies with Hira, may be not only Kara (or Mecca), but Halah, the seat, according to Grant, of a Nestorian archbishop. This prelate, with the prelate of Adiabene, in the 9th century, 'had the principal agency in ordaining the Nestorian patriarchs, and the schools of the Syrians flourished nowhere more than in Adiabene.' Thus 大秦 may also perhaps by an anachronism be applied to the Nestorian territory or Fu-lin. The Nestorians call themselves Beni-Israel and Nazareans, and talk Syriac; they are also called Syrians from their having been a branch of the Church at Antioch, but they quite object to the appellation Nestorian which was originally applied to them by their enemies. Halah, 30 miles north east of Nineveh, was for centuries the headquarters of the Yezidees (Daseni), and in its vicinity still reside the main body of the

'Chaldeans,' or those converted Jews or Nestorians, who have become papists. Dasen was on the Assyrian side of the Tigris, and was a diocese (extent of country unknown) of the early Christian bishops. In the year 334 one Barrabas fled to Khorrassan to escape King Sapor of Persia, and became Bishop of Maru (麴木鹿). Possibly Mouru or Meru (Merv), which (according to Sayce) M. Harlez says was the first seat of Zoroasterianism, B.C. 700-600, may be meant by the Chinese Mu-lu. 'According to the usual opinion, this prophet (Zoroaster) lived and taught in Bactriana. Zend is ordinarily believed to have been the language of Bactriana [which agrees with the Chinese statement that the Persians are another tribe of Bactrians 月氏.]

JEWS AND CHRISTIANS IN CHINA.—Bell of Antermoney found a few Jews and Mahometans at Peking in 1720, whom he supposed to have entered China about A.D. 1100 in company with the Western Tartars. 'There is a very inconsiderable sect called cross-worshippers. They worship the Holy Cross, but have lost all other marks of Christianity, which makes it probable the gospel was preached in this country before the arrival of the [Jesuit] missionaries.'

MAMMOTH TEETH.—Bell also found, amongst the Tartars of the Oby, specimens of 'mammon' or mammoth teeth, such as have also been found on the Volga. A complete skeleton of this animal has recently been added to the Petersburg Museum, and allusion to the same animal was made in a preface by the Emperor K'ang-hi as proof of the soundness of tradition.

FRESH WATER PUMPED UP FROM UNDERNEATH SALT WATER.—It is notable that the method adopted by the Syrians of Aradus, as described by Strabo, of drawing fresh water from the sea-bottom through salt water by means of a leather pipe and

funnel first pumped dry, is almost exactly the same as Bell of Antermomy saw practised by the Russians on the Volga or by the Tartars upon some of the salt rivers or lakes in Siberia.

THE TERM ULA.—I notice in Notes and Queries of the Jan.-Feb. 1885 Number of the *China Review*, p. 297, a paragraph asking an explanation of 'The term Ula.' Throughout Tibet the word *U-lag* is used to designate the compulsory post service for the gradient forwarding of persons, letters and luggage. Each village is obliged to supply a certain number of men, yacks, etc., when required. Men past the age of sixty are exempted. Mr Jäschke says in his Tibetan Dict. s. v. *U-lag*, that it was originally a socage-service rendered to lords and proprietors, government officers and priests; in more recent times remunerated and legally regulated in those parts that are visited by European travellers.'—The Pundit Nain Singh who travelled in Tibet in 1865-66 has supplied a valuable memorandum on the *U-lag* and *Tarjum* (i.e. *Rhadon-pa* Post stations) on the great post road from Lhasa to Gortokh.

I do not think that the said *U-lag* is of

Tibetan origin, and the whole system referred to above may have been introduced into the country by the Chinese.

W. W. ROCKHILL.

[The passage in Jäschke's Dictionary, above referred to, deserves to be quoted in *extenso*: '*U-lag* compulsory post-service, the gratuitous forwarding of letters, luggage and persons, the supply of the requisite porters and beasts of burden (*a'so more immediately these themselves*),—originally a socage-service rendered to lords and proprietors, government officers and priests; in more recent times remunerated and legally regulated in those parts that are visited by European travellers; *mi-la u-lag skül-ba*, to impose such services by exacting porters etc. See Padma thangyig (a collection of legends of Padma Sambhava), *gél-ba*; *skyel-ba* (probably) to forward by *Ulag*. Csoma di Kőrös (Tibetan English Dictionary) limits the signification too much. Under the word *lag* (hand, to take in hand) Jäschke gives the following:—*lag-d'on* (according to Csoma) a vassal or subject paying his landlord in money or kind, opp. to *rkan-gró* who perform his services as an errand-goer or porter.—Edit. *China Review*.]

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C. P.

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Contributions to the *China Review* are invited upon the following subjects, in special relation to China and her dependencies :—

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THE CHINA REVIEW.

IV.—LÜ PUH-WEI,

OR

FROM MERCHANT TO CHANCELLOR.

1. BIOGRAPHY OF LÜ PUH-WEI.

From of old there existed in China a custom requiring that, on the conclusion of peace between different States, the contracting parties should exchange hostages, who were usually members of the ruling Houses, as a guarantee of mutual good faith. Thus we find, during the last years of the reign of the House of Chow, a grandson of Chao-siang, King of Ts'in, living as hostage in Han-tan* (still existing as a district city, Pref. of Kwang-p'ing, Chihli), the capital of Chao 趙. His name was I-jên 異人 (v. Mayers, Manual, No. 228), and he must have been living there for a considerable length of time, as the Sze-ki says that, during and in spite of his stay there, Ts'in had repeatedly broken the treaty it had entered into with Chao, by waging war against the latter, when its Sovereign revenged himself by treating the hostage of Ts'in in a harsh and pitiless fashion. According to the Sze-ki, I-jên was besides rather hard up, and the Chan Kwoh Ts'eh says that, having left his home

in his early youth, his education had been so much neglected, that, when he came back as a *pater familias* to his native State, he was not even able to read.

While I-jên was thus leading a dreary life in a foreign country, he met with a merchant, who took a lively interest in the exiled Prince. This merchant was Lü Puh-wei 呂不韋 (v. Mayers, M. No. 465), a native of P'oh-yang 濮陽, according to the Chan Kwoh Ts'eh, or of Yang-t'ih 陽翟, according to the Sze-ki. The former place was situated in Wei 魏 and the latter in Hân 韓. It cannot therefore be said, as Mr. Mayers and others did, that he was a native of Ts'in, and that his nationality, as a compatriot of I-jên, had given rise to the relations which soon connected two men of such different stations in life. Neither was Lü Puh-wei a travelling jeweller, as is said in the *China Review*, Vol. X., p. 187, nor a travelling merchant, as Mr. Mayers puts it, for in the Sze-ki he is distinctly said to have been a 大賈, and in the Chan Kwoh Ts'eh a 賈, and 賈 means a settled trader, as distinguished from 商 a travelling one. This definition is expressly given in a note to the Sze-ki, as found in the Chow Li 周禮, though

* The 戰國策 mentions 屍城 as the name of his residence, yet without giving any clue as to its situation.

it is not denied thereby that the profession did not require frequent voyages, whereby the 往來 of the Sze-ki is sufficiently explained. As for his having been a jeweller, this can only be inferred from a passage which occurs in a conversation which he had with his father, as will be related presently.

The connections of Lü Puh-wei with the Prince of Ts'in were at first those of a tradesman with his customer. Still, in this case, the tradesman was possessed of a greater amount of ambition and diplomatic shrewdness than is usually required and expected in that vocation. Lü Puh-wei soon became aware that I-jên was so simple-minded a fellow, that he not only constituted 'a merchandize worth setting store by,' but that he could also easily be made a tool for the object of attaining higher aims, than only to make money by 'buying cheap and selling dear,' as the Sze-ki naively defines the vocation of a merchant.

Lü Puh-wei seems at that time not to have been doing business quite independently, for the Chan Kwoh Ts'âh relates that, before entering on his new venture, he went to see his father and asked for his advice.

'What is the benefit to be derived from tilling the ground?' he asked.

'A tenfold one,' replied the father.

'What is the benefit to be derived from trade in jewels?' continued the son.

'A hundredfold one.'

'What is the benefit to be derived from raising somebody on a throne?'

'An immeasurable one!'

'With the greatest exertions in tilling the ground, one does not even earn one's livelihood, while by raising somebody on a throne, it is easy to bequeath a fortune to one's descendants,—well, I will then rather engage in this latter business.'

So said Lü Puh-wei and at once went to try his luck in politics. He called on I-jên to enlighten him concerning his designs, but in order to understand the negotiations he entered into with the latter, it is necessary,

by way of introduction, to mention certain particulars concerning the family relations of the Prince.

I-jên was a grandson of King Chao-siang and a son of the Heir-apparent, then known under the name of Prince of Ngan-kwoh, 安國君. The latter had had no son from his legal wife, the Lady Hwa-yang 華陽夫人, but over twenty sons, including I-jên, from the other inmates of his seraglio. The question was then, which of them would be called to become the heir to the throne of Ts'in. The eldest one, called Tsze-hi 子侯, was spoken of as most likely to receive the preference, but nothing had as yet been settled.

Lü Puh-wei, on going now to see I-jên, at once went *in medias res*.

'I believe I shall be able to open glorious prospects to you, Sir!' he said.

'Indeed!' answered I-jên, 'I think you had better begin by opening better prospects for yourself, before thinking about mine!'

'You do not understand me, Sir,' replied Lü Puh-wei, 'I intend to improve your prospects first, whereupon mine will not fail to improve too.'

I-jên now became aware that the business, his interlocutor was entertaining him with, was of some importance, and showed him therefore into an inner apartment, to discuss the matter.

'The King of Ts'in,' now continued Lü Puh-wei, 'is growing old and the Prince of Ngan-kwoh has been made Heir-apparent. Now I have heard that the latter is much in love with the Lady Hwa-yang, with whom it lies therefore—herself being childless—to decide which of the Princes shall some day succeed her husband. Now you are but one of twenty odd brothers, among whom Tsze-hi has the best chance eventually to succeed your father; for his mother is in favour with her husband, while yours is quite ignored. Besides you are living as hostage in foreign parts, so that nobody cares for you. Should the King die and the Prince Ngan-kwoh succeed him on the throne, you

would have not the least chance of becoming Heir-apparent. Those of your brothers, who have always been residing at the capital, would then strive for that dignity, and should there happen a breach of the peace, your life even would not be considered worth anything.'

'What can then be done on my behalf?' asked the Prince.

'You are living here as a needy stranger,' continued Lü Puh-wei, 'you have no means either to make presents to your friends, or to engage retainers. Now, though I am myself poor enough, I beg to be allowed to offer you these thousand pieces of gold, which constitute my whole fortune. Besides I am ready to repair to the West, to induce the Prince of Ngan-kwoh and the Lady Hwa-yang to declare you their next heir.'

I-jên was not over-sanguine regarding the tempting prospects, so suddenly opened to him by his purveyor, still he could not but acknowledge his kind intentions, and, respectfully bowing to him, he said: 'Should your plan succeed, I would gladly divide with you the State of Ts'in!'

Lü Puh-wei thereupon gave five hundred pieces of gold to I-jên, therewith to engage retainers, and spent the other five hundred in buying curiosities and trinkets, to take with him to Ts'in.

On his arrival there, he began by entering into communication with a younger brother of the lady Hwa-yang, the Prince of Yang-ts'üen 陽泉. Owing to his kinship with the wife of the Heir-apparent, this man had succeeded in accumulating great wealth, while, on the other hand, he seems not to have been on good terms with Tse-hi, who, as has already been said, was considered likely to succeed eventually to the throne of Ts'in.

Lü Puh-wei having obtained an audience from the Prince of Yang-ts'üen, began the conversation. 'Is Your Highness aware,' he said, 'that you are endangering your life? While Tse-hi, the Heir-apparent's

eldest son, is living in obscurity, Your Highness' palace is filled with jewels, your stables with fine horses and your harem with pretty women. Now the Heir-apparent is already advanced in age; though he may eventually ascend the throne, he cannot occupy it for many years, when Tse-hi will most probably succeed him,* then your position will be like a pile of eggs and your life will hardly be spared for a day longer. Still, if you would consent to hearken to my advice, your wealth could be made to last eternally, and your life would be as secure as the T'ai-shan mountain; you would, in short, no longer run any danger.'

On this the Prince Yang-ts'üen took Lü Puh-wei apart and asked him for the particulars of his plan, when the latter continued. 'The Heir-apparent is old and his consort childless, so that Tse-hi has every prospect of being called to ascend the throne. But let this event once take place, there will be grass growing in the gateway of the Princess, your sister. Now there is that other son I-jên; he is a virtuous and capable man, thrown away in the State of Chao. He has no mother who could make her influence felt in his favour, while he himself is always eagerly looking toward the West. Could therefore the Princess, your sister, be induced to adopt him as her son, then he himself would get a throne and your sister a devoted son.'

The Prince of Yang-ts'üen then promised to acquaint his sister with the matter, while Lü Puh-wei managed to obtain a further interview with a younger sister of the Lady Hwa-yang, through whom he sent to the latter the various valuable trinkets, which he had brought with him, extolling at the same time the virtues and wisdom of the sender and vividly describing his longings to return to the paternal roof.

The Lady Hwa-yang was much pleased

* The Chan Kwok Ts'eh, from which this conversation is taken, supposes the father of Tse-hi to be King of Ts'in, but I have made this conversation agree with the Sze-ki.

with these news and asked for further particulars about I-jên, when Lü Puh-wei sent her the following message. 'I have heard,' he said, 'that those who are agreeable because of their personal attraction, lose their lover's heart as soon as their charms vanish away. Now the Heir-apparent is much in love with you, still you have no son. Why then not select from among your husband's sons a virtuous and filial one to adopt him as yours? For though you should enjoy all possible honours, as long as your husband is alive, it will be quite different when he has departed this life: only by adopting a son, who will succeed him, can you expect the power to remain in your hands. This would be, what is called 'through one word secure an everlasting benefit.' But if you do not avail yourself of the prosperity you are still enjoying, to make provision for the future, your charms will by and by vanish away, when you will lose your husband's affection, and though then you wished to utter that word, it would no longer be of any use to you. Now there is that I-jên, he is a worthy man, but being one of the younger sons, he has no prospect eventually to succeed to the throne. As his mother does not enjoy her husband's favour, he would feel happy to lean on you. Should you therefore decide on adopting him, you would, all your life long, enjoy the favour of your husband.'

The Lady Hwa-yang entered readily into the views of Lü Puh-wei and at once sought for an opportunity to place the matter before her husband, when she, in glowing terms, described I-jên's high qualities, and, bursting into tears, exclaimed: 'Though I have been favoured with your love, still I am without a son. I wish therefore to adopt I-jên, as such, that I may have somebody to lean upon.'

The Prince of Ngan-kwoh, on perceiving his consort's affection for I-jên, hearing also everybody loudly praising his high qualities, kindly granted her request and at once made out the deed of adoption, engraved on a precious stone, which was entrusted, to-

gether with valuable presents, to the care of Lü Puh-wei to take with him to Chao and to deliver to I-jên, whose guardian he, at the same time, was asked to become.

Shortly after his return to Chao, Lü Puh-wei married a most attractive daughter of a very good family of Han-tan. She was accomplished both in personal graces and in the art of dancing and soon gave her happy husband the agreeable prospect of the birth of an heir. Just about that time it happened that I-jên was one evening banquetting at Lü Puh-wei's house, when he got a glimpse of his host's wife and at once fell in love with her. In utter oblivion of the virtuous sentiments, which he had been credited with above, he did not shrink from asking Lü Puh-wei to yield her to himself. The latter's first impulse was of course one of anger at the impudent request, but, on further consideration, he told himself that, having already so far cast in his lot with that of the Prince, it would be more in his own interest to go even to this length, as a day must once come, when he would be amply indemnified for all the sacrifices made on his behalf. Thus it happened that the object of I-jên's ardent longings passed into his possession, the woman, at the same time, taking care to keep her pregnancy a secret from her new husband. At the expiration of the longer term of pregnancy (大期), that is, as explains a commentator, after a period of twelve months, she then gave birth to a lovely son, who was called Chêng 政, whereupon the happy father raised the mother to the rank of a legal wife (B.C. 258).

The same year Ts'in made again, according to its wont, a quite unwarranted attack on Chao and pushed even so far as the capital of that State, which forthwith was laid siege to. But, owing to the incompetency of the Ts'in commander, the operations lacked in vigour, and the following year the allied armies of Chao, Wei and Ts'u succeeded even in completely routing the invading army (B.C. 257).

The King of Chao, exasperated at the faithlessness of Ts'in, now wanted to kill the hostage I-jên, who barely escaped this fate, through an intrigue of Lü Puh-wei, who bribed the gate-keepers with 600 pieces of gold to let the Prince escape, while his wife with the infant meanwhile found a safe shelter in the house of her parents.

The narrative of the Chan Kwoh Ts'eh is at this point again at variance with that of the Sze-ki. According to the former work, the Lady Hwa-yang, after she had adopted I-jên as her son, asked the sovereign of Chao for his release. As the latter hesitated to grant her request, Lü Puh-wei went to see the King of Chao and addressed him in the following fashion. 'I-jên,' he said, 'is a great favourite with the people of Ts'in. As he has no mother, the Queen wants to adopt him as her son. Now if Ts'in were bent on smiting Chao, it would certainly have no regard for that one son and for his sake desist from its plan. It is therefore a worthless hostage that you have hold of. Should however I-jên be allowed to return and once become King, then he would never forget the kindness which you have showed him by letting him free. When the King dies, though you are holding I-jên as hostage, that would not be sufficient to bind Ts'in.' Thereupon Chao set his hostage at liberty and allowed him to depart. Of course Lü Puh-wei accompanied I-jên to Ts'in. On arriving there, the former caused the Prince to dress after the fashion of the people of Ts'u. As the Lady Hwa-yang was a native of that State, he hoped that I-jên would thereby prove the more acceptable to his adoptive mother. On being presented to her, she was indeed quite captured with her son's stout appearance and intelligent look and exclaimed, 'But he looks just like a native of Ts'u!' Hence his name was changed into 'Ts'u' 楚, or 'Taze-ts'u' 子楚. His adoptive father then made him read a page or two, to try his proficiency in literary attainments, but, owing to his having grown up in foreign

parts without a teacher, he found him sadly deficient in that respect.

Six years later, B.C. 251, the old King Chao-siang died after a reign of fifty-six years and made room for his son, the Prince of Ngan-kwoh, when I-jên was proclaimed Heir-apparent to the throne of Ts'in. But unlike his father, he had no need to be satisfied with this title for many years. For King Hao-wên 孝文王, as his father has been styled, died, after enjoying the regal dignity for only one year, B.C. 250, when I-jên succeeded him as King Chwang-siang 莊襄王. His first act was, of course, to raise both his mothers, the real and the adoptive one, to the rank of Queen Dowagers and Lü Puh-wei to that of Chancellor 丞相, at the same time ennobling him as Marquis of Wên-sin 文信侯, with an appanage of 10,000 families of Honan and Loh-yang.

But I-jên too was not allowed to enjoy long the much-coveted royal dignity. He died, after a short reign of only three years, B.C. 247.

It was now the turn of Chêng, that reputed son of I-jên, born during the latter's captivity in Chao, whom the Sze-ki had made to appear, by admitting an abnormal gestation of twelve months, to be a son of Lü Puh-wei, to ascend the throne of Ts'in. He was then but a youth of thirteen years, so that the transaction of State-business devolved necessarily on his Chancellor. The latter's title was now changed into 相國, which meant probably something like 'regent of the State.' Besides he was awarded the title 'second father,' 仲父.

Seeing himself endowed with such high-flown titles and invested with so great a power, the former merchant now thought also of surrounding himself with a numerous retinue, that would impart to his person an adequate degree of awe and, in case of need, act as a protective body-guard. Like other grantees of his time, he engaged therefore 3,000 retainers, who were, by day and by night, in attendance upon him.

Wishing also to gain a name in the field

of literary pursuits, he engaged a number of scholars to write a sort of encyclopædia, 'treating exhaustively of heaven, earth and the whole creation, of old and present matters,' which he published under the name of 'the Ch'un-ts'in of Lü,' a work still extant. On its completion, he carried the deceit even so far, as to placard a copy of it at the market-gate of Hien-yang and to attach a purse containing a thousand pieces of gold thereto, as a reward for any one who should be able to improve upon it, even by adding or expunging a single word.

As for Lü Puh-wei, he may have appeared to us as an artful and conceited man, but if we keep in mind the then prevailing low state of morals, he cannot be said to have been a particularly bad man. Unhappily for his reputation, however, we now find recorded a fact, which has thrown on his name an indelible disgrace. For a long time, he had been impudent enough to carry on an intimate intercourse with his former wife, the mother of Chêng and the now Queen-dowager of Ts'in. It is not said whether these relations had been resumed only after the death of I-jên or whether they had never been discontinued between the two former consorts; neither does this matter much. On all accounts, Lü Puh-wei now began to feel uneasy on account of his criminal connection. The King was growing into manhood, and beginning to look more and more seriously into the doings of his Ministers, and consequently there was reason to fear that his Chancellor's relations with his mother could not for ever be kept secret from him. Lü Puh-wei sought therefore some means to enable him at least to screen himself from detection.

Being aware of the lascivious propensities of the Queen-dowager, he caused a minion of his, named Lao Tuh 嫪毐, repeatedly to appear before her and she had scarcely perceived the lovely youth, when indeed she became passionately enamoured of him. Lü Puh-wei now ordered the youth's beard to

be extirpated, so as to make him look like a eunuch, and then caused him, in that capacity, to enter the service of the Queen-dowager.

Still the truth could not be concealed for ever from the King. In the 9th year of his reign, (B.C. 288), he was apprized of the state of things. Lao Tuh, who had, during the time of his infamous prosperity, attained to power and wealth and, according to the fashion then prevailing in China, likewise engaged thousands of retainers, on seeing himself detected, broke out into rebellion. The King then marched an army against him, when he was defeated and, having been made prisoner, he was condemned to bear the penalty for his wickedness. He was put to death together with his whole family and two children, the fruit of his intercourse with the Queen-dowager. The latter was sent into exile and the retainers of Lao Tuh removed into the wilderness of Shuh 蜀 (in present Sze-chuan).

Neither was Lü Puh-wei himself to escape the merited punishment. His connection with these scandals was no longer a secret, and so he was likewise condemned to death, but, in consideration of the services he was considered to have rendered to the reigning House, and also of the great number of his retainers and other adherents, his life was spared, he being only ordered to repair to his appanage in Honan and to remain there quietly. He lived there in retirement for some time, until the King suspected him of harbouring treacherous designs and banished him likewise to Shuh, where he destroyed himself by taking poison, B.C. 235.

2. LÜ PUH-WEI'S ALLEGED PATERNITY OF THE 'FIRST EMPEROR.'

Lü Puh-wei owes his celebrity mostly to his alleged paternity of the 'First Emperor.' In the preceding paragraph I described therefore intentionally his career almost in the very words of the Sze-ki and of the Chan Kwoh Ts'âh, refraining from all criticisms or insinuations, in order to enable the reader

to form for himself an independent judgment as to the foundation on which rests the notion of his alleged intimate relationship with that Sovereign.

The Chan Kwoh Ts'eh is wholly silent about the matter, but the Sze-ki tells us indeed, as we have seen above, that the lady of Han-tan, as the mother of the 'First Emperor' is often named, was pregnant from her union with Lü Puh-wei, before she passed into the possession of I-jên. Admitting that the work of Sze-ma Ts'ien has been transmitted in an adulterated form to posterity, it is clear therefore that the notion of the said fatherhood was accepted, as a fact, as early as about a century after the 'First Emperor's' death. But in contradiction of the later form of the tradition, it was then still considered to have been but the result of an unintentional coincidence, for the Sze-ki distinctly states that I-jên's request for Lü Puh-wei's lovely wife, provoked, as should be expected, the latter's deep resentment.

This precludes the possibility of Sze-ma Ts'ien having considered that discreditable transaction as the result of a deep-laid scheme on the part of Lü Puh-wei, who thereby would have 'aspired to be the father of a King' (*v. China Review*, X., p. 188). But still the fact remains that the historiographer saw in the son of I-jên, in him who later on became the 'First Emperor,' the offspring not of his reputed father, but of his Chancellor Lü Puh-wei.

Let us consider now the reason offered by the Sze-ki for this extraordinary allegation. Chêng, he says, was born after a period of pregnancy of abnormal length, or in the words of the Sze-ki, at the expiration of 'the longer period [of pregnancy]' 大期. Sze-ma Ts'ien admits therefore that the ordinary period of pregnancy had elapsed between the time of I-jên taking the woman to himself and the birth of her first-born, but, to make the son nevertheless appear to be the offspring of her former husband, a pregnancy of unnatural length was admitted.

I have looked into the 佩文韻府 for another instance of the use of the term 大期 in this sense or for an explanation of the same, but failed to find either recorded. We are therefore reduced to the commentaries incorporated with the work itself. Sü Kwang 徐廣, a writer who lived about A.D. 400, explains it by 'a period of twelve months.' Then follows a citation from the 索隱 of Sze-ma Chêng 司馬貞 of the following import. 'Men are usually born after ten [Chinese] months. In this case the usual time has therefore been exceeded by two months, and for this reason it is called "the longer period." And this is just as it should be, for having said before that the woman had kept her pregnancy a secret, afterwards begot Chêng, so that her period of pregnancy must necessarily have been an unusually long one.'

Sze-ma Chêng having lived in the eighth century of our era, it is clear that, up to his time, the notion that the 'First Emperor' was an offspring of his Chancellor, continued to rest on the evidence of the Sze-ki, to the effect that his mother begot him after a pregnancy of twelve months.

At that time the historiographers did therefore not yet consider I-jên to have been so much of a simpleton as to accept as his offspring a child who, according to the laws of nature, could not possibly be his, and so they continued to admit the phenomenon of a birth delayed by two months. They could the more safely do so, as their books offered many instances of illustrious men having been born under such abnormal conditions.

But in the following centuries a change occurred in the minds of the historiographers. Public opinion had probably meanwhile become somewhat sceptical with regard to those wondrous births recorded in the ancient histories, and the legend of a twelve months' pregnancy could therefore no longer be considered sufficient to make people believe in Lü Puh-wei's paternity of the 'First Emperor.' A new expedient was

therefore considered necessary. This was found by committing one of the most bare-faced falsifications, which have ever been perpetrated in the literary world. And he who did not shrink from undertaking such a discreditable business, is, strange to say, that illustrious statesman of the Sung dynasty, Sze-ma Kwang 司馬光 (v. Mayers, M. No. 656), who committed this falsification of history in that celebrated production of his, known as the 'Annals of the History of China,' a work which bears the high-flown title of 'Comprehensive Mirror for the aid of Government' 資治通鑑, and which, in its modern extended form, has been published with the Imperial imprimatur.

The desired end was attained by Sze-ma Kwang by the interpolation at one place of the character 佯, to simulate, and by the emendation at another place of the character 大, large, long.

The Sze-ki says, that, when I-jên asked for the Lady of Han-tan, Lü Puh-wei was angry 怒 at the shameless demand. The Annalist now interpolated, before the word 怒, the character 佯, whereby the resentment, attributed by the Sze-ki to Lü Puh-wei, became a feigned one, and he made him thereby appear as having on the contrary from the very first aimed at such a result, in order to become 'the father of a King.' But having once given that turn to the narrative of the Sze-ki, the assumption of an abnormal pregnancy of a twelve months' length was of course no longer necessary; the character 大 before 期 was therefore struck out and the text made to say simply: 期年而生子, where 期年 is not to be taken literally as 'after the lapse of a year,' but in the more general sense of 'when the woman had fulfilled her months.'

This is evident from the 'Critical examinations' 考證 published by Sü Chao-wên 徐昭文, A.D. 1359. This author strives even to give that same meaning to the 大期 of the Sze-ki. In one of the

editions consulted by me, viz. one published in the capital of Sze-chuen, the following note is appended to the Biography of Lü Puh-wei. 'The term 大期 is to be taken in the same sense as the sentence in the Shi King 誕彌厥月 'when she had fulfilled her months' (v. Dr. Legge's Classics IV. p. 467). The Sze-ki thereby points distinctly to the 'First Emperor' being indeed the son of Lü Puh-wei. It declares that the time for the woman's confinement had then come, though not according to I-jên's estimation, but this is only because he had not been aware of the trick that had been played. If we follow Sü Kwang and admit that the child was born after a lapse of 12 months, how could we still believe in the First Emperor's having been a son of Lü Puh-wei?'

The reader will find Sü Chao-wên's reasoning rather curious, and experience some difficulty in understanding its force. Nor is this in the least necessary in order to come to a decision. For any unbiassed reader, with the above facts before him, will, without hesitating a single moment, at once dismiss, as utterly unfounded, the notion of the 'First Emperor' having descended from the former merchant, and of the latter having, from the very first of his acquaintance with the Prince I-jên, conceived no less a design than the acquisition of the throne of Ts'in for his unborn son. (See *China Review*, X. p. 187).

3.—THE STATE OF TS'IN DURING LÜ PUH-WEI'S TENURE OF OFFICE.

But if we cannot credit Lü Puh-wei with that astonishing amount of ability and astuteness, which he must have been possessed of, if he accomplished all that the foregoing chapter credits him with, we must also doubt whether, on the other side, he can be called 'the virtual founder of the fortunes of the Ts'in dynasty' as Mr. Mayers styles him in his Manual (No. 465).

What did he accomplish in the course of the twelve years during which he was Chancellor of Ts'in? On his assuming

office, that State had extended its sway, in various directions, far into the present provinces of Shensi, Szechuen, Hupeh, Honan and Shansi. Quite of late, during the interval which had elapsed between the tenure of office of Fan Tsü and Lü Puh-wei, further important events had taken place. The Duchy of Western Chow had become extinct, when the regalia of the Empire, the nine tripods, whose possession was considered as giving a legitimate title to the imperial dignity, fell into the hands of the King of Ts'in (B.C. 255).

The States of Wei and Hàn had at last been prevailed upon to acknowledge, in a certain measure, the supremacy of the western Power, the former by its King betaking himself to the court of Ts'in and the latter by receiving its orders (B.C. 254).

These important successes were the natural result of the policy which the State of Ts'in had for some centuries prosecuted with unflinching perseverance, and now they emboldened its Ruler, King Chao-siang, in the 54th year of his reign, to gratify himself, before his impending demise, with the offering of the imperial sacrifice to Shang-ti (B.C. 253).

These were the circumstances under which Lü Puh-wei entered upon the duties of his office. He had scarcely done so, when he was called to lead an expedition against the Duchy of Eastern Chow, that last remnant of Chow's imperial domain. Its Ruler had been plotting with other States against Ts'in and incurred thereby the wrath of the western Power. Lü Puh-wei now captured his residence, the city of Kung 鞏 (still existing as a district city in Honan-fu), extinguished the State, banished its Ruler and, in ordering the cessation of the sacrifices to the manes of the fallen House, he wished to wipe out even its last vestiges (B.C. 249).

With the possession of Kung, the way into the very heart of Hàn was now open. Only a few miles East of Kung there was the stronghold of Cheng-kao 成皋 (situated within the present district of Sze-shwui, K'ai-

fung-fu, Honan) and some more miles farther there was another fortified place, that of Yung-yang 滎陽 (still existing as a district city in K'ai-fung-fu, Honan). Both places were taken the same year and, to leave no doubt about the intentions of the King of Ts'in, he forthwith constituted these new acquisitions into a new province, that of San-chw'an 三川郡, in which he incorporated not only the former imperial domain and the recent conquests from Hàn, but also, by anticipation, further still unconquered parts of Hàn and Wei (B.C. 249).

The following two years Ts'in retrieved the losses it had suffered some ten years before in consequence of its defeat under the walls of Han-tan, by reconquering from Chao the formerly lost provinces of Shang-tang and T'ai-yüan in the present province of Shansi (B.C. 248-247). But these successes once more caused the other States to unite in a common effort to repel the steadily advancing western foe. It was the Prince Wu-k'i 無忌 (v. Mayers, M. Nos. 847 & 586), the '*chevalier sans peur et sans reproche*,' the same who had formerly gained at Han-tan such a brilliant victory over the army of Ts'in, who, on a renewed attack of the latter on Wei, put himself again at the head of the allied armies of Wei, Hàn, Chao, Ts'i and Ts'u, defeated Meng Ngao 蒙驁, the Ts'in commander, and pursued him as far as the Han-kuh Pass, B.C. 247. That same year Chwang Siang, King of Ts'in, died, after a reign of only three years, and made room for his son Chêng, who ascended the throne, when only thirteen years old.

This success showed once more, what the eastern States would, even at that epoch, have been capable of achieving, if they had only been able to put aside their private feuds, in order to make front against the common foe. But, instead of uniting, they on the contrary continued indulging in their fratricidal wars, as did at that time especially the States of Ts'i and Yen, while Ts'u indemnified itself for the losses sustained at the hands of

Ts'in, at the expense of the State of Lu, whose territory it annexed (B.C. 249). A further and perhaps still greater evil was the distrust which the Rulers so often entertained towards their most trustworthy ministers and commanders. Ts'in had repeatedly availed itself of such feelings of distrust to rid itself of dangerous opponents, and now resorted again to bribery and slander, in order to remove the gallant Prince Wu-k'i from its path. King Chéng, acting of course under the advice of his Chancellor—for he himself was then still a mere child of thirteen years—sent ten thousand pieces of gold to Wei, to be spent amongst the rivals of Prince Wu-k'i, to induce them to scatter a rumour that the latter was aiming at the throne of Wei. The King was only too accessible for such machinations and at once superseded Wu-k'i in the command of his army. Still Ts'in dared not undertake anything against Wei as long as the dreaded general was alive. It was not until he died, B.C. 244, that we find Ts'in at work again in swallowing up the eastern States. The conquest of twenty more cities was the result of two further years' warfare; it enabled Ts'in to constitute a further province, that of Tung Kiün 東郡, which reached as far east as to include T'ai-méng fu in Chihli, Tung-ch'ang fu and part of Tsi-nan fu in Shangtung, though the real sway of Ts'in did of course not yet extend so far (B.C. 242).

The imminence of danger caused the eastern States once more to unite for a common action against the dreaded invader. Five of them, viz. Ts'u, Chao, Wei 魏, Han and Wéi 衛. The latter, though it had a long time ago ceased to exist independently, confederated again under the lead of Ts'u, which sent its Chancellor Hwang Hieh 黃歇 (v. Mayers M. No. 218) at the head of the allied armies to meet the enemy. After a transient success, Hwang Hieh pushed as far as the Han-kuh Pass, when

the Ts'in army suddenly sallied forth from the same and utterly routed the allied armies.

Pushing his success still further, the western commander at once commenced a fierce attack on Wei and captured its city of Chao-ko 朝歌 (an old city which was situated within the present Wei-hwei fu, Honan), when the State of Ts'u was obliged, for security's sake, to remove again its capital from Ch'én 陳 to Show-ch'un 壽春 (the present Show Chow, Ngan-hwei), B.B. 241.

During the following four years there happened, on the part of Ts'in, a lull in the military operations. We read only of a few unimportant conquests made from Wei in the N. of the Ho. The reason thereof is perhaps to be sought in internal difficulties, which were then besetting the western State. We read that it was visited by a severe famine (B.C. 244), which was followed the next year by plagues of locusts and epidemy (B.C. 243), when the practice of selling titles of nobility, which to the great prejudice of the country, has been persevered in to the present day, was originated. Some years later, in the midst of summer, there set in suddenly such severe weather, that people died from cold (B.C. 238). The same year there also came to light the scandals connected with Lü Puh-wei, followed by the rebellion of Liao Tuh, when the public career of the Merchant-Chancellor came to an abrupt end.

During his tenure of office, important strides had been made by Ts'in towards the subjugation of the eastern States, still they cannot be attributed to any extraordinary capacities of the Chancellor. Events continued to take their natural course, which, under the circumstances that prevailed at that time in China, necessarily led to the final victory of Ts'in. If this result was finally attained, Lü Puh-wei can scarcely be credited with having greatly helped towards it.

CH. PITON.

CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARDS THE TOPOGRAPHY AND ETHNOLOGY OF CENTRAL ASIA.

I. EXTRACTS FROM THE P'EI-WEN YÜN-FU.

(Continued from page 346.)

151. Chu-kü [朱屠] is the name of a State in the west. [See No. 27].

152. The King of 莎車 State rules the city of So-kü. [Strabo says the Jaxartes separated the Sacae and Sogdians].

153. The mountainous recesses of Ta-hia and So-kü, both due north. [Hamilton's Strabo says, in a note, on D'Anville's authority, that the name *Sakae* is to be traced in Sakita, a district situated on the north of the Oxus, consequently in ancient Sogdiana].

154. The Tanguts [羌] had an official, called the 左沮渠; and as Mêng-sün first held this office, the official name was taken as a family name. [See *Chinese Recorder*, Part 2 of *Relations with Tartar tribes*.] This man was a Hiung-nu ruler in 涼.

155. Going from 東女 State and the valleys of the western regions for 800 li, you come to 斡旬迦 State which is Tsü-k'ü's place.

156. West from 輪臺 [300 li west of Harashar] to 車師 is over 1,000 li. [See No. 85].

157. The Intra king of Kü-shi rules at 交河 city; the Ultra king of Kü-shi rules the 務塗 valley.

158. The Huns sent a vast army to attack the 烏孫 [? Euseii], and to the land of 車延惡師.

159. Ai-lao [哀牢] produces birds, kingfishers, rhinoceros, elephants, baboons, and [? tapirs] 貘獸.

160. The 32 rhinoceros and elephants offered by 文單 State.

161. South of Tonguin [交趾] there is Vietnam [越裳].

162. From Fuh-lim south-west across the desert 2,000 li there is a State named Molin, or 老勃薩, whose inhabitants are black, and of nature fierce. [Dr. Hirth's quotation is longer, and continues: 'they feed their horses with dried fish, and themselves eat dates.' This would, if south-east, tally with Strabo's Ichthyophagi in Arabia, of whose land he says: 'No trees, except palms and a kind of thorn and the tamarisk grow there. Both they and their cattle subsist upon fish.' Hamilton's translation.]

163. In 鄯城 there is a place called 鷄莽驛. [From this it appears that *humang*, or 'Persian date,' must have a history].

164. Noted horses and great asses [in Persia] which can go 700 M a day. [Talking of Carmania, Strabo says: Asses, on account of the scarcity of horses; are made use of even in war].

165. Amongst the beasts of 滑 there are lions, two-footed camels, and wild asses

with horns. [See No. 230]. [Probably the onager of Assyria].

166. Variegated asses sent [to the Mongol court] by Maabar State.

167. At the palace of the King of Fuh-lin, there are three sets of doors, all adorned with rare jewels. In the centre of the middle gate there is a 金巨稱 made like a gold man, and at the point there are 12 balls, one of which falls at each change of the hours.

168. Fu-nan is over 3,000 *li* west of Lin-yih in the centre of a great bay of the sea; its dominions are 3,000 *li* in extent. [See Nos. 48, 76, 131].

169. Fu-nan State is south of Cochin China [日南郡] amongst the great islands of 海西, distant from Jih-nan about 7,000 *li*. Its King 橋陳如 was originally a Brahman of India. An angel said: thou shalt rule Fu-nan State, and the people went to meet him and set him up. [Eitel gives two Kāundinya of these characters, one a Nepaulese grammarian, and one a disciple of Shākyamuni. In Foochow the pronunciation is still Kieutingyü].

170. The sugar-cane of Fu-nan is 10 feet high, with three joints.

Jih-nan is the ancient 象郡 of Ts'in [parts of the Kwang Provinces bordering on Tonquin].

172. In Jih-nan there is a perfume mart where traders deal in all sorts of perfumes.

173. The cocoa-nut tree of Jih-nan. [See Nos. 46, 176: probably part of Laos or Siam].

174. In Ta-ts'in State they weave a fine cloth, which they say is made of water-sheep down, called western-sea-cloth.

174a. Fu-lin [State] weaves water-sheep-wool into cloth, called western-sea-cloth. [See No. 212].

175. The Western Sea [State] weaves water-sheep-wool into cloth, called western-sea-cloth. [Bell of Antermomy speaks of 'a shrub called in Russian *Tartarskey barashka*, or 'Tartarian lamb,' with the skin of which the caps of Armenians, Persians, Tar-

tars, &c., are faced; they also write that it eats up and devours all the grass and weeds within its reach: but all I could find were some dry bushes which grow on a single stalk, with a bushy top of a brownish colour; the stalk is about 18 inches high; the top consisting of sharp, prickly leaves; it is true that no grass or weeds grow within the circle of its shade.' It may be mentioned that in Russian *barashki* means 'catkins'].

176. In the 9th year of Yen-hi of the Han [dynasty A.D. 166] An-tun, King of Ta Ts'in, sent an envoy, who came with offerings from beyond the limits of Jih-nan. [This comes from the 南史, and differs slightly from Dr. Hirth's extract].

177. Ta Ts'in State produces 明珠, the 夜光珠, and 眞白珠.

178. The 明月 pearl and the 夜光璧; when you meet people in the dark, the wayfarers will place their hands on their swords, and regard each other [saying], 'how comes this to advance without apparent cause?'

179. The 蛇珠 is vomited by snakes. A Cantonese saying is: One thousand snake pearls are not equal to one garnet; meaning that the snake-pearl is so common; the [garnet?] 玫瑰 is also the name of a pearl.

180. In the time of [the Emperor] 苻堅 [see Mayers' Manual No. 141], the State of 大宛 offered thorough-bred horses with red manes.

181. The State of 犬戎 has variegated horses with plain bodies, red manes [朱鬃], and eyes like yellow gold. [See No. 362].

182. On the water of the Western Sea there are men who ride white horses with red manes. [Possibly the famed horses of the Karderchi, mentioned by Bell].

183. T'u-ho-lo State has its capital 500 *li* west of the Onion Range: in the mountain caves there are divine horses; every year they pasture the mares in the place where the caves are, when they will certainly bring forth notable foals.

184. T'u-ho-lo is also called [吐 or] 土
豁羅, and 觀貨羅 [or 邏]. During
the Toba times it was called 土呼羅.
It is situated west of the Onion Range, and
south of the [? Ochus] River 烏澹;—the
ancient Ta-hia territory. [See Nos. 14, 252,
and Eitel's *Buddhism*, under the word Tuk-
hara, which could only have become one
with Bactria when the Scythians drove the
Bactrians south].

185. At this time Chang Yih-chih re-
quested permission to remove the ten *ta-
têh-sêng* 大德僧 at the capital to 定
州 [South Chih-li], and settle them in the
temple [寺] which had been privately pur-
chased there. [Dr. Eitel, under *Bhadanta*,
makes this its equivalent, i.e. 'Reverend.'
Dr. Hirth suggests that Nestorians are
meant].

186. In the 19th year of K'ai-yüan [A.D.
731], the King of Central India 伊沙
伏摩 sent his *ta-têh-sêng* to Court with
tribute.

187. [In Fu-lim] on the sea is 遲散
city. The Geography Book says, 月支
都督府遲散州. [Bactria or Yüeh-
chi was a prefecture near Turfan under the
T'ang].

188. The Shen-shen State has its capital
at 杆 [? 杆] 泥 city, the ancient Lou-lan
State. [See No. 415].

189. The city of 占 is near K'iung-chow;
with a favourable wind a ship can reach the
country in one day [? Haiphong].

190. South-west of the 東川 River
across the south part of the State of 烏
壘. The west of Wu-lei city is distant
from Kuldja 350 li.

191. From the lower [part of the] State
[of Ta Ts'in] straight north you come to Wu-
tan city: South-west you must in all cross
the great sea six days to arrive at this State
[烏丹]. [This, also, was during the T'ang
dynasty the name of a division near Tur-
fan].

192. Tonquin [南粵] rebelled, and the
Han] Emperor sent troops . . . by way of
Kien-wei [Sz Ch'uan], when the King of

且蘭, fearing complications, also rebelled.
[This State appears to have been in Annam
or Kwei-chou, but one of a similar name was
tributary to 大秦, somewhere in Asia
Minor].

193. The elder son [of one 慕容 of the
Tungusic dynasties, A.D. 4th century, see
No. 290], was called 吐谷渾, and
moved West, away to the South-west of
涼州 [in Kan Suh], as far as the West
of the 赤水, occupying territory south of
the [Yellow] River. [Bell of Antermomy
says the Kalmuck and Tongouses *speak
much the same language*, and Remusat ob-
jects (*only on the score that there is no evi-
dence that the T'ukuhun spoke the same
language as the Tongouses*) to Ma Twan-
lin's statement that they are one and the
same stock].

194. The State of 烏羅渾 is 6,300 li
north-east of the [T'ang] metropolis. [Bell's
Orochon Tongouses agree with this].

195. Further sent embassies to the five
states of Parthia, An-ts'ai, [? the Amaxai
or *dwellers in wagons* of Strabo], and 犂
軒, T'iao-chih, and K'uan-tuh 身毒].
Commentary. [This] Likien is Ta Ts'in. [See
A. No. 59].

196. Ta-ts'in State is also called 犂犂.
[Thus the country, ? Hyrcan, which is else-
where described as being north of Parthia,
is here declared to be the same as Ta Ts'in,
which is elsewhere stated to be west of
T'iao-chih, T'iao-chih being west of Parthia.
Syria, or by confusion of terms Assyria, how-
ever, once comprised the territory between
the Mediterranean and the Euphrates].

197. K'ang State, during the early part
of the L'ai-yüan period [A.D. 735], sent as
tribute chain-mail, crystal cups, cornelian
bottles, and ostrich eggs.

198. [P'iao State musicians who came to
court] rehearsed plays from the Buddhist
books. [See No. 93].

199. The music of P'iao State comes from
the South-west corner of the Great Sea.
The son of 雍羌 [by name] 舒難陀

came to offer Southern music; and to receive [? or submit] the true calendar **奉正朔**].

200. Kwa-chou, the ancient name of Tun-hwang, is so called on account of its excellent melons. [See No. 66].

201. The **契丹** [See No. 273], on being routed by the Hiung-nu, kept to the Sien-pi hills. During the Toba period **靺鞨** [A.D.], they fled south of the **潢水**, north of the **靺鞨**. During the [later or] **元** [Toba] period, they styled themselves K'itan. Their land is due north-east of the [T'ang] capital over 5,000 li; east is Korai, west is **奚**, and south is **營州** [Chih Li]. To the north are the Moh-hoh.

202. In the 2nd year [A.D. 530] of **中大通** the King of **丹丹** State sent an envoy with a letter presenting tooth elephants [ivory?], and two ornamental pagodas; he also offered **火齊珠**, and **古貝** [see Nos. 3 and 6], and assorted scents and drugs.

203. Pointed peaks of hills [in the language of **金**] are called **哈丹** [? Khandan].

204. The Emperor sent to Khoten for jade, and got 1000 lbs. of **瑟瑟**.

205. *Sêh-sêh* is **碧珠**. *Sêh-sêh* is a **寶石**: the **碧** or green sort was called *sêh sêh* by the T'angs, and the red sort was called **赫鞞** by the Sung. [See No. 236].

206. Red *moh-hoh* as big as large chestnuts, and red as red cherries; absolutely unbreakable.

207. The water-melons and sweet-melons of Moh-hoh State require two men to raise each one. [Remusat, page 241, on rather feeble grounds, thinks this word may be the same as *Mongol*, and that the Moho were a mixed Mongo-Tungusic race].

208. Holih [See Bushell's *Tibet*, page 14] was left to hold Korai, but the Coreans, 150,000 of whom were encamped on the Liao River, brought up several myriads of Moh-hoh [against him].

209. The men of Harashar State cut the

hair; the women wear jackets and large trousers.

210. The people [of Kuldja State] employ themselves in tillage and pasturage. Both men and women cut the hair so as to hang to the neck.

211. The State of **末** is the **且末** State of the Han times. The men cut the hair and wear felt caps. [This latter was once a prefecture on the Kan Suh frontier, also known as the **伏戎**. Playfair].

212. In the northern district [of Fuh-lin] there are sheep which grow in the earth. Their navels are joined to the earth, and, if out, cause death. The custom is to cuirass their horses, and race by beating drums so as to alarm [the sheep]. The lamb's navel is thus severed, and it at once goes after water and grass and cannot herd. [See Nos. 174-5. Bretschneider thinks this is the *Agnus Scythicus*. *Recorder*, Vol. VI, No. 1].

213. The **車渠** is a kind of jade, full of variegated lines and marks, produced in western countries, where it is much valued. [See No. 278].

214. The south of **真臘** State [Cambodia] borders on **車渠** State; west is **朱江** State.

215. In the 21st year [A.D. 647] of **貞觀** [the State of] **泥婆羅** [? Nepal] sent an envoy with offerings.

216. In the city of **舍衛** of the State of **拘薩羅** there are very few inhabitants; perhaps 200 families: it is the city built by the King Prasénajet. [See Eitel's *Buddhism*, under Kôsala].

217. The **封羊** [or humped goat (or sheep) of **凉州**], with a back like a camel.

218. The Bactrian goat (or sheep) [**月氏羊**] of the steppes, six feet high, with a tail like a horse. For further description, see *Erh-ya* [where none is given].

219. At new year the Kuldjans have goat (or sheep), horse, and camel fights for seven days, and judge coming harvest, by their victories and defeats. [See Nos. 102-3].

220. The Intra-king of **車師** lives at **交河** city, where the river divides, and encircles the city [**繞城**, a phrase Dr. Hirth should observe closely]; hence the name, [in Han times: a further passage places the **高昌** here in T'ang times]. [Dr. Bretschneider considers he has proved Kao-ch'ang to be Karakhodjo or Turphan].

221. There are two roads to Western Asia after passing the **玉門** and **陽關**. [See No. 77]. Going along the Shen-shen flank north of the **南山** follow the River as far as [Yarkand] **莎車**; this is the southern route. North from **伊吾** you get to the Intra-tribe of Küshi, and **高昌壁**, 1,200 li. From Kao-ch'ang Pih north you get to **金滿** city 500 li. [See No. 17].

222. The noted of them [the **靺鞨**] are the **粟末** tribe: they live southernmost, and reach to the **大白山**, bordering on Korai. [Remusat says, the Chinese make the Black Water Mo-ho the progenitors of the **女真**].

223. The **乞伏** tribe. [See *Chinese Recorder*, 1884, *Relations with Tartar Tribes*]. [The founder **國仁** was a Sien-pi of Lung-si [Kan Suh]. The four tribes elected him as supreme ruler, with the title of the K'ih-vuh Khakhan T'oh-yih-moh-ho **託鐸莫何**, the first two characters meaning 'neither god nor man,' [in consequence of his miraculous birth described at length].

224. The **羯鼓** was originally a Wether Hun [**羯戎**] musical instrument, certain rounds on which were used by the Kuldjan, the **高昌**, the Kashgarian [**疏勒**] and Indian tribes: its sound was plaintive, and very different from that of other instruments. [History says Kao-ch'ang was the same as **北庭** or Urumtsi].

225. The Emperor [Chou] **文** [B.C. 1154-22] got a **大秦貝** half a cubit in diameter. The Emperor **穆** [B.C. 1001-946] got its shell, and hung it up in a tower. Duke Muh of Ts'in presented it to [the State of] Yen [Peking, 7th century, B.C.]

226. In the 7th year of **元嘉** [A.D. 157] the State of **阿羅單** sent an envoy to offer Indian **白疊古貝** and also [other] *Ku-pei* from **葉波** State. [Compare Nos. 3 and 315].

227. There is a copper pillar in the K'un-lun [Range], which is [so] high [that it seems to] enter the heavens: hence the name **天柱** [Compare No. 109].

228. Next cross the Great Headache and Small Headache mountains, and the Red Earth and Hot Body Banks [near Ki-pin State] where people get hot and pallid, [and suffer from] megrims and nausea. [Compare No. 6].

229. In the 4th year of **大業** [A.D. 608], an envoy was sent to **赤土致羅** **闕** [It is not clear what the last three characters mean].

230. In the first year of **普通** of the Liang [dynasty A.D. 520] the State of **滑** sent an envoy to offer yellow lions, white sable coats, Persian embroidery, &c. [See No. 165].

231. The character **擇** is pronounced *dan* [**健干**], and is the name of a State of southern barbarians.

232. He led the **弱水** to **合黎** [See No. 78], where its surplus waters entered the **流沙**. This river takes its name Hoh-li from a mountain of that name, from which it issues east of the Liu-sha. In **靈掖** district there are the **祁連** and Hob-li mounts. The Chang-yeh River is called the **羌谷** River, and also the Hoh-li River. [See Nos. 4, 53, 134].

233. To the east [Western Asia] is bounded by the [Chinese or] Han defiles, the **玉門** and the **陽關**; to the west it is limited by the Onion Range. Note. The two defiles are both on the west frontier of Tun-hwang. [See Nos. 17, 221.]

234. Sramana [**沙門**] in the Syrian language [**秦言**] means those who by good teachings and earnest works aim at Nirvāna. [See Eitel's *Buddhism* on the derivation of this word. Remusat also shews that this word is used by Tibetans, Mongols, Tongouses]

and Manohus alike. Page 134, *Tartar Languages*].

235. The chief surname [in 林邑] is 婆羅門. [See No. 46].

236. One name of Fuh-lim State is Ta Ts'in: the pillars in the palace halls are made of 瑟瑟 [See No. 205], the floors of gold, the door panels of ivory, the beams and posts of fragrant wood.

237. The [Toba] family of 叱門 changed its 氏 to [simply] 門. [See No. 132 which is? a misprint].

238. It was the custom in the State of Fu-nam [? Siam], to go naked with straggling long hair, and to make no clothes: they have a female as Prince, and style her 柳葉. [This comes from the Liang dynasty annals. See Nos. 168, 70].

239. Woman State is south of the Onion Range; this State has for generations had females as Princes: they live in nine-storeyed buildings, with several hundred female attendants. Every five days she holds a Court, when there is another small female Prince associated with her in the government.

240. The Nan-shao [See No. 79] are another tribe of black Man[-tsz].

241. They [of Nan-shao] dwell in 永昌 [Yün Nan]. To their east are the 爨; to the west Magada [See Nos. 36, 39, 63 and 64]; to the south the Woman King [State]; to the north 益州 [Consequently part of Assam or Burmah must be meant by the Woman State].

242. Dwarf State is over 4,000 li distant from Woman King State.

243. In the 3rd year of Han Wu Ti's 征和 period [B.C. 90], the King of Bactria [月支] sent an envoy to offer one wild beast. When the Emperor saw the envoy embracing it, he said: what sort 'of a wild beast do you call that small thing?' The envoy replied: 'The divine giraffe [K'i-lin] was formerly the king of the huge elephants, and the phoenix must be the ancestor of the eagles. The centipede is in the power of the [weevil?] 螻蛄; it is not a question of size.'

244. Ts'in [i.e. North West of China] used one 由余 [See No. 345] to plan an attack on the Western 戎, and increased the State by [amalgamating] twelve [others], adding 1,000 li, and thus hegemonising the western 戎 [who, being Tanguts or Mongols, probably at this time extensively mixed with the Ts'in race].

245. The 10,000 li [distant] young king of the Western Jung; at what time did he separate from the Bactrians? [Evidently referring to the traditional emigrations west of portions of the Yüeh-chih].

246. The State of 波知 is south-west of the 鉢和 State [See No. 28].

247. They formerly had a woman for Prince [in Fu Nan], and her style was 柳葉 [Willow Leaf. Compare No. 238. This comes from the 南史].

248. The 回鶻. The 回紇 or ancient 匈奴. In the time of the Later Tobas they were called the 高車部: it is also said that the 敕勒 (erroneously 鐵勒) tribe [部落], was variously called 袁紇, and 烏護, and 烏紇, until the Sui times, when it was called 韋紇. At first it had no supreme chief [酋長], and was vassal to the Turks. During the period 大業 [A.D. 605-17], the Khakhan 處羅 conquered the 鐵勒 tribe, and massacred all its influential men, on which the 韋紇 rebelled, and made a 俟斤 [See No. 325] of their own called 回紇. During the reign of 德宗 [A.D. 780-805], the Princess Hien-an was ordered to marry the Khakhan, who sent in a very civil letter, and requested to have the name changed to 回鶻, the idea being 'swiftly swooping' like that bird. [See No. 34]. [Remusat points to a confusion of terms. The 回回 or Black 回 are the Kharism Bukhariens or 回鶻 whose ancient origin was the Seling, whereas the Wei-u-rh or Ouigour land is the old Wu-sun country of the Ouigurs or Hungarians afterwards taken by the Turks]. [Remusat says that in the 6th century the

chief of the Wên, named Kio-mou-tchi, married the daughter of the Turkish Khakan Tou-tha, and became a Turkish vassal. Hitherto the Wên chiefs had always carried the title of Chaou-won or Chaou-fou in memory of their birthplace north of Kamoul].

249. Beyond [west] the State of 遼 are 10 tribes, one of which is the 回鶻

250. Those States dependent on Liao which can be enumerated include the Hweihuh of 甘州, of 阿薩蘭, of 沙州, and of 和州 [extreme west Kan Suh].

251. Of all countries the Ouigours were most intimate with and loyal to the T'ang [dynasty]. [Remusat discusses the origin of the Ouigours at length, identifying the 車師 or 姑師 with the 高車. He suggests that the former, if not a Tartar transcription, is fairly translated by *εμαζοχισ*, or *conducteurs de chars*, a name which, on Strabo's and Chinese authority alike, we have allotted to their neighbours, the 高車. See No. 34].

252. The State of 鉢利曷 is [on] the land of the ancient 都貨羅 State. It extends over 100 li east and west, and over 300 li north and south. [See No. 184. Perhaps this is the same as the Poh-ho of Nos. 28, 246].

253. [The concubine] Kwei-fei let the Samarcand puppy-dog [康國狍子] jump on the [Emperor's] chess-board.

254. [The 50 西域 peoples] are all west of the Hiung-nu, and South of the Wu-sun.

255. The northern [peoples] are the 狄; they wear feathers and hair, and live in caves or pits [穴], some of them eating no grain whatever. [Mr. Milne says of the Kuriles: 'the upper garment is made of bird-skins with the feathers inside; they were in the habit of crossing to Kamschatka. Their food consisted of a few berries, the eggs and flesh of sea-birds, seals, and other meat.']

256. The 北狄 are of numerous sorts. 蠕蠕 are the [? representative race or] 族, being a branch of the Hiung-nu.

257. The 北狄 of 鴈門 [Shan Si] do not eat grain, despise the old and admire the strong, and are all in favour of force. The men never slacken their bows, the horses never have their bridles off, so as to facilitate [their aggressive movements].

258. The words 戎狄 are also written 戎翟.

259. Samarcand [撒馬兒罕] is the Ki-pin of Han times, north east of 哈烈 3,000 li. [Bretschneider, *China Review*, Vol. V., page 314, has shown Ha-lieh to be Herat].

260. [The State of] 胡 is a Tartar State [胡子之國] by the side of 楚. [The people of Sz Ch'uan were considered 戎 up to B.C. 300 at least].

261. The Syrians [秦胡] crowded forward to see [some duke converse with his friends in the Toba capital].

262. Why, our friend 伏波 [see Mayers' Manual, No. 478] is just like a Syrian trader [西域賈胡] in the face!

263. All the traders from Western Asia came to trade at 張掖 [in Kan Suh], and he [the author of the Si-yüeh Ki] asked the various western traders [商胡] about their customs, &c.

264. The Emperor [晉武帝] had [in his service or keeping] a very powerful Turk [西域健胡].

265. From 伽藍洲 in the State of 婆 you go four days north to 獅子國 [Singhala, from *Sinhā*, a lion].

266. Si-wang-mu is on the edge [嶺] of the Shifting Sands, and 樂民羣呂 is on the Weak Water Island of K'un-lun.

267. The State of 單桓 rules at Tan-hwan City, distant from Ch'ang-an 8,870 li.

268. By the new north road you travel west, arriving east (sic) at 且彌 State, and Tan-hwan State, both ultra tribes of the Kü-shih. [See 85, 91 and 156].

269. Pan Ch'uo attacked the Western Asia State of **姑墨**.

269½. King **白英** of Kuldja, at the head of Ku-meh and Wen Suh [Aksu], humbly surrendered to Pan Yung.

270. Kwei-tsz [Kuldja] is 670 *li* west of Ku-meh; the river [? Yulduz] then flows south-east to the east of **輪臺** [See No. 156].

271. Ta Hia [see Nos. 184, 252] has five feathered earls [see No. 439]; one is named **休密**, the feathered earl ruling at **和墨** city, distant 6,802 *li* from Yang Kwan. [See Nos. 17, 77, 221-3].

272. In Western Asia there is a Ho-meh **州** in **恒浚** State, and **恒** city is the capital [of that **州**].

273. The State of **室韋** is north of **勿吉** 1,000 *li*, distant from Loh-yang 6,000 *li*. The first character is sometimes written **失**. They are a kind of K'i-tan [see No. 201], the northern [ilk] being Shih-wei, and the southern K'i-tan.

274. The land of the Sien-pi touches Shih-wei on the north, Korai on the east, the state of Hi [see No. 201] on the west, and Ying-chou on the south. [Remusat places the Shih-wei on the Lena and Yenisei].

275. The **交河郡** of **西州**, established in the 14th year of **貞觀** [A.D. 640]. [Remusat says Si-chou was once the Ouigour capital].

276. [The Turks'] highest officers were called **葉護**; the next **特勤**; the next **俟利發**; the next **吐毛發**. There were 28 other lower official ranks, all hereditary. [See No. 34].

277. It is the custom in all the States of the West to worship eternity and God [**事長命天神**].

278. The Japanese commentary on the Wei Lioh says: Ta Ts'in has many **神龜**, white horses with red manes [**朱鬃**], chicken-frightening rhinoceros [horn; see Nos. 335-8], **辟毒鼠**, great shells, and **車渠**. [See No. 213].

279. During the reign of [T'ang] Tai-tsung [A.D. 627-50], Samarcand [Kipin] offered **褐特** rats, with sharp snouts and red tails that could eat snakes. Snake bites were cured by smelling the [rat's] urine.

280. In Kwang Chou [Canton] there is a sort of Persian jujube [or date]; the trunk has no branches, but sticks straight up 30 or 40 feet to the top, whence a dozen or 50 of branches diverge. The leaves are like those of the coir palm. It bears fruit once in five years, resembling the jujube [**青棗**] of the north [of China].

281. The **無漏子** is variously called the 1,000 year jujube, the 10,000 year jujube, the Persian jujube.

282. In the 7th year of **開寶** [A.D. 974], the San-foh-ts'i State [see No. 329] brought tribute of ivory, frankincense, rose-water, dates [10,000 year jujubes], **扁桃** &c.

283. The Western King mother jujubes, as large as plum-kernels, ripen in the third moon.

284. Then [Toba times] many people became *sramana*. [Li] Yang submitted a state paper asking how the grand principles of government could be forsaken in favour of a 'devils' religion? [**鬼教**].

285. Bodhi Rutchi [**流支**] explained the Buddhist doctrine with such learning that all the heathens [**夷**] of the Western Lands called him an *Arhán*. He understood the Tartar [? a Toba Chinese] language [**魏言**] and the **隸** form of [Chinese] writing. He translated the *Dasab-hûmîs'vara* and the *Langkâvatâra*, with other Sûtras, 23 in all.

286. Chang K'ien went as envoy to Western Asia because [the Emperor] had heard of the Buddha faith.

287. There are two **丁令** States [see No. 321], one north of **朔方** [i.e. Ordos, or north of Ning-hia] called North Ting-ling, and one west of the Wu-sun called west Ting-ling. In north Ting-ling there is a **馬腦** State, where the men have voices like wild geese, and hair all below their

knees, with horses' shins and hoof, running very quickly. [Bell mentions the capture of wild-geese by Ostiaks or Tunguses who could imitate their cries]. [Remusat points out that the most ancient princes of the Ogôrs had the titles of *War* and *Kheoun-ni* (Compare No. 88), and that the Oun-ougours or Hungarians were more to the east. He also says that some derive *Ougoria* from Russian words which mean *near the mountains*. Now, *ousoun* means 'mountains' in Mongol. The King of the Wusun we have shewn was called K'un-mi, and we have also shewn that they had blue eyes and red hair. The Wu-sun may therefore have been Hungarians].

288. The 木難 is a greenish pearl, formed out of the spittle of the golden-winged bird, and is prized in Ta-ts'in State.

289. The 𪛗 comes from the West Sea. The Ta Ts'in State people keep them; they are like dogs, but very powerful and fierce. [See No. 396].

290. [The Sien-pi 奕洛韓 had two sons, the elder named T'u-kuh-hwên [see No. 193], and the younger named Joh-loh-wei [若洛鹿]. The horses of the two tribes [部] got fighting, and hurt each other. Wei got angry, but Hwên said: the horses do the fighting, and the men get angry about it? If that is so, we shall soon fall out. I must give you a berth of 10,000 *li* wide. On this he drove his [herds of] horses west one 頃 or 80 *li*, [but Wei soon repented, and begged him to return].

291. The [first] Hiung-nu Shen-yü [who came into contact with the historical Chinese] was 頭曼, [for which some such word as Dömara may be sought in Turkish annals]. T'ou-man, being unequal to coping with Ts'in, moved north for a dozen years or so. On the death of Méng T'ien [the builder of the oldest or chief 'great wall'] the Hiung-nu were able to spread out a little south of the [Yellow] River, their frontiers touching China at the old boundary [?塞].

292. The rhinoceros of 黃支 and the

birds of 條枝 [see Nos. 112, 195]. [Xenophon speaks of ostriches on the left bank of the Euphrates].

293. The State of Yen-k'i [Harashar] is over 7,000 *li* due west of the [T'ang] capital. In the year A.D. 633 its King 龍突騎支 first sent an envoy for audience.

294. To the south he [Shun, B.C. 2,250] pacified western Tonquin [交趾] and to the north he attacked the 西戎, the 析枝, the 渠廋 [see No. 126] and the 氏羌. [Bretschneider says 西戎 and 西羌 were both modern Tibet].

295. The Hiung-nu fled [from Han Wu] far away amongst the 氏羌.

296. The Great [Emperor] 禹 [B.C. 2,200] was a Tangut [出西羌].

297. The Si-kiang came from a branch of the 三苗 with surname Kiang.

298. The first State after going out of the 陽關 [see Nos. 17, 221, &c.] is that of 婼羌 [see No. 397]. They follow their herds after grass and water; do not cultivate; the hills have iron, and they make their own weapons, amongst which are bows, arrows, daggers, swords, cuirasses.

299. The 金城 prefecture and district borders on the north-west of the 羌; outside the 塞 [of No. 291] there is the stone house of the Western King Mother [cf. Nos. 266, 283], the fairy sea, and the Salt Marsh, west of which were the Weak Water and K'unlun mountain temple. [Wang] Mang called them the Salt 羌. Commentator's Note. West there are the 畢和羌 who offered land to Wang Mang [A.D. 20, see No. 110], and became the 西海郡 [cf. No. 22. Here is another key to the confusion of the Lob Nor, Caspian and Mediterranean].

300. The State of 宕昌 is a tribe of Western 羌.

301. At first the Yüeh-chih occupied the space between Tun-hwang and the 祁連 [or 天] 山, until they were defeated by the Hiung-nu, when they went far away beyond the west of 宛, attacked Ta Hia,

and reduced it, then placing their capital north of the 瀉水; the remaining smaller hordes, who could not go, joined in defending the South mountain Kiang, and were called Little Yüeh-chih. [This differs from other versions. See No. 128].

301a. The great horde of the 赤水羌 were at war with the 唐堯 State.

302. The 鄧至 were 白水羌, and very prominent amongst the 羌, taking their name from the place. [Remusat thinks there is no doubt that 白水 is the town of *Esfidjah*, meaning in Persian 'white water,' and seems to consider Fergana to be the same place. See No. 361].

303. The 黨項羌 are the descendants of the 三苗. There are the 宕昌 and the 白狼 varieties [種], all calling themselves the 獼猴種. Their east adjoins the west of 臨洮 [South of Lan-chou in Kan Suh].

304. The 西零 or 先零 western 羌. The ancient sound of 西 was 先. The T'u-kuh-hwên seized the [land] west of the Sien-lien on the 甘松 [in Sz Ch'uan] frontier right away to 白蘭 several thousand li.

305. Another tribe of the Sien-lien were the T'ien-lien [滇零].

306. The State of 秣羅矩吒 [Eitel *Mâlākuta*, or Malabar] is the southern-most of the 瞻 tribe on the sea-coast. It produces 龍腦香 [see Eitel, *Karpura*, or camphor], and white sandalwood; there is also a fragrant tree called the 羯薩羅.

307. Bathe in hot water perfumed with 兜婁婆香. Note. This is 檀香 [See A. 19].

308. The 東女 are another sort of 羌. On the 西海 [see No. 299, and A. No. 26] there is also a female ruler, hence the term 東 is used to distinguish [the former which] first sent an envoy with tribute during the 武德 period [A.D. 618-27].

309. The 鳳麟 island is in the Western Sea [see A. No. 30]; on this island there are

thousands and thousands of *feng-lin* in separate herds.

310. [T'ang] T'ai-tsung [A.D. 627-650] made the 結骨 north-west of the 迴紇 into 堅昆府. [Here is an instance where *kien-kuên* is taken to represent *kiel-kuét*. It is on this ground that we think 藍市 or *Lam-sz* may stand for *Lap-sa*, i.e. Rapsa, or Darapsa, the capital of that part of Bactria which used to be Ta Hia [see A. Nos. 32, 34]. [See M. Hopkin's intelligent remarks on the nasal entering tone, page 227 of vol. ix. of the *China Review*].

311. The King of Ya-dja State [see No. 390] rules Ya-dja city.

312. The State of 權於摩 is the ancient Ya-dja, and its King rules at Ya-dja city.

313. He turned the Hiung-nu flank with the help of the Koh-je [鬲婁] Tibetans [羌].

314. Kwa-wa [Java] is beyond the seas farther than 占城. Of all the barbarians against whom [Kublai] sent naval expeditions, Java was the greatest State. [See No. 898].

315. The capital of 呵羅單 [see No. 226] is on Java [閩婆] island.

316. Java State is in the South Sea; its land is level and productive. In the 3rd year of 建炎 [A.D. 1129] its ruler [was given a title described at length to be like that of keeper of the South].

317. The Sien-pi and the Ting-ling [see Nos. 201, 223 and A. No. 34] came with double interpreters.

318. The Red Earth State is in the South Sea; East is 波羅刺 State; West is 婆羅娑 State; South is 訶羅旦 State; and North is the great sea. [See Nos. 363-4].

319. The 婆那沙 tree [of Cambodia, cf. A. 40] has no flowers, and its leaves are like those of the persimmon; its fruit is like the 冬瓜.

320. The King of 小宛 [see A. 41] rules at 扞零 city 7,210 li from Ch'angan. 扞 is read as 烏.

321. In the reign of 桓帝 [A.D. 147-168], a Sien-pi by name 檀石槐 was, on account of his great qualities, made leader of the tribe. He established his Court at 彈汗山, on the 獸仇 River, north of 高柳 300 *li*. He was strong in cavalry, and the chiefs east and west joined him. He made forays south along the frontier; on the north he broke the 丁零 [Compare Nos. 287, 317]; on the east he drove back the [Corean state of] 扶餘; and on the west he smote the Wu-sun.

322. In the State of 厭達 [see Nos. 28, 325] there is a series of temples where they utilise a number of asses to carry grain up the hills; the asses need no man to drive them, but go up and down of their own accord; they start at dawn, and arrive at noon with the greatest punctuality. [Porter Smith calls these people the Massagatae. Remusat says the Ye-t'a were Getae, who in the fifth century were masters of Mawarennahar and the countries beyond the Sihon, as far as Khoten and Kashgar. He makes out that their ancestors were the Sai, (evidently the mysterious 'Su' of Rawlinson, or 'Son' of Pauthier), who were originally driven by the Yüeh-chih from the north-east of the (Caspian to the south). In our opinion, the Yüeh-chih (Wak-tai or Bactrians), who fled B.C. 126 to the Greek Kingdom of Bactria, probably only joined their fellow tribe of that name (be they Goths or Indo-Scythians), which name had already given a territorial name to Bactria, long before the Persian, Seleucid, and Greek dynasties took possession].

322. The 姜戎 were 戎 with the surname 姜.

323. Duke Muh of Ts'in [B.C. 7 cent.] then hegemonised the [Tibetans or] 西戎. [The expression Sien-pi-nu or 'Sien-pi slaves' might lead one to suppose that Hsiung-nu could also be 'the Jung [戎] slaves.' But this possibility is only suggested for rejection, inasmuch as the initial series, and final in each word are all of different power]. [It is quite within the

bound of possibility that the Chinese *hiing* may etymologically be the same as 'Finn.' See No. 66].

324. There are two tribal surnames amongst the Arabs. One is 盤尼末換 [? Ben-i Mutwan] and the other 奚深 [? Yessim or Hasean]. There was one Mo-ho-mut [See A. No. 65], brave and sagacious; the people set him up as ruler.

325. [The Turk] 俟斤 [see No. 247] was Khakhan of 木杆, brave and full of knowledge; he routed the Yeh-t'a [see No. 28] to the west; put the K'i-tan to flight on the east; annexed the 契骨 to the north; and awed into submission all the countries beyond the 塞 [see No. 291].

326. [The 高車] are the remnants of the ancient 赤狄. They were originally termed 狄歷, but in the north they were considered to be Kao-ch'ê and Ting-ling [See Nos. 317 321]. There were four family varieties of them, the 狄, the 斛律, the 斛批, and the 護骨.

327. The Sien-pi call the bedclothes 禿髮 and hence it became a cognomen. T'uh-fah 烏孤 was born in the sheets whilst his mother was asleep. See *Chinese Recorder*, 1884. Relations with Tartar Tribes, No. 2].

328. [The History of the Tobas says the Tobas or] Wei first emanated from 軒轅氏 or Hwang Ti. The younger son of 昌意, son of Hwang Ti, received a northern State where there was a 大鮮卑 mountain which thus gave the name [to the tribe]. [Another extract says, Sien-pi means 'girdle'].

329. [In San-fo-ts'i; see A. 79] they make city walls out of glazed tiles, and use cocoa-nut leaves as thatch. The land produces red cane and purple kino paper, garu, cocoa-nuts, &c.

330. East of 扶南 10,000 *li* there is a 耆薄 State, and again over 5,000 *li* a Volcano State [火山國]. Here, even when it pours with rain, the fire keeps burning. Inside, there are white rats which

frequently come on to the brows of the hills to search for food; the people capture them and make a sort of cloth called **火澣布** out of their hair.

331. In the seventh year of **元祐** [A.D. 1092] Arabia brought **火澣布**.

332. 'Cloth which is purified by fire,' when washed, must be thrown into the fire, when the cloth takes the colour of fire, and the dirt has the colour of the cloth; when taken out of the fire and shaken, it is as white as snow.

333. Chang K'ien brought fire-purified [or asbestos] cloth [amongst other things from abroad as presents to Wu Ti].

334. He chastised the **阿薩蘭** tribe of the **回鶻**. [See No. 250].

335. One foot of the true **通天犀** [or rhinoceros horn], the end being carved like a fish:—if with this in your mouth you enter the water, the water will always be clear around you for the space of three feet square, so that you can breathe in the water. [Other passages show that it is considered an antidote against poisons].

336. The rhinoceros has two horns, that

on the forehead being held the best. There is also a **通天** rhinoceros horn which has a white streak right up to the point. [Rawlinson says rhinoceros are depicted on the celebrated Assyrian black obelisk and were probably from India].

337. The State of **烏弋** [see Nos. 73, 114-5] produces rhinoceros.

338. The State of **贊賈** brought live tribute rhinoceros a distance of 30,000 *li*.

339. The State of Ta Ts'in has hangings of purple interwoven with gold, and five-coloured **斗帳**.

340. The governmental city of **西海郡** was [the site of] the old **伏俟** city that is the capital of the former T'u-kuh-hwèn [see No. 304]. This prefecture contains the stone grotto of Si-wang-Mu, the **青海**, and the Salt Marsh.

341. There are lofty mountains called K'un-lun south of the Si Hai, on the edge of the Liu Sha, behind the Red Water, in front of the Black Water. [Lakes Karakul, Balkash and Issikul seem here meant].

(To be continued.)

H. H. PARKER.

CHINESE ROOTS.

INTRODUCTION.

Roots are words, and words are sounds coming to the mind through the ear and reproduced by the voice with modifications.

The rules affecting all roots are such as the following:—

1. *In regard to tones, only p'ing-sheng and ju-sheng are primitive and normal. Shang-sheng and o'hü-sheng have come in since the language had a literature. These tones denote special sense or they have affected groups of words in consequence of local variation extending through the language by gradual imitation.*

2. *Roots originate in the imitation of natural sounds. They were at first not distinguished into surd and sonant, or into aspirated and unaspirated, or into sibilated and mute, or into dental and lingual, because natural sounds are not thus distinguished. Natural sounds are, when heard, not sharply defined. It was the work of the human intellect and the human voice to assign to them clearly marked distinctions. Natural sounds furnish a sufficient basis for the formation of all roots.*

3 *Roots with initial d take gradually new initials such as t, n, s, ch. We find t, t aspirated, s, sh, ch, ch aspirated, ts, ts aspirated, l, y, n, z, dz, j, dj. All these occur, and beside this there has, in Chinese, been a migration of the tooth letters into the region of the throat letters, so that siang 象, form, has become hing 形, and 同 t'ung has become 共 kung.*

4. *The labial initials m, b, have gone through changes into p, p aspirated, f, v.*

5. *The guttural initial g has gone through changes into k, k aspirated, ng, h, y, hs.*

6. *One cause of variation is local divergence, which either ceases or gradually extends through the language. Local divergence is first capricious or adventitious, and then imitative.*

7 *Another cause of variation is that emphasis of voice by which speakers call attention to a special sense. The emphasis may lead to or consist of a change from sonant to surd, or to an aspirated surd, or to a sibilant, or it may be a change in intonation, or a new vowel may be inserted or replace an old one.*

8. *Negligence and weariness felt in repetition lead to phonetic decay.*

9. *Words that continue long in use are more exposed to variations than words that become obsolete. They change under colloquial influences. Obsolete words remain in the literature and change under educational influences exclusively.*

10. *Prolonged sounds in nature produce substantives, verbs and adjectives. These have the initials b, m, d, n, g, ng, all being sonants or liquids.*

11. *Sharp sounds in nature produce pronouns, together with adjectives, substantives and verbs. In demonstrative roots, k, t, p are favorite finals.*

12. *Usage limits a syllabary. When a sound is heard and a desire is felt to imitate*

it, a speaker limits himself to the use of the sounds to which he is already accustomed.

13. *The vowels of primitive roots it is now very difficult to recover.* They would perhaps be only A, I, U at first. We hear broad *a* in the call of the crow and *u* in that of the cuckoo. We hear *i* in the cry of some animals. The rare vowels, such as French *u*, seem to be formed by the human voice.

14. *The number and permanence of roots are increased by and proportioned to the intellectual and mechanical activity of the race using them.* Many are the result of civilization. Some important words seem to be the natural effect of mechanical progress, and others of the instructed thinking faculties.

15. The early use of writing has increased the number of words by stereotyping old words. *The final letters in use in the age of the invention of Chinese writing can be recognized in the phonetic elements in the characters, and the literature since that time enables us to trace the subsequent history of the roots.*

16. *Compensation for losses is a law seen operating when, for instance, a final consonant is lost and a lengthening of the vowel preceding it takes place, to maintain the efficiency of the word as representative of the idea underneath it.*

RESUMÉ.

The natural sounds, which form the materials from which languages derive their vocabularies, are continued or abrupt, that is they are either sonant or surd. These sounds, when reproduced by the imitative human voice, assume the lip, throat or tooth initial, as the organs of the voice modify them. Corresponding to this triple division of initials there is also a triple division of finals. The tongue and palate give origin later to L, R, J, CH.

Causes of variation in sounds are educational or popular, intentional or spontaneous. The desire to emphasize, and to give distinctness to a word, is a cause of variation.

Individual caprice or local habit or the efforts of teachers, each cause variation.

As the modifications in the sense of roots become multiplied in number, there is a tendency to increase the number of derivatives in the same ratio. Surdation, aspiration, sibilization, lingualization, intonation, palatalization, all occur. In other words *t*, *t* aspirated, *s*, *l*, *r*, *ch* and the rest, all appear, and they are further varied by new intonations. These derivatives represent in part changes in sense, but in part also adventitious changes ruling throughout large groups of words, but not explicable on the ground that the sense requires them.

Prolonged sounds in nature become substantives, verbs and adjectives, while abrupt sounds become pronounced as well as substantives, verbs, and adjectives. Surds suit the imperative mood and sonants the indicative.

Local divergence spreads by imitation. The propagation of variations is aided by family life, by village life, by city life, by markets and all popular gatherings, by emigration and military expeditions.

Among causes of variation in words may be noted: some special sense requiring a word to represent it; negligence, and the absence of effort in pronouncing, leading to loss of letters; compensation for losses, as when a new tone takes the place of a lost letter; the force of old habit in modifying the sound a speaker utters when trying to reproduce a natural sound heard by him.

ROOTS HAVING TOOTH LETTER INITIALS WITH M OR NG AS FINALS.

N.B.—Tone marks: 1 Shang-p'ing, 2 Shang-sheng, 3 Shang-c'hü, 4 Shang-ju, 5 Hia-p'ing, 6 Hia-shang, 7 Hia-c'hü, 8 Hia-ju.

In the following representatives of primitive words the vowels are uncertain.

An 暗 3 am, dark. Probably from dam, cave 洞. The phrase An tung tung means dark as in a cave. In Amoy it is am tam. Am is much used for caves overhanging, and the like ideas.

聞 1 am, understand. This is the modern tung, to understand **懂** 2 tom, which would be anciently tam. It has the surd initial for the sonant *d* in **洞** 7 dam, understand clearly. Origin in tube **筒** t'ung 5 dom. The c'hü-sheng accompanies the special sense *penetrate*, a notion suggested by the tube being open throughout. The sound is that of the tube when blown. Same as **通** t'ung, penetrate, pervious.

庵 1 am, cottage, shed, probably from yen **掩** am, to cover. Used by the Buddhists for small temples. Origin may be in am, dark. To cover is to darken. Tang (tam) is also to hide, and this favours the view that an initial *t* has been lost.

Chan **斬** 2 tam, cut in two. From the sound heard when cutting.

站, 7 dam, stand, stop. A day's journey. Sound of the foot when planted firmly against the ground.

賺 ohwen, 7 dam, make a profit. Same as t'iem, add, and *chang* lengthen.

占 1 tam, to divine, to seize by force. Noise of striking against the ground or against some object, when making experiments or inquiry of any kind, or when seizing on any property.

沾 1 tam, enjoy, receive benefit. Same as yem, spread over; tiem, add; c'hang, long; c'heng, receive.

瞻 1 tam, look at, see. Same as **當** tom, opposite to. Derived from the noise of concussion with an opposing object. Compare **目擊** mok kik, eye strikes, for eye sees.

Ch'an, **饞**, 5 dam, eat much, greedy. Noise of greedy eating.

攪, 1 t'am, pierce, stab. Noise of pricking or stabbing. Used for supporting, filling in, inserting craftily, and other ideas which accompany pricking or piercing. The idea of support has intruded itself here from *chang*, lean upon a staff.

鐮, 1 t'am, bore or chisel, cut characters. From noise of cutting.

讒, 5 dam, calumniate. From piercing.

嶮, 5 dam, sharp pointed cliffs.

簾, 1 t'am, apron. Same as *chang*, curtain, tang hide. The aspirate and retention of final *m* denote a special variation in sense.

詔, 2 t'am, flatter, pat on the back, to cajole any one. Noise of patting is here imitated. The aspirate denotes special variation of sense.

鞵 3 t'am, saddle housings to protect from mud. Same as *chang*, curtain.

Chang **張** 1 tom, draw a bow, stretch, a sheet of anything. Named from the twanging sound of a bow, or from the verb tom, to stretch, already in use and possibly derived from cutting.

章 tom, section, chapter. From cutting, root tom.

掌 2 tom, palm of the hand, a webbed foot. Origin from *chang*, a sheet, or from the sound heard when the palm of the hand is struck by the other hand.

帳 3 tom, curtain. From cutting or opposing or darkening. Derived from **張** *chang* or from **當** tang, be in front of, oppose, to face, hide.

脹 dropsical swelling. **漲** swelling of water, **瘴** miasma. Of these the swelling of water is heard as a sound dom. The others are probably derived from this.

障 a dyke, **障** cataract in the eye, **障** barrier, screen, **嶂** barrier of hills, protective range of hills. The root *tom* may be the sound produced by violent contact with a barrier, or it may be tom, to cover the view.

丈 6, 7 djung, dom, staff of ten feet, staff, **杖** staff, **仗** rely on, lean on. Fight. Substantives precede verbs. Lean is named from the staff leaned upon, named from noise of beating, or from sound produced by blowing a hollow tube used as a staff.

Ch'ang **昌** 1 tom, bright, same as liang, lang, bright. Root perhaps in tube, t'ung. Light appears through a tube. Same as **通** t'ung, permeating.

獨 1 mad, wild. Root in tom, swelling up. Also **俚**.

娼 1 t'om, singing woman. **唱** sing.

Origin in the sound of singing, represented as t'om in tone 3.

場 5 dom. Piece of ground used for threshing, for battle, etc. Root dom, stretch out. Compare **廠** c'hang 2 t'om, workshop, timber-yard. Dom is one of the roots meaning cut and ch'ang is a section, a surface laid open by cutting, or it is an open space prepared by beating to be used as a threshing floor.

腸 5 dom, intestines. So called from their tubular shape and nature.

償 5 dom, restore. The idea of giving back comes from the sound dom upon a wall or other object which sends back any hard projectile striking against it. Its synonym in the throat series is hwan 5 gan.

嘗 5 dom, to taste, lick. The same as t'iem to lick. From sound of the action.

長 5 dom, long, 2 tom to grow, elder. Name of long pole, used as an adjective. Takes a surd initial with the sense to grow. The new derivative, grow, elder, being a case of special sense, is marked by a new tone and a change from sonant to surd. **倡** c'hang 3 t'am is another instance of specialization. Take the lead in any united action. The aspirate comes from stress of voice required to mark the transformation of chang 'chief' into a verb 'to act as chief.'

Ch'ang **暢** 3 tom, cheerful, unimpeded, exhilarated. This is a specialization from **通** t'ung, permeated, or from the original sonant root dom, tube. The tone is the mark of special sense. But this tone being late, A.D. 200, we must look farther back for its equivalent. The vowel u is a survival of the ancient **通** t'ung, to permeate, pronounced t'ang and t'am. A became u in **通** by its continued colloquial use. A remained in **暢** because it ceased to be colloquial. In other words ch'ang is an old survival of t'ung, so also is **永** c'hang bright, permeating, in shang-sheng, the character **暢** is in the Yi-king B.C. 1100. But **永** is first found in the Han period.

Ch'ang **悵** 3 t'om, disappointed, grieved.

Derived from *shang*, wounded, which again is derived from tom, to out.

The word **鍼** chen 1 tim, needle. Any pricking instrument is named from the sound heard in piercing a resonant body.

Chen **斟** 1 tom pour, deliberate, ladle. Origin in noise of pouring, or in the name of the implement or the sound heard in using a ladle. The idea of 'consult about' attached to this word and to **酌** cho, tok, pour, is taken from pouring. In consultation any subject is poured so to speak from one vessel into another repeatedly.

箴 1 tom, needle, expostulate with, exhort, maxim. Maxims are so called because they prick as a needle.

砧 1 tom, anvil. Named from its sound. It is of wood, iron or stone, and it is plain therefore that it is from its sound that it derives its name.

枕 2 tom, pillow. A Chinese pillow is hard like an anvil. Name from its sound. Tone marks a special sense.

頰 2 tom, neck, pillow. The Shwuh-wen says from **頰** hiang, neck, and **枕** chen, pillow. Letting the head fall. Specialization of sense takes place here without change in tone. There is a connection here with the group of words clustering round **染** shen, tom, deep. This connection may be accidental or it may indicate identity of root.

朕 7 tom, I. This word was limited to imperial use after B.C. 221. Before this it was used for I by any one. Probably honorific. The Ku wen forms are numerous. Kanghi selects the form which represents a boat on the left and two hands holding fire on the right. This is nearly the Lieuw wen of B.C. 800. What seems most uniform in the old forms is the two hands. These I suppose to be phonetic with the sound dom changed afterwards to *ch'eng*, 'receive.' If self-depreciatory, *chen* might be 'your follower', used for a pronoun I.

Chen **沈** dim, sink. From noise heard when an object enters water, or strikes the bottom.

霏 5 dim, dark, misty. A drop is tien or

tim. Dark weather is often wet. It might be called dim from drops of rain. 沝 is also used.

岑 5 dim a steepe high hill, steep. From resemblance to a needle. This example seems to show that tim needle was once dim.

礞 2 t'im, gritty to the taste. With radical 酉 very sour, said of vinegar. With 土 dirty, dusty. With han 含 'include,' 'hold' preceding it, han c'heu ugly.

Cheng 爭 1 tam, strive. Named from sound of wrangling. A special derivative is 諍 in c'hü-sheng to discuss, to correct. The two roots tam, wrangle, and tam set upright, here coalesce through approximation of meaning. The related word with throat initial is 競 kam and king.

睜 3 tam, look at with opened eyes. The first meaning is open the eyes i.e. lift the eyelids. The notion of uprightness originated a word teng which became cheng. We find it written 瞪 in the sonant series, look straight at. The root here is a gnomon, that is a pillar or stick standing upright and much used in ancient times for dials, leveling, etc. It was called dom and this became ting, cheng and the like.

箏 1 tam, a twelve stringed harpsichord. The strings are of brass. A kite made with jingling stones. When the din of drums or pieces of metal clashing together are referred to, the metal radical is used. Name of sound.

正 1, 3 tim, correct. An upright index or gnomon, called dim, has here become an adjective.

貞 1 tam, chaste, unbending. Formed from 正 correct, upright, and this from t'ing, gnomon.

楨 1 tam, Ligustrum lucidum and obtusifolium, an evergreen tree in North China. Also called 冬青 tung t'sing. The tree that does not fade when exposed to frost and cold winds, the 'unbending.'

禎 1 tam, correct, as applied to happy omens.

征 1 tam, go on a warlike expedition, levy a tax. The root is 正 cheng, to correct;

the derived meanings are, levy a tax by adjustment, reduce to submission and right behaviour.

怔 cheng, to be alarmed. This is one of a large group of related words. 忪 chung 1 tom, excited; 慫 t'sung 5 dom, hasty; 驚 ching 1 kam, fear; 恐 k'ung 2 k'om, fear; 警 ching, 2 kam, awaken alarm in others, warn. We find the sonant initial in 動 tung 6, 7 dom, to move. The root is dom move, tremble. The vibration was attended by a sound when the root was first seized and appropriated for the purposes of primitive language. The surd t, with or without an aspirate, came to mean 'afraid.' The form without an aspirate became cheng and chung. The form with an aspirate changed to k and appeared as k'ung, all these had the sense fear. The special sense hasty took dz, which afterwards changed to ts'i.

鉦 1 tam, cymbals. Same in sense as 鐃 nau, a tongueless bell. The word 鈴 is the same with initial l, the word 鍾 chung, bell, is cognate with both.

蒸 1 tam, change to steam, ascend like steam. From noise of water changing to steam. This would be heard as tom, for example. This gives us a root for upward motion in addition to three other possible origins mentioned under the word 呈 c'heng, hand up.

証, 徵 1 tam, testify, evidence, witness. Same as 征 and 正, several roots meet here. Witness, evidence, indicate that it is perhaps connected with 驗 yen 7, gam, evidence, which has a sonant initial. The sense *make clear*, seems to indicate relationship with 彰 chang, make clear, show. Since both the words p'ing and chü 'evidence' get that sense from something held in the hand, it is likely that the word 徵 cheng also means this. We find 撞 chwang 1 tom, hold in the hand, strike against. But the most satisfactory identification is probably with 定 ting 7 dom, fix, make certain. If this be the true root of 証 cheng, the case is one of special sense,

and this leads to the change of *d* to *t* and so to *ch*.

整 2 tim, complete, to adjust, put in order. See **成**.

政 cheng 3, Government. Body of rules. The ruling power. From **成**, correct, make right.

症 cheng 3, a disease. Either altered from shang wound, or meaning the symptoms described in a doctor's diagnosis as the result of his examination

拯 2 tim, lift up, lift out of, save. Verb of raising. See **稱**, etc.

C'heng, **撐** 1 t'am, pole a boat. Name from the sound of the pole when touching the ground, the river bank or the boat. It is also used for propping up anything, as by a buttress. Here it coincides with cham, to support, to pierce (which see).

稱 1 t'im to praise, raise high, call by an honourable name. Assert one's self, to be higher than one is. Pretend to be. State a thing to be. In the o'hü-sheng, t'im to weigh. The root may be the bar used in weighing, tam, a carrying pole. By the use of such a pole the person or thing to be carried or weighed is raised. Hence a root to raise, t'im, which became c'heng.

峙 t'im, high. Without the initial it is **嶠** yung. Motion upward occurs in **上** shang, above, **送** sung, present, **承** c'heng, offer to a superior.

成 5 dim, complete, finish. The sound dim is the finishing stroke. The work is round and complete when the last stroke is heard. That last stroke may by its sound have originated the root.

偵 1 t'im, to spy out. From t'am, to search, test, named from sound of searching, as by a pole striking the bottom of water.

城 5 dum, city wall. Origin in dom, the roof of **床** c'hwang, couch; **籃** lam, basket. These and similar words represent a frame of a rectangular shape. The parallel pairs of bars or beams of wood, when brought together to make a frame by the early carpenters, received the name *dom*. This might be from union **同** t'ung, 5 dom, or from some

other notion in connection, such as that of unbroken continuity. Roundness is one of the ideas of the root dom as in **整** cheng, complete, and **成** c'heng 5 to finish.

The equivalents of c'heng, wall, are **墉** yung, 5 dom, earthen wall, and **牆** t'siang 5 dom, a wall. Dom is the basis of all these three words. The initial *d* has become *dz* and *t's* in one of them, *y* in another and *dj* and *o'h* in another. C'heng is a verb in ancient Chinese, meaning to make a wall. Yung is used for encircle, gird, and is then written **擁** yung, 2 om.

誠 5 djim, sincere, honest, real. Radically it means round and complete, free from corners and breaks.

澄 5 djim, clear, limpid. In water, stillness and clearness go together, clearness is transparency and it is allied to penetration and thoroughness. We must look for the root in **通** t'ung, piercing through, and this must be traced to t'ung a tube, finding its origin in the musical sound of pipes.

丞 5 djim. Prime minister, deputy officer.

承 5 djim, receive, take from a superior. Same as **領** ling 2, neck, receive, collar. In commands, he who is ordered to do a thing is the listener. C'heng and ling may then be derived from t'ing, to hear. The root would be dim or dom and c'heng, ling, and c'heng would be the derivatives. Another root is found in siang, box, weng, a large containing vessel, liang to measure. But this root is very likely tung, a tube, which has its origin in the sound produced by it when blown into. The tube becomes a containing vessel, and the verb, receive, is formed from this.

呈 5 djim, state to a superior. Upward movement is implied. A plea or petition is called c'heng-tsī, because it is that which is sent or handed up to a superior. We have the root in shang **上**, sheng **升** ascend, etc. It probably has its origin in swelling. A skin swelling to a drum shape has a distinct sound when struck. That sound gives a name to a drum-like or tumour-

like shape, and to the verb chung, swell. From this, ascending, rising may be derivative. Another possible origin is from chang, a staff used as a lever to raise, or the verb chang rely on used causatively in the sense help up. A third is from chwang, strike against, said of the two hands.

程 5 djim. Form, pattern, to measure, minute division, road. It is applied to roads because roads are divided into stages or proportioned parts. C'heng is perhaps the same as **站** chan, as when we say **九十里一站** chieu shī li yi chan, ninety li make a stage. When it means form, it is a modification of the same root which is disguised under **狀** chwang and **樣** yang, sort, model. All three are in the sonant series, but the original d has become dj, oh and y.

程 5 djim, uncover the body. The two words for light and enlighten, **照** chau 3 tok illumine, **亮** liang 7 lom, dom, light, bright, perhaps correspond to **裸** lo, naked, and **程** c'heng, uncover.

逞 2 t'im, rely on, boldly trust to, give rein to. The original sense is rely on. It is the same as **仗**, chang 7, dom. The root then is in a pole which is leaned on i.e. **丈** chang. But this word is much used in a bad sense for presumptuous, audacious lean-on, using instruments. This is the reason that it is in the surd series, and takes an aspirate, through variation caused by specialization of sense. The senses let go, allow free course to, are modifications of the meaning rely on.

騾 2 t'im, let a horse gallop. Ride fast. Same as the last, but limited to riding.

Chung **中** 1 tom, middle 3 tom, to strike in the middle. Sound of striking a target with an arrow may have originated the word. But heart is also sin 1, tim, and this may be derived from the red colour **彤** dom.

忠 1 tom, loyal. This is from chung middle, limited to the moral feelings. Centrality in the moral sphere means loyalty.

終 1 tom, end, probably from tom, to out.

斬 2 chan, compare the related word **窮** c'hiung, 5 gom, and as connected with **砍** k'an 2 k'am, out.

鐘 1 tom, a bell, struck with a mallet, named from its sound.

冢 2 tom, tomb, **塚** tomb. That which swells upward. A small hill. Named from its likeness to a bell. **鍾** 1 tom, wine-cup. So called for the same reason.

腫 2 tom, to swell, a swelling. Galls and other swellings on trees. Sound of round objects, balls, bladders full of air, when struck, or when coming into collision, if hard enough to produce noise. Or the noise of swelling waters in stormy weather may be the source.

踵 2 tom, heel, follow. From the shape of the heel which is like a bell or tomb. From this the verb follow is possibly derived, each person in a procession being seen at the heels of the one before him. So ken, follow, is also heel.

種 2 tom, seed, sort, kind, 3, to sow, plant. From the roundness of seeds, or from piercing (t'om) a hole in the ground to receive seeds.

重 6, 7 dom, heavy. From sound of falling bodies when heavy. Also ch'ung 5, dom (which see).

仲 7 dom, the middle one of three persons or months. From sin heart. The sonant initial shows that chung, middle, may have been sonant before it was surd.

衆, 3 tom, many, all the persons. Same as **同** t'ung 5 dom. Both words may come from **筒**, dom, the bamboo tube which contains written slips or divining straws or other objects of constant use. Or this root may have come in some other way, which we can guess at by considering modern expressions. **一舉** yi-chū, all that is lifted. Yi, one, gives the meaning of whole, all. So the expression **一帶** yi-tai means all that any one takes along with him. This is applied to the whole of a tract of country for instance. **一壺水** Yi-hu-shui is the whole of a kettle of water. The idea of totality is arrived at through unity. Any

object therefore which was called dom and which contained in it several individuals such as tubes, casks, bamboo slips, balls, pebbles, seed vessels, etc. might become the root of 衆 chung, or of 總 tsung. Thus 俱, all, is from 舉 chü, to lift. Prefix yi 'one' and the meaning is all that is lifted. The yi was afterwards dropped and the sense all remained, having already become firmly attached to the root. So I suppose it was with dom the primitive vessel in which certain things were held. It acquired the sense all, while yi—stood before it. The yi was dropped and the meaning 'all' remained. 侖 ts'iem, all, is probably another derivation from the same root.

Another possible origin is from chung, end, and this may be from tom, to cut. The end is where the cutting takes place. Hence chung, to end, became a derivative from tom, cut. So also the end marks totality, and a word for totality like 全 ts'üen, 5 dzin may be formed from a verb 盡 tsin 7 dzin, end.

Ch'ung 充 1 t'om, to fill, full, to act in any capacity. Connected with chwang to pack and so with the root chung 2 tum smell. But the sense act in some capacity is plainly connected with 當. The change of t to c'h is either a sporadic local variation or it was added to make a special sense distinct. In the expression 充軍 c'hung chiün, suffer banishment, the idea is that the culprit is appointed to fill a vacancy or act as a soldier 軍士 in some far off locality.

冲 1 t'om, go towards an object and strike against it. The noise of collision originates the root. It is applied to rushing against, the precipitation of a waterfall, flying up to.

撞 3 t'om, strike against, same as last.

流 1 t'om, noise of water. Murmuring sound of water.

恍, 懂 1 t'om, mentally uneasy, mind not made up. Probably this refers to violent palpitation. This is a sign of unrest.

衝 1 t'om, be in opposition, said of planets, streets or canals. Strike or go straight against, same as 冲 c'hung. While we say opposition of a planet, the Chinese say collision of a planet. Streets are called c'hung because of their straightness.

虫 5 dom, insect, reptile. From noise of insects humming.

寵 2 t'om, favour, love. Same as t'eng to love. Perhaps the heart's thumping when excited originates this root.

崇 5 dom, high, to reverence. Same as 上 shang, high, 登 go up.

銃 3 t'om, cannon or other fire arms of small bore. Same as 筒 t'ung 桶 t'ung, etc. The radical sense is tubular shape.

重 5 dom, repetition, layer, stories of buildings. Same as ts'eng. From verb of cutting, tom here to be taken as cutting in slices.

Chwang 莊 1 tom, house, village, sedate. The root being tom, the sense sedate, proper, well behaved, should be referred to 當 tang, to be right, to be as it ought to be. The root for house is deserving of attention. Another form of it is 庄. It is a house built on the ground, a character formed on the hwei yi principle, or that of suggestion. The root is in tom, swelling, in allusion to houses shaped like a hemisphere.

裝 1 tom, put on a dress, put on the appearance of. The radical idea is in 當 tang, to represent, take the character of.

The sense pack, fill, is also obtained from 當 for we find ch'ung 充 meaning both to fill, and to act in the capacity of. But the sense to pack is more likely to derive its sound tom from the root meaning to swell.

椿 1 tom, a stake, post. This may be from chang, a staff. It may also be formed from 打 ta 2, tong, tom, beat. This verb has its own sound heard as tom, and chwang may be formed from it by special effort to gain distinctness and individuality, as seen in its different spelling and tone.

裝 2 tom, fat, large, robust. This is derived from the full swelled appearance of

a strong man. Also in c'hiu-sheng in the same senses.

狀 7 djom, dom, form, appearance. The original p'ing-sheng is found in **牀** c'hwang 5 dom, bedstead. It means then a frame of wood or bamboo. The pieces are spliced together and the sound of splicing may account for the name. Compare the corresponding word **形** hing 5, gam, appearance, form.

意 3 tom, stupid, simple. This is plainly a form changed from oh'eng **誠** 5 dim, simple.

撞 7 dom, strike against. From noise of striking.

C'hwang, **窗** 1 t'om, window. Probably from **牀** c'hwang 5, a bedstead, a frame, in allusion to the frame of a window. But it may be derived from c'hwang to pierce, a variant from **攙** ch'am, stab, **通** t'ung, penetrate, etc.

春 1 t'om, to pound in a mortar. Named from the sound of the action.

瘡 1 t'om, a sore, ulcer, chilblain. From tom to swell, as in chung 2, to swell up.

創 1 t'om, to wound with spear or sword. Same root as **傷** shang 1, tom, wound, and **疼** t'eng 5, dom, pain. Origin in **通** t'ung, penetrate, pass through. Or its origin may be in a separate root, viz. the sound of weeping or exclamation caused by pain.

牀 5 dom, bedstead, frame made by splicing pieces of wood together at right angles. May originate in the sound caused by joining the pieces.

幢 5 dom, curtain. May be from the sonant root of chang to stretch out, or from that of tang to hide, to resist.

創 3 t'om, begin, make. Take the lead in doing anything. The proper sense seems to be more in beginning than in making. Hence it may, like **倡** c'hang, to be first in anything, come from **長** c'hang 5, dom long 2, tom, elder i.e. longer in time.

饞 5 dom, eat greedily. In | **饞** nung. Same as t'am, greedy, covetous. Unrelated from sound of greedy eating.

T'am being surd and aspirated; this word may be the root.

槍 3 t'om, sad at heart. Same as shang, wound.

冉 6 niam, gradual, gradual advance, as in hair growing on the chin, etc. Origin in tien **点** tim, a spot, point, as an adverb tien tien little by little. Sound made by marking off or cutting a point.

The beard and whiskers receive this name on account of their gradual growth and the radical **髟** or **頁** is then attached.

蚺 2 niam, large serpent in Tungking. Foreign name.

染 2 niam, to dye. Dip, steep, spread from one to another. Fundamentally the same with **滲** shen 3 tim, soak through, and **淋** lin 5 lim, dim, root, dropping, soak through, drop. The origin may be sought in **通** t'ung, penetrate, reach through. Going farther we find it in a tube **筒**. Or it may be in the dropping of rain heard as a sound dim.

Then the specialization of the act to dye required a modification in sound, the initial n was used with Shang-sheng.

*. * The preceding words, Jan, all have in final phonetics.

Jang, **穰** 5, niong, abundant. Possibly the same as **盛** sheng. Both probably are from dom. We have had ch'ung to fill, ohwang to pack.

Jang, 'abundant,' may be derived from ch'ung full.

讓 7 niong, dom, yield, from chang **仗**, lean upon. Leaning becomes yielding by a certain modification of sense effected by the thinking faculty. The initial was changed to suit the new sense and produce a new word.

壤 6 niong, dom. Soft earth, good loam. Derived from the sense yielding.

嚷 6 niong, dom. Cry aloud, imitated from sound of voices calling.

The same phonetic with **瓜** kwa, melon, as ideograph on the left, means pulp of lemons, melons, etc., and pith of rushes, pith-paper plant.

With 禪 ideograph for words concerned with religion, 禪 5 niong, ward off evil by prayers and offerings. This is a causative from jang to yield, i.e. evils are made to yield.

攘 5 niong, seize wrongfully, same as 搶 ts'iang, 2 ts'om, seize by violence. But this word also means expel, push away. In fact it is violent action whether unlawful seizing or expulsion. The word is formed from the sound of contention as in 爭, struggle, wrangle. In seizing things by force, as in wrangling, the sound attending the act is the root.

For 釀 niom, brew, see niang.

Jen 壬 5 nim. The ninth in the cycle of ten. Foreign word, probably introduced with the symbol.

妊 5 nim. Unborn child, thus called as being the burden. From nim to bear, carry.

任 7 nim, burden, office. To carry. Responsibility. Same as 擔 tan 1 tam, carry. Origin in the carrying pole 丈 chang 6 dom.

衽 7 nim, skirt, apron, hanging, flap. That which covers, same as chang, curtain, and tang, to be in front of.

恣飪 6 nim, ripe. Origin in the weight of the grains carried in the ear of corn, suggesting ripeness. The tone is made special for the sense of ripeness. Applied to cooking 脛熟, well cooked. Ripe things being soft, the word is used for softness and tenderness.

Jeng 仍 5 ning, still, as before. Connected with 尙 shang 7 zhong, still, furthermore. The origin is in addition and one of the verbs to add is t'iem 添. But this root t'im, add, is connected with 長 ch'ang 5 dom, long. Used causatively this become to lengthen. From this shang and jeng may be reasonably supposed to be formed, to express the special modifications of the idea of continuance for which they are employed.

寧 5 ning happiness. The same as 寧 ning 5 nim, rest, would that. Ning is what we wish for, i.e. rest and compliance. We

are here met by jang, to yield, chang, lean upon, and yung, permit, in a modified form. If this be true the root is dom, a leaning staff.

扔 5, ning, lead aside, throw towards, throw away, a form of ning, to twist 擰. To sprain the arm is ning and this is so used in the sense of twisting. Perhaps 喪 sang, lose, is naturally connected with this root, as also 曾 ts'eng past, already.

Jung 絨 5 nom, velvet, wool, silky hair, soft feathers. The idea is of softness. Same as jang, marrow, pulp; jang, yield, which see.

戎 5 nom, weapons. Five kinds of jung are spoken of. The word means either that which is carried or that which gives out a sound heard as nom.

械 5 nom, assist. Connected with 相 siang, assist. 廨 siang, side apartments. 鑲 to border, having a border. The idea of side runs through all. The root may have originated in leaning. What we lean on, chang, is what helps us, and it is on our right or left hand. The king leans on his two ministers who are therefore siang.

Jung 茸 5 nom, deer's horns. Soft growing grass. Origin in softness.

Lam* 藍 5 lam, blue. Probably connected with 靑 ts'ing, black, blue and with 染 jan, mien, dye. See jan, blue, is then the dyeing colour. It is called lan, because it is acquired by dyeing, niem.

籃 5 lam, basket. Same as 籠 lung, cage, 牀 c'hwang, frame-work, couch. The idea is that of parallel sides joined to make a frame-work.

婪 5 lam, covetous. Same as 貪 t'am, covetous. Perhaps imitated from the noise of eating head when a greedy man takes his meal, or from a dog's eating.

霖 5 lam, dropping of rain. Natural sound heard as dam.

* Under lam there are 24 characters in Williams, 23 in Morrison and 34 in the Kwang-yün. About half of the words in Williams and Morrison are not in common use, nor required in good ordinary prose. In poetry they are useful for rhymes.

嵐 5 lam, vapour seen on mountains, connected with **cheng**, steam, ascend as steam.

覽 6 lam, see, inspect. This verb is connected with the guttural **kam**, mirror, inspect. The usually sharp separation between throat and tooth letters is here bridged over. The throat letter is probably formed from the tooth letter. Origin to be sought in the root of **形** hing and **狀** chwang, both coinciding with **同** dom, same, and perhaps originating in a mechanical model of some object.

攬 6 lam, grasp, carry. This is varied from **當** tang, carry. But perhaps it is rather an original root imitated from the sound of objects pressed in the hand.

欖 6 lam, Chinese olive, canarium album and pimela, called so from the colour. **Kam 橄** in kan-lan is a variant of lam.

淩 6 lam, to pickle fruits in brine. Connected with **niem**, dye.

爇, 燠 5 lam, scorch, singe, heat, roast. Compare **t'ang**, to scorch with hot iron, scald. Connected with **炎** yen, 5 dom, hot.

濫 7 lam, overflow of water, soak, oozy. Connected with **漲** chang, to increase, overflow, expand.

纜 7 lam, hawser, cable of hemp or coir. Twisting is the etymological idea. Same as **撙**, 5 ning, twist. Special limitation of sense causes it to take a special intonation.

廊 lom 5, verandah, side apartment. Same as **廂** side rooms, and **鑲** siang, border. Origin perhaps in **c'hwang**, leng, and siang as below.

郎 lom 5, a gentleman, bridegroom. Originally same as **相** used in siang kung, gentlemen, tsai-siang, prime minister.

螂 5 lom, mantis. Named from the shape of this insect's trunk which is that of a club **挺** t'ing, or stalk **莖** t'ing or the gnomon of a dial.

狼 5 lom, wolf. The cry of the animal would originate the word.

朗 6 lom, bright. Same as **shwang**, clear, **昌** c'hang, bright, and **亮**, liang,

light, **陽** yang, 5 dom, light. Origin may be in ascending, dom, from the appearance of light at dawn in the east, but it is more likely to be from cutting an opening through which light enters, one root for cutting being **tom** and **c'hwang** window being **t'om**. Same as **通** t'ung, which may possibly be its intermediate root.

浪 7 lom, waves. From tang **蕩** 7 dom, waving in, constant swaying motion. This motion would early acquire a name dom from a sound heard of flapping, slamming, or the noise of waves dashing, trees swayed by the wind or the like.

Leng, 5 lom, **楞** and **稜**, squareness, timber cut square and long. From the same root as **c'hwang**, bed **牀**. The connection is in the square shape of the bed. The straight edges of any many-sided body are called leng. This is a derived sense. The origin probably cannot be traced farther back than **c'hwang**, bed, and **siang**, box.

冷 6 leng, lim, cold. Same as **shwang**, cool, liang, cool. Also the same as **定** ting, fix, solidify. Sounds caused by striking cold and hard bodies might originate the root.

Liang **良** good. This word with **童** t'ung 5 dom, boy, virgin, bare of trees, are probably from the root of **c'heng** **誠** sincere, **cheng** **整** smooth and round. One of the roots for roundness, dom, occurs in **lung**-chung a grave mound, lung, a cage, t'ung 5 dom pupil of the eye, t'ung a tub. An old root for a ball or rolling object, called from its sound when heard rolling dom, has been rather shut out of view by the more prevalent one **lun**, **tan**, but it may have once existed. This root dom, after various changes, took the form **liang** with the sense *good* and **c'heng** *honest*.

糧 5 lom, grain. That which is measured. Connected with **c'heng**, contain, liang to measure.

粱 5 liang, millet of the large kind and so called because it is the largest kind and very common.

凉 5 cool. Same as **冷** leng, which see. Cold is used metaphorically as in **hwang**

liang, wasted, liang po k'an tai, treat persons coldly.

惊 5, lom, pitying. Same as shang **傷** wound, to be grieved.

亮 7 lom, bright. The tone suggests the origin of this word in the root **凉** cold. Cold surfaces, metallic or frozen, flash out light by reflection. Hence coldness suggested brightness. But it may arise from the root dom, tube, because light appears through a tube or a cut opening in a wall.

梁 5 dom, lom. Bridge, beam. This word probably originate in **長** ch'ang 5 dom, long. It may be from leng, a square cut piece of timber. The former is the more likely, because masts are called liang, and they are always round. A liang then means a *length* of timber.

兩 liang 7 lom, two, a pair, a tael. Numerative for carriages. Same as shwang, a pair. Origin may be in likeness. Things that are like are counted. If there are only two, the word used to express duality, might previously be used to express similarity and identity. A word for similarity might arise by the sight of a model. A model is chwang, yang or siang. These are all reduced to dom. See under chwang and c'hwang, 'bed.' The probability of liang, two, coming from **同** dom, like, is increased by the comparison of **三** sam, three, with **參** tsan, to form one of three.

量 5 lom, think of, take counsel about, 6 lom, measure, judge. Same as **想** siang, in the sense, think of, same as **商** shang, consult about. Same as c'heng 3 to weigh. The root appears to be in the measuring implement **升** sheng, a derivative from **筒** t'ung 5 dom. The bamboo tube was not of a fixed length. The surd derivative sheng was of a definite size adapted for measuring. Liang, to measure, would come directly from dom, contain. Same as **容** yung, contain. The word think, liang, siang **想**, chen **斟** 1 tim, think of, may be derived from swaying, tang 7 dom. Thought is like something waving from side to side, and from this peculiarity a name for thought

might be derived. But it might also come from estimate. The sense judge, measure, estimate, would be expressed by liang, because the measuring instrument employed is dom.

諒 liang 7 lom, good words. Suppose that, estimate. A variant from the last with special tone to aid in distinguishing. In the sense 'good,' it is only another way of writing **良**.

凉 7 lom, to air, hang out to dry. Perhaps from tang to wave from side to side.

Liem **廉** 5 lim, economical, not to be bribed, sparing. The root is in **斂** lien, gather in, cut with sickle, that is, it is originally a verb of cutting and this act gave the sound.

簾 5 lim, bamboo curtain. Tang, to hide, agrees in elements with this word, nearly enough to indicate its origin.

粘 5 lim, stick to. Same as nien **粘** 5 nim, sticky. This idea would become a word by the imitation of the sound heard when sticky substances are forcibly separated.

鎌 5 lim, sickle. Root in dom or dam one of the primitive words to cut.

斂 6 lim, to cut. Root, dim or dom. To gather as the reaper does.

臉 6 lim, the cheeks. Probably from the same verb to cut and alluding to the shape and flatness of the cheek.

殮 7 lim, **斂** 7 lim, place the dead in a coffin. The sense is gathering together, as the reaper does a sheaf. The word dim, out, takes a new sense, gather with the arms and place in a granary. The root, when in this state, came to be applied to the placing of the dead in coffins, compare **收** sheu, cut corn, and gather corn into a barn, where the second sense is derived from the first.

Lim, **林** 5 dim, forest, or wood. Since chung **衆** and **同** t'ung originate in dom, many, together, it may be conjectured that this word lin is another derivative from the same stock.

淋 5 lim, dropping of rain. Sound of dropping. Same as ling **靈** 5 lim, efficacious, **霖** continuous rain.

J. EDKINS.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE REGIME OF THE T'ANG DYNASTY.

1.—THEISM.

T'ang T'ai-tsung's idea of Heaven's personal attributes is evident from the answer he gave to those who wished to demonstrate to him that the Emperor [天子] feared nothing. **上畏皇天審臨** 'Above I dread the eye of God.' Again the Emperor's sacrifices were intended to **尊天子而懷柔百神**.

2.—RELIGIOUS INTOLERANCE.

Tih Jân-kieh [Mayers, No. 667], in the year A.D. 688, burnt over 1,700 unauthorised shrines [淫祠] in South China [吳楚], leaving absolutely none but those of **伍員** [Mayers, No. 879], the Great Yü [No. 931 near Shao-hing], Wu-T'ai-peh, and Ki Chah [Mayers, No. 283].

3.—EXAMINATION SYSTEM.

Military graduates were first established by the Empress Wu Hou, A.D. 701. This Empress had some years previously introduced the **殿試** in civil examinations.

The **進士** date from the reign of **煬帝**, and the **學校** from the year A. D. 618.

4.—ASTRONOMY.

In the year 633, the T'ang dynasty made an astronomical instrument called the **渾天儀**, which was intended as an improvement upon the observatory [靈臺], introduced by **文王** 2,000 years earlier, and upon the **候儀**, which appears to

have been introduced from India, and perfected by one **斛蘭** of the Alter-Toba dynasty. The defect of these two was that the divisions of time were unequal [度刻不均], and the equator too rigid a standard [赤道不動], for the correct observation of the moon's courses. The new instrument consisted of three concentric circles; the outermost represented the **六合儀**, or divisions of the ecliptic; the second represented the **三辰儀**, or sun, moon, and stars; and the third the **四游儀** or four cardinal points. One **李淳風** was the inventor (or introducer) of this instrument, the full name of which was **渾天黃道儀**. This same officer, in the year 640, introduced a new calendar called the... **戊寅歷**.

In the year A.D. 725 the T'ang dynasty introduced the **水運渾天**, an instrument consisting of a wheel moving round, once in twenty-four hours, by self-acting hydraulic power, in a direction contrary to the heavens. Attached to it were two wooden men, who struck a drum every quarter, and a bell every Chinese hour [of two hours]. The machinery seems to have been in a wooden chamber, sunk so as to leave half of the ball or 'orrery' above, and half below the ground. This was connected with two other wheels, which apparently passed over it like nets, on which were painted the sun and moon, the pace

being regulated so as to tally with the natural meridians.

Despite their childish popular views of an eclipse, the Chinese must have known how to calculate them approximately, for on the first day of the third moon of the year A.D. 714 the **太史** reported to the Emperor that 'the expected partial eclipse of the sun had not come off.'

Towards the close of the year A.D. 687, the T'ang Empresss changed the 11th moon to the **正月**, the 12th moon to the **臘月**, and the **夏正月** to the **一月**. At the end of the year 700, the **正月** was again made the first in the year.

5.—POPULATION.

The statesman **馬周** [Mayers, No. 468], in a conversation with the Emperor, observed that in the year 638 the population of the Empire was not one tenth of what it was half a century earlier, before the wars of conquest and the anarchy succeeding Yang Ti.

6.—SLAVERY.

An edict of the 2nd year of T'ang T'ai-tsung illustrates several points in connection with Chinese slavery. Slaves who accused their masters of treason or rebellion were to be executed, and no notice taken of the information. The historians consider this edict of great social weight.

7.—AGRARIAN LAWS.

In the year A.D. 740, a Chinese census shewed 8,412,800 **戶**, or households; and 48,143,600 **口** or souls. The price of rice at the two capitals was barely 300 cash a **斗斛**, and a piece of **絹** had the same value. Travellers could move unarmed for 10,000 **文**. But in estimating the importance of this census, the following statement must be carefully weighed. 'At this time 331 **州** were under the direct influence of [Chinese] civilization [教聲所被]; and 800 **州** were only mediatised [羈縻].'

In the year A.D. 614 a new agricultural system was introduced by the T'ang dynasty,

and called the **均田租庸調法**.

Persons between the ages of 16 [中] and 20 [丁], were given 100 *mou* of arable land [田]; persons suffering from serious bodily disabilities only got 40 *mou*, and widows (whether wife or concubine) only 30 *mou*, in each case holding as freehold [世業] 30 per cent., and 80 per cent. as **八爲分口** (*sic*). Every man [丁] paid a fee-farm rent [租], of two hundredweight of grain [粟二石], and a percentage on personal property [調], in silk or cotton fabrics, according to the products of the land. A labour-tax of 20 days in the year was added [役], with an alternative of paying for vicarious labour [傭], at the rate of three feet of fabric a day. In the event of extra labour being called for in emergencies, either the rent, or both rent and the tax or penalty, was or were remitted, according to the number of extra days; in case of flood, drought, pest, or blight, the rent was remitted if the damage exceeded 40 per cent., and the personalty tax was [? also] remitted if the damage exceeded 60 per cent. If over 70 per cent., both taxes and labour [課費] were remitted. Holders were divided into 9 categories: 100 householders [戶] formed a **里**, of which 5 went to a **鄉**; four families [家] formed a **鄰**, of which four again went to a **保**, known in cities as **坊**, and in the country as **村**. Employés in the public service [食祿之家] were not to compete for gain with the commons, and neither traders nor artisans were to have civil or military employ. New-born babes were officially termed **黃**; when of four years old, **小**; when 16, **中**; when 20, **丁**; when 60, **老**. Accounts were balanced annually, and the census taken triennially.

8.—TAXATION.

The founder of the T'ang dynasty fixed the taxation for each able-bodied male [丁] at two peculs of **租**, two pieces **絹**, and three ounces of cotton.

9.—PENAL ENACTMENTS.

Moved by remorse at the hasty execution of one of his statesmen, T'ang T'ai-tsung ordered that, even where instant decapitation was imperially commanded, the death penalty should not be carried into execution until three separate applications had been made for the Imperial consent. On execution days fasting, to a limited extent, and absence of music were ordained.

The new T'ang Laws, promulgated A.D. 637, contained 500 statutes [律], and established 20 grades of punishment: 92 previously capital offences were reduced to more merciful ones, and 71 penal servitude [流] offences were reduced to temporary exile [徒]. Innumerable other vexatious provisions were altered for the better. In addition 1,580 *decreta* [令] were embodied in the code.

In the first year of his reign (627 A.D.) the T'ang Emperor T'ai-tsung (as did the British 1,000 years later) substituted penal servitude or transportation [役流], for certain cruel punishments: the criminal was transported [流] for 3,000 *li* and made to work three years [居作三年]. In the same year the Empire was divided into ten Provinces, namely, 關內 (metropolitan); 河南 (as now); 河東 (Shan Si); 河北 (Chih Li); 山南 (Shen Si); 隴右 (parts of Kan Suh and Shen Si); 淮南 (parts of An Hwei); 江南 (parts of Kiang Su); 劍南 (parts of Sz Ch'uan); 嶺南 (Kwang Tung, &c.); no doubt Hu Kwang was distributed between one or more of these, as also Shan Tung; whereas Fu Kien, Yün Nan, and Kwei Chou were still half-known outlying regions. Even Canton was under native chiefs [酋長], who kept up a perpetual internecine war. In the year 627 the most prominent of these, 馮盎, sent his son to do homage at the Chinese Court.

On the accession of the T'ang dynasty, the Code was remodelled by 裴寂 and 劉文靜, neither of which statesmen is mentioned in Mayers' Manual. The new Code was issued in the year A.D. 614, and formally promulgated in 637.

10.—MILITARY ORGANIZATION.

A new military system was inaugurated by T'ang T'ai-tsung. In the 十道 or Ten Provinces, there were 634 府, and in the metropolitan province or district [關內] there were 261 府. All these 895 generals were under the different 衛 and the six supreme generalissimos [東宮大率]. A 府 of the 1st class had 1,200 men; of the second 1,000; of the third 800. A 團 consisted of 300 men commanded by a 校尉; 50 men formed a 隊, commanded by a 正; 10 men formed a 'mess' or 火, commanded by a 長. Military service was commenced at 20 with exemption at 60. The Supreme Marshal or General [折衝都尉] held a review every winter. Those who could shoot on horseback were given money to buy a horse; the rest were infantry.

11.—MINERAL DEPOSITS.

In the year A.D. 636, it was represented to the T'ang Emperor that there were rich silver deposits in the (modern) 寧國府 and 饒州府. It would be well to look to this now.

12.—GREAT WALLS.

Amongst the numerous 'Great Walls' of China there were three built by 張仁愿 in the year A.D. 708 to entrap the Turks. These ran in three lines, north from Ning-hia and Yü-lin, to the north bank of the Hwang Ho.

13.—MARIONETTES.

Marionettes [傀儡] were introduced into China in the year A.D. 633 by a statesman 段綸, whose only reward was degradation for recommending so uselessly ingenious a workman into the palace.

WIND INSTRUMENTS.

In an article in last number of this *Review* on 'The Chinese Ch'ih Measure,' I made some statements about the 12, so called, 'pitch pipes' which seem to require a little more elucidation.

Wind instruments are of many kinds, but I shall speak only of those in which the musical note is produced by a vibrating column of air. The first and best of all musical instruments, the only one which is independent throughout its whole compass of what is called temperament, is the living throat. But it is not purely a wind instrument, because the sound of the voice is the result of the vibrations of the vocal ligaments acted on by the breath, and the pitch is determined very much by the degree of tension given to these elastic ligaments. As in the tongues of a harmonium or the reed pipes of an organ, the vibrations producing sound within the glottis are primarily in a solid and not in air. So the wind plays on an Aeolian harp, though it is a stringed instrument.

The first successful attempts of mankind to reproduce the musical notes of the human voice were probably made with strings. The harp or lyre was before the organ. The Greeks attributed the invention of the *phorminx* or lyre to Hermes, and of the *syrinx* or pipe to his son, Pan. The 'organ' of antiquity was nothing more than a few Pandean pipes fastened together.

The ancient Chinese had both the lyre 琴 or 瑟, *kin* or *shih*, and the pipes 簫

yoh, before historic times, as is evident from the primary ideographic characters, but they also assign a higher antiquity to the lyre than to the wind instrument. Shun's great musical instrument was the lyre or harp which accompanied the singing. The full band introduced afterwards in the *Shooking* (p. 88) may be regarded as an anachronism. At all events stringed instruments are the more simple, and may well have been the first to be successfully used. Pipes with no arrangement for blowing do not give harmonious sounds easily.

The first form of pipe was no doubt the Pandean, a simple tube of bamboo or reed, stopped at one end and open at the other and blown across the open end as we blow a key to make it whistle. Then, to produce variety of notes several of these were fastened together. The process of playing such pipes is tersely described by Lucretius:—

'Et supra calamos unco perourre labro.'

Another step in advance was to bore holes in the side of the tube, and so to make it give different sounds by opening or shutting them; and that naturally led to blowing across one of the side holes, or the principle of the flute. If we add to these the reed-pipe, and the gourd-organ, an instrument like a teapot with tubes of different lengths growing out of it, which are reed-pipes fixed into a wind-chest to be blown by the mouth, we shall have exhausted the list of Chinese wind instruments with the

exception of horns and that peculiar egg-shaped thing of earthen-ware called 埙 *hüen*, ocharino.

There is no reason to think that the compass of these instruments extended beyond one octave, at first giving the five principal notes and the octave to the fundamental one, or in later times perhaps two octaves with one or two semitones. Nor is there any reason to think that any of these instruments was tuned or constructed by exact arithmetical calculations, or on any theory at all, but simply by the ear, with of course a general conception that the longer the tube the deeper the note.

Considering the backward state of the musical art in China even up to the present day, I was led long ago to regard with suspicion the sudden introduction of what looked like a matured theory of music about the second century B.C. The twelve tubes corresponding to the notes included in one octave, according to what we call the chromatic scale, with only a semitone between each adjacent two, and calculated as they were later on to the thousandth or ten thousandth part of an inch with mathematical precision, seemed to be far more than the exigencies of their rudimentary musical practice required. Then, instead of giving a clear and intelligible account of how these twelve tubes were applied for tuning or musical purposes, the native writers ancient and modern alike went off into irrelevant discussions as to their applications to matters of an entirely different nature. But since so very much importance was attached to these 'pitch tubes,' I determined to examine them for myself, to ascertain whether there was really any music in them.

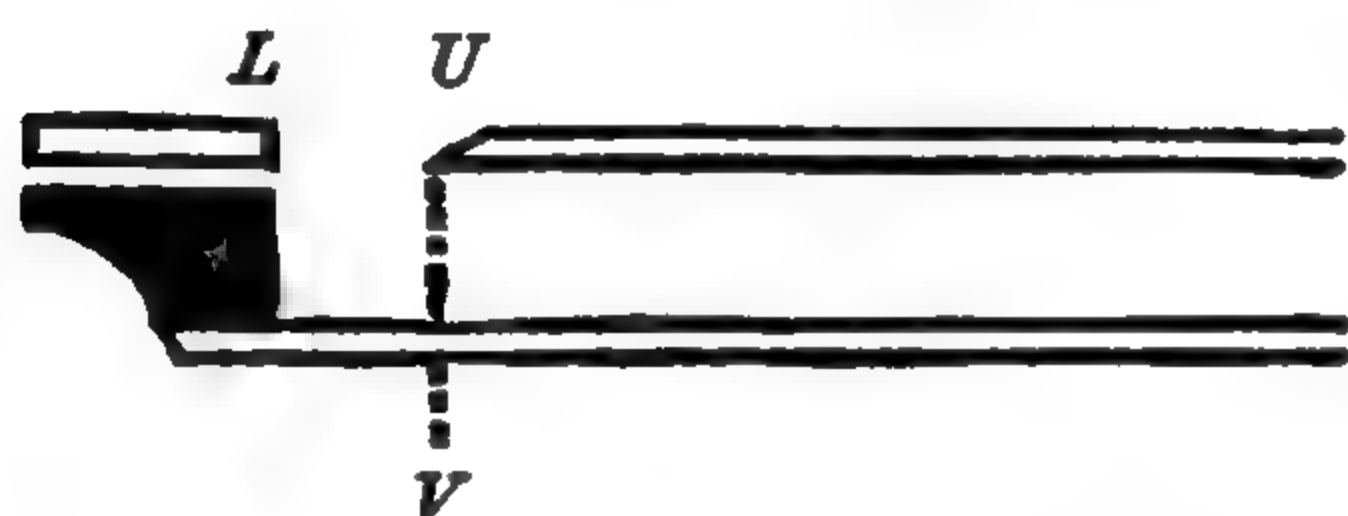
The dimensions and scale of the tubes were remarkably clear. They were cylindrical with a uniform diameter for all of $\frac{1}{10}$ of a Chinese inch; the longest one was 8.1 inches, the lengths of the rest being determined so as to make a series of musical fifths; and they were closed at one end and open at the other. I got a tube near enough

to the dimensions of the longest which gave the note G, and tried by shortening the interior of the tube with a moveable stopper to produce the other notes as they follow on the harmonium measuring the lengths as determined by calculation. They became more and more flat as the scale was ascended, and finally on making the tube exactly half its original length it sounded G flat and not G. This was more than twenty years ago, but I have tried the experiment again and again since with the same result.

As this curious fact about musical tubes may be new to many readers of the *China Review*, and those who know something of the theory of vibrating columns of air in tubes may be inclined to doubt it or even to meet my statement with a flat denial, I shall here give authorities which cannot be called in question. In Robison's *Mechanical Philosophy*, edited by Sir David Brewster, 1822, the fact that a tube, made exactly half the length of another, will not sound the octave to it, is referred to and an explanation given, that the vibrating column of air extends a little beyond the tube. The same fact is mentioned by Edward G. Hopkins, organist of the Temple Church, in another form and with a different explanation. In his work on the *Organ* (1855 p. 104), he says, 'If an open pipe, say a Clarabella, be blown with the mouth, and the top be covered with the flat palm of the hand, its pitch will be lowered to the extent of a major seventh. And a similar lowering would take place in a larger pipe say the 8 feet C.' * * * 'The question here presents itself, why the pipe in the above experiment did not speak the *full* octave below, instead of a major seventh only, if the column of air travelled the double distance. It was because the *bulk* or scale of the body remained of the same size. A stopped pipe is required to be of a somewhat *larger* diameter than an open one of the same length to produce the true octave below.' But this explanation, though reasonable, is not sufficient to meet the case.

Organ pipes are generally much larger in diameter for their length than those Chinese stopped pipes we are considering. But the diameter of one of the Chinese pipes might be doubled without altering its pitch anything like a semitone.

It occurred to me that the large discrepancy between theory and experiment in the case of these 'pitch pipes' might be owing in part to the absence of the mouthpiece which goes to increase the length of a common whistle or organ pipe. The distance $L U$ in the figure, which is called the height of the mouth in an organ pipe, if it were a quarter of an inch or more, would



represent the distance which the vibrating column of air extends beyond the open end of a small Pan-pipe. The organ pipe would probably be measured from L , the lower lip, while the Pan-pipe, though supplemented in length by the lips of the player, could only be measured from U the upper lip or from the dotted line $U V$. The vibrating column of air would have its greatest amplitude, or *loop*, somewhere about the narrow orifice made by the mouth in blowing. It is evident, however, from what Hopkins states, that the vibrating column of air extends or must be treated as extending beyond the open tube at the farther end as well as at the end blown into; for otherwise the pipe when opened should sound the full octave higher than when it is shut. In the shut pipe the vibrations are supposed to be turned back and made to retrace their steps to where they started, thus making the effect of a shut pipe equal to that of an open one of double the length. It is most natural that organ pipes should be all made as near as possible with the same proportions, i.e. that, as they increase in length, they should increase proportionately in diameter and *vice versa*; but

if a semitone of error occurs in every octave down to the 32 feet pipe and up to the $\frac{1}{2}$ inch one, it would seem as if several feet should be added to the former in a corrected theory of organ pipes. In a 32 feet pipe a difference of a semitone would be represented by nearly two feet. That is to say, if one had an open 16 feet pipe and found that on stopping it the pitch was lowered only a major seventh, he would have to make it about a foot longer or 17 feet to get the lower octave out of it. Then what becomes of the doctrine of determining the pitch of a pipe by the length of the vibrations?

It is satisfactory to know that the mathematical difficulty raised by Hopkins' experiments has been grappled with and finally settled. In the article on SOUND in *Chambers's Encyclopædia* I find the following:— 'The statements just made as to the position of the nodes in a vibrating column of air are not strictly accurate, for the note is always found to be somewhat *lower* than that which is calculated from the length of the tube and the velocity of sound. Hopkins shewed experimentally that the distance between two nodes is always *greater* than twice the distance from the open end to the nearest node. The mathematical difficulties involved in a complete investigation of the problem were first overcome by Helmholtz in 1859 in an admirable paper published in *Crelle's Journal*. The results are found to be in satisfactory accordance with those previously derived from experiment.'

So then, in speaking of the pitch of a pipe, it is not its length we should mention in any case but, strictly speaking, the distance between its *nodes* or between its *loops* when sounding its fundamental note, which is *always* longer than the tube itself.

It is not to give the readers of the *China Review* a lesson on organ-pipes that I write these pages, but to make good my position that the Chinese 'pitch-pipes' are useless and must always have been useless for the purpose they are said to have served, how-

ever accurately their lengths may have been calculated, and however valuable and durable the material of which they were made. No agreeable music could have been produced from them until they were themselves tuned by increasing the difference in their lengths. The Chinese no doubt had Pandean pipes tuned by the ear which would be much better than these. The theory of a scale of 12 notes is also too far advanced for the Chinese generally and for the Confucian school in particular; and instead of readily yielding them, as Dr. Legge says, 'our meed of admiration,' we are forced irresistibly to ask from what quarter they got it. The discoverers of the arithmetical law must have experimented with strings, and probably had a knowledge of the use of semitones and the changes of key. But the whole thing when transferred to tubes of jade, and enshrined in Confucian platitudes, is no better than an Egyptian mummy.

K'anghi's mathematicians would have been perfectly right in making the following statement if they had gone on to the quarter of the longest tube instead of the half. Perhaps they did, and found it a whole tone flat; upon which they founded their absurd theory, described in the previous article.

非之律者鐘之詳閒
管說則爲合半審嘗
音在倍太而律其截
也絃半簇合不音竹
明音相之黃與黃爲
矣而應半鐘黃鐘管

'We have made the experiment of cutting bamboo into tubes and distinguishing their sounds. The half of *Hwang-chung* does not accord with *Hwang-chung* but the half of *T'ai-ts'au* (3.6) accords with *Hwang-chung* (8.1). Therefore the statement, that doubles and halves correspond to each other, evidently applies to the sounds of strings and not to the sounds of tubes.'

If this article should ever come under the notice of any of those scientific men to whom we are indebted for putting their own and others' discoveries in a popular form, let it be a warning to them not to ignore little matters of detail which are yet essential to a true exposition of a subject, as several recent writers on sound and music have ignored the experiments of Hopkins and the explanation of Helmholtz, giving their readers to understand that the old idea about lengths of tubes being equal to lengths of vibrations holds perfectly good, when they themselves must have known better.

JOHN CHALMERS.

CHINESE EARLY MYTHOLOGY.

The object of this paper is to show that all the Chinese primitive tradition which we have is contained in the classics, and that what is called primitive mythology was really invented or imitated from foreign sources, at some time later than B.C. 820 or thereabouts. The method of shewing this is by appeal to the critical labours and conclusions of native scholars, and by investigating the origin of local astrology, which is much mixed up with mythology. Astrology, not being earlier than about B.C. 820, affords us a criterion for the determination of the period when the Chinese began to make the myths which are now found in the *Lu Shi* 路史 by 羅泌 Lo Mi and other works.

In entering on an investigation of these myths, it will occur to those who know that such an inquiry into Chinese early mythology requires a thick volume. In this paper I only take up some points.

The great work of Ma Twan lin which he called *Wen hien tung k'au* was written in the 14th century. He lived at the close of the Sung dynasty and had the advantage of living after Si Ma kwang, Ngeu Yang siu and Chu Hi, the historians of that dynasty. He was like them a great reader of ancient books and especially of the histories and was able to climb higher than they on the mountain of critical research, because he could start from the point they had reached. But he had himself a fondness for investigation and for systematic arrangement and a knowledge of the detail of Chinese government in all

its departments which mark him out as an author of very great value and power. As an example of his critical method, I give at the beginning of this paper on early Chinese mythology what he says on the Feng shan ceremony. The traditions connected with this ceremony shew us exactly how matters stood in regard to the growth of early Chinese myths and Ma Twan lin has given clear expression to his views on the time and the way in which these myths grew up.

He says, 'we are told by Wen Chung ts'i that the Feng shan ceremony is not of high antiquity. It originated—may we say?—in the extravagant spirit of the Ts'in and Han dynasties. Yet the historian Tai Shi kung (B.C. 100) wrote the Feng shan History 封禪書 as exposition of his work on the Shi ki and in it took for granted that the ancient emperors, all of them, on receiving the decree of Heaven to assume the sovereignty, performed the Feng shan ceremony on some famous mountain. He cited, in proof, what Kwan Chung said to Ts'i Hwan kung (about B.C. 650) on this subject. The words of Kwan Chung were "in ancient times 72 emperors performed the Feng shan ceremony; the series began with Wu hwai shi 無懷氏 and came down to the Hsia, the Shang and the Cheu dynasties; it was practised through all this period." Now this statement found in the books of Kwan Chung is an invention of low minded scholars of the Ts'i and Lu countries. It is not found in the classical history or in the classical poetry.

I think the opinion of Wen Chung tsi is correct, and for this reason I commence my account of the Feng shan ceremony with Ts'in shi hwang B.C. 219, but the story in Kwan Chung's book I insert in my work as an appendix to the account in the text of the performance of the ceremony by Ts'in shi hwang.'

The reason why the myth of the 72 emperors was not inserted in the histories of Sī Ma kwang and Chu Hi was that these authors did not believe it to be history. The Tung kien kang mu or Mirror of History expresses by this omission the critical judgment of the best writers of the Sung dynasty. Wen Chung tsi, who is quoted as having clearly seen that this story was a myth, belonged to the 6th century and died about the beginning of the T'ang dynasty. He was a critical scholar of great ability. His pupils took down his instructions. They are found in the book called Chung shwo, 中說,* and this is the work commonly printed under his name. His proper name was Wang T'ung. He is a sharp opponent of Taoist myths and is very severe on those who without charity and integrity looked for the immortality of the heavenly genii. This author's book was thought highly of in the splendid reign of T'ang T'ai tsung and had an influence in controlling the new school of criticism which sprang up in the T'ang dynasty, but he could not restrain the writers of that superstitious age from the love of legend and it was reserved for the Sung dynasty scholars to take the position of a strong and regular attack on the authors of the Han period. Wang T'ung lived before his time and in fact began to be best appreciated after the T'ang dynasty, as by Ma Twan lin in this instance. He was a great enemy of fable as opposed to morality, and condemns Tso C'hien ming for the stories he has inserted in his history. For

* I cannot find in the Chung shwo the passage cited by Ma twan lin. It may be in some other work. Mayers says he wrote several commentaries. His name is 王通 Wang T'ung.

the same reason he condemns the Shī ki of Sī Ma ts'ien and the first of the Han histories viz. that by Pan Ku. He was a stout advocate of Confucius and a severe censor of all leanings to Taoism or any form of myth. Wang T'ung set the example of resisting the claims of fables to our acceptance and the Sung dynasty critics followed in the same track.

Now what does the myth of the seventy two Feng shan sacrifices contain? The first emperor mentioned is Wu hwai shī and he is before Fu hi. He is also the last in a list of seventeen emperors, placed by Sī Ma cheng before Fu hi in his edition of the Shī Ki. But he is the first in the mythological statement in the work of Kwan Chung and he is said to have sacrificed on Tai shan and on the Yün yün mountain. There are eleven more names mentioned as having sacrificed on this and other mountains. They are Fu hi and Shen nung, the Fire emperor, the Yellow emperor, Chwen hü, and Ti ku, Yau and Shun, Yü and T'ang and last of all Ch'eng wang, son of Wu wang and nephew of Cheu kung. The object of the sacrifice was to signify that one great emperor of each dynasty, following in the steps of former dynasties, desired to announce to heaven that he recognized the divine will in raising him and his dynasty to the sovereignty.

There is not a word about the Feng shan ceremony in the classics. The myth connected with it must have been invented by scholars belonging to the country round Tai shan for the purpose of flattering the Emperor Tsin shī hwang and glorifying that and other mountains. The myth was inserted in Kwan Chung's book in the third century before Christ and the author of the Shī ki, a century and a half later, accepted the legend because, when he wrote, Han Wu ti had recently performed the ceremony Feng shan and was a strong believer in myths of this kind. Kwan Chung was not himself a lover of legend but a practical statesman of the Chu ko liang type. He

would not invent this story. It is not found in the Cheu dynasty books which deal in legends. They are Tso chwen, Kwo yü, Lie yu k'eu, Chwang cheu, Ch'ut'si, Mutient'si chwen and the Bamboo Books. The great Tauists Lie ts'i and Chwang ts'i would have been delighted with such a story. The historian Tso either in his undoubted work the Tso-chwen, or in the historical records of the various kingdoms, the Kwo-yü, which is attributed to him, would have found a place for it with pleasure. So also the poet Chü yuen, and the authors of the legend of the Emperor Mu, and of the bamboo chronicle of the Tsin country, the last in the list, would certainly have used it partially or wholly, if it had been within their reach. Szi Ma t'sien did not venture to question what the emperor of his day approved. He put it into his book because it was pleasant to read.

The proofs against the genuineness of much in Kwan Chung's work are such as the following. The author died before Ts'i hwan kung, the prince whom he served, yet he speaks of him by his temple title. The style of the book is not that of a single writer. Things are mentioned in it which occurred after Kwan Chung's death. Such are the proofs collected by the emperor's commission to inquire into the genuineness and value of Chinese works appointed a century ago. They suffice to show that we cannot trust this myth.

Then we come to the Tau te ching 道德經. There is in it a cosmogony, but it has no myths of a narrative kind. This is partly because the author, Lau tan, did not care for stories, nor even for history. He was absorbed in the contemplation of abstruse thoughts and principles. But even if he had wished them, there were in his time very few myths. Nor do Confucius or Mencius add any legends to history. They quote only the classics and the classics do not deal in myths except very slightly as in the story of Kiang yuen,* the mother of

* Legge's Classics IV., p. 465.

Heu tsi. If we reflect a little on the reason why myths are foreign to the Chinese classics, it is because the people were then, what they are still, *not natural'y inclined to mythological invention*. The idea would never have occurred to them to invent legends at all, but for the arrival in their country of sailor's stories, pictures and images of gods, and Hindoo legends, brought by Buddhists and others. Afterwards, when the Chinese became familiar with such pictures and stories, it was easy to continue inventing new myths.

Lie ts'i is one of the first authors who deals in myths and he does it on a large scale. He alludes to Lau ts'i's book under the name 'Hwang ti shu' the book of Hwang ti, the Yellow Emperor. This is the first trace of the mythological connection of the Yellow Emperor with the Tauist religion. The reference of a passage of Lau ts'i to Hwang ti who lived B.C. 2800 is a definite mythical creation and for this Lie ts'i is solely responsible. He elaborates a scheme of creation which is more expanded than that of the Tau te ching. In this creation no persons are mentioned. But the author does not proceed far before he begins to invent incidents and conversations in which various celebrated persons take part. He cites the fable of the birth of Heu tsi, and a marvellous story of the birth of the sage Yi yin, chief minister of the emperor Tang, B.C. 1766. His mother became by metamorphosis a hollow mulberry tree. A girl came to gather mulberries from the branches when she noticed an infant in the hollow part of the tree, she took it out conveyed it home, reared it, and this was the sage.

This author is the first to invent dialogues between remarkable persons, such as Confucius, Lau tan, Yo ts'i, the counsellor of Wen wang, the Yellow Emperor and others. He lived only a few decades of years after Confucius and did not therefore intend to present these dialogues as real. They were a vehicle for the application of Tauist truth

to the popular apprehension. The imperial critics of last century say of him that he really existed and that his book is certainly older than B.C. 220.* With the aid afforded us by these critics, we are able to arrive at the definite conclusion that religious romance had really commenced at the time of this author who was living about B.C. 400. His object was to beautify and popularize the abstruse, unadorned philosophy of the founder of Taoism. Our authors not only invented dialogues or adopted them from traditions. He invented or borrowed from traditions various journeys and incidents. He had intellectual visions and he taught his disciples to regard them as of the same importance as if they consisted of real events. Thus in his second chapter he says that the Yellow Emperor, being grieved at the want of order in the world, ceased to attend to the affairs of the State during three months and falling asleep by day he had a vision. He was travelling in the 華胥 Ge sok country in the north west at an immense distance. The people there do not know what it is to delight in

life not to fear death. They do not love themselves better than the world nor the world better than themselves. They have no love, no fear, no desire, no sorrow. They are not drowned if they fall into a river nor are they burned if they are surrounded by fire. They mount in the air as if they were walking on a firm bottom. They can sleep in vacancy as if they lay on a couch. Clouds and mist do not prevent their seeing. Thunder does not interrupt their hearing. They move freely as spiritual beings.

Hwang ti awoke, called his chief officers, and told them his dream and his desire to discover the true method of self-government and the management of men and his belief that it is not to be by the usual human methods nor can it be told in common human words. He then went, after 28 years of peaceful government, to the land of the genii beyond the sea, where the inhabitants drink dew and do not need to eat the millet and wheat which the earth produces. Their intellectual nature is like a deep fountain. Their appearance is fresh and youthful as that of a virgin. They have no love, fear, or anger. The sun and moon always shine there. There are no storms, inundations or drought. They are called divine men.

This doctrine of the genii, and of magical powers suggests the idea that the Taoist religion was originated under foreign influence. Buddhism was at this time growing up in India. The magi of Persia had their peculiar doctrines. The thought that man may by contemplation become the conqueror of the material world was prevalent among the Hindoos of the period. The magicians and ascetics of Persia and India believed each in his special way that the true superiority of a man consists in his being indifferent to pleasure and pain. The Buddhist books shew that the magician of that religion was believed to be able to sit in air, and to enter fire and water without harm. Just the same magical pretensions are found among the Hindoo Buddhists as

* Lieu Hiang said that Lie tsī lived 'n the Cheng Kingdom 100 years before Confucius. Lieu tsung yuen of the T'ang dynasty showed that this was an error, and that Lie tsī must have been living B.C. 397 because in that year a contemporary of his, Si t-i yang, prime minister of Cheng was killed by Ch'u tan wang when besieging the capital of the Cheng Kingdom. Lieu Hiang was misled because he made Cheng mu kung who ruled B.C. 626 to B.C. 604 take the place of Lu mu kung who ruled B.C. 408 to B.C. 375. The Imperial critics proceed to mention other objections. These they answer and go on to remark that Lie tsī was certainly not an invention of Chwang chen. They say that the Mu tien tsī chwen, legend of Mu wang was only brought to light about A.D. 2-5. Scholars of Han and Wei never saw this book, yet the legend of Mu wang in Lie tsī agrees in its details with these of Mu tien tsī chwen. For example the charioteer Tsau fu, the ascent of Kwun lun, the interview with Si wang mu at the jasper lake, are the same in both. Lieu Hiang could not therefore have invented the third chapter of Lie tsī. Disciples committed the book to writing as is shewn by the honourable titles used in speaking of the philosopher. In A.D. 1111 a ninth chapter was brought from Corea and added to the book. But it soon appeared that it could not be genuine, and it was in consequence dropped.

among the Tauists beginning with Lie tsï four centuries before the Christian era. But Lie Tsï says* that the happy kingdoms where men are without passions are in the west of the city Yen cheu 兪州 where the divine queen Si wang mu resides on the Kwun lun mountain. He also makes Confucius say that among the men of western lands there is a sage† 西方之人有聖者 or there are sages. This was in answer to the question, who are sages? There can be no doubt that Lie tsï meant that wisdom was to be found in the west and that those who sought for a sage should seek him there. It is to Lie tsï also that we owe the tradition that Lau tan went to the west and that he said, as he was going‡ 'the breath of the living, the form of the visible, are all a delusion.' This is Hindoo doctrine on the lips of a Chinese philosopher and this philosopher, when he says it, is on his way to the west. Besides these indications that the Tauist philosophy came from the west, the third chapter commences with the statement that a magician came to China from the far west who could perform various supernatural wonders. We are thus compelled to the conclusion that much Hindoo and Persian philosophy and legend came to China after the age of Cyrus, when Bactria was included in the new empire then founded, in sufficient abundance for it to be possible for the three great Tauist philosophers of antiquity to borrow various doctrines and legends which they needed for the new religion they were forming.

The ease with which religious ideas spread from country to country is conspicuous in all history. It was not without result that the Egyptians believed in the transmigration of souls. The Hindoos§ learned it from

* Chapter 2, page 1. Yen cheu (Am cheu, perhaps the 'dark' city) is thousands of miles to the west of China.

† Chapter 4, page 3.

‡ Chapter 3, page 3.

§The fact that the Hindoos learned the metempsychosis from the Egyptians may be shewn in several ways. The Sanscrit alphabet was introduced from Arabia as is now admitted

them and Buddhism carried this belief through all the eastern countries. Nor was it without far-reaching consequences that the Babylonians believed in the holy mountain of the east where the gods reside. The Buddhists learned to believe in a mountain in the north, also distinguished as the home of the gods, and the Chinese Tauists in their turn adopted the legend of the Kwun lun mountain far off in the west. Nor was it without effect on far off lands that the Babylonians elaborated their astrology. It was propagated to China as it was conveyed to Rome, and the rich in both countries placed equal faith in the predictions of astrologers. Babylonians taught that the planets were gods and this was soon believed in Europe toward the setting sun and in China towards the rising sun. The reason why Tauist authors invented palaces among the stars and formed a hierarchy of stellar divinities, was because the Babylonians had done this before them. In this transmission of religious ideas and myths there is a law operating. Those who receive the new ideas in each country work up the details into new combinations so as to suit their own locality. Under the manipulation of the Hindoo the Egyptian metempsychosis becomes Hindoo. The Babylonian cosmogony in the hands of Lau tsï and Lie tsï becomes a Chinese cosmogony. Astrology was due to Babylonians only. It became Jewish, Greek, European, Mahomedan, Hindoo, Chinese. Each nation modified it somewhat to suit its new surroundings. But the unique origin of this doctrine is not disputed. By the operation of a law of modification we cannot obtain the original doctrine in its purity in any new locality. Receptive minds in that locality will modify it according to their previous habits and beliefs. This is the reason why the doctrine

by scholars. Buddhist cosmography implies a knowledge of the ocean which, as the Hindoos had it not, must have come to them from abroad when they pressed down to the west. Buddhism includes the Babylonian cosmogony.

that matter is a delusion, taught by Hindoo schools in the boldest form without fear of contradiction, is in the works of Chinese writers much more cautiously worded, because the Chinese people cannot be induced to look on the outer world as a delusion, and what they are now they were two thousand years ago: then as now they were more in love with the actual than with the ideal.

To sum up the result of this inquiry in regard to Lie tsī, he was the first author in whom we find the legends of the Taoist kings, Hwang ti and Mu wang. He first mentions the supernatural powers of magicians and the story of the western queen Si wang mu. He was the first to mention the islands of the immortals in the ocean, and kingdoms where dwarfs and giants reside, and where the people have for food the fruits of trees which enable them to continue for ever young. He tells stories of swords that can cut jade-stone in two. He is the first to mention that the world is deficient in one quarter and that Nü kwa made use of stones of five colours to repair the defect. He has the honour of first representing the universe as resting on a great tortoise. One of these animals supports an immense island on its head, so he informs us, and swims away with it when so inclined. The god of the north he calls 禺疆 Yü ch'iang, which I read as gudom. He introduces the names Fu hi and Shen nung into his stories and states that, from the time of Fu hi till his day, 300,000 years had passed, and that there had elapsed before Fu hi an immeasurable period. He was the first to bring out clearly the distinction between soul and body. This separation of human nature into two parts does not appear so plainly before his time as after. Yet it is in Lau tsī, and it was in fact impossible for the idealistic philosophy of India to enter at all into China without this distinction being clearly expressed. There is a remarkable difference between Lau tsī and Lie tsī in this that Lie tsī accepted whatever foreign knowledge arrived, while Lau tsī could use

only philosophy and of that only a select portion. Lie tsī is aware that a vast ocean surrounds the world and that it is ruled by various divinities. Lau tsī will have nothing to say about these things.

The foreign elements introduced into early Taoism were subjected to a process of assimilation, by which they were naturalized. The emperor Hwang ti took the place of a Taoist sage. Incidents and conversation were invented as they were needed. The doctrine was called that of Hwang Lau, and this expression implies that the emperor Hwang ti had as much to do with the authorship of this religion as Lau tsī himself. It need not on this account be supposed that Taoism was an old religion or that the Yellow emperor had anything to do with its formation. Western ideas and myths were communicated to them by the many foreigners who then resided in China either as merchants or as members of the many Tartar tribes who then occupied districts in north China, or by travellers arriving by the Kansu route. The Chinese, in taking what was offered them, worked it up into new forms by which it became fitted to dovetail with the history, religion, mythology and philosophy of their own country. It is in this form, half foreign, half native, that these contributions of foreign knowledge, received long ago by the Chinese, have come down to us.

The next book to which attention should be directed as containing ancient Chinese myths is the Tso chwen. The author was Tso Chieu ming. In compiling his history he was fond of introducing legend. There are two or three passages where he has added a considerable number of particulars to the brief classical notices of the ancient Emperors previously existing. He records, in the year B.C. 524, that when the ruler of the Tan country came to pay a ceremonial visit to the Lu ruler, the latter asked him why the ancient emperor Shau hau used birds in armorial bearings. He replied that Shau hau was his ancestor,

and that he followed the example of Hwang ti who had employed clouds in the same way. Also the Fiery Emperor Shen nung, employed fire as a distinctive mark in the same way. Further the Emperor, Kung kung had made use of water as a sign, and Fu hi of a dragon. Shau hau succeeded to the throne and a phoenix appeared. He therefore made use of birds as the distinctive mark of his officers. This was the way in which it was done. The controller of the calendar was named the officer of the phoenix. The controller of the equinoxes was called the officer of the dark bird. The controller of the solstices was the officer of the Pe chau, the shrike, because this bird announces by its call that summer has come. The officer who presided over the beginning of spring was named from the Green Bird, because this bird (Tsang an) is heard calling from the beginning of spring to the beginning of summer. So also the red pheasant (golden pheasant) gave its name to the officer who presided over the period from the beginning of autumn to the beginning of winter because it calls at that time. (The remainder of the names I omit).^{*} After the Emperor Shau hau came Chwen hü, and from his time it became the custom for the emperors to name the officers from their duties, since they were not able to do so from portents or omens, which indeed were no longer granted.

The Tao chwen proceeds to make a most suggestive addition to this statement on ancient heraldry. Confucius, it says, was told of this (he being then twenty-seven years old) and went to see the lord of T'an, in order to learn from him what he could on these matters. Afterwards he was heard to say, 'I have been told that when the emperor's officers fail to perform their duties, we may learn from the barbarians all round us.' This saying is true.

From this specimen of the folk lore of the time we may gather some important con-

clusions. The traditions of the baronial families, whether large or small, were sedulously preserved because they pleased their ancestral pride. As there were about fifty families at that time which had hereditary possessions from the gift of the Emperor, such traditions would be very numerous. Confucius meant by barbarians the outlying baronies of which the T'an country on the coast north of the old mouth of the Yellow River was one, and thought that the ancestral traditions of these baronies were of great value in the absence of historical information in the classics. He accepted this piece of folk lore, but there is no allusion to it in the books that came from his hand. Tao Chien ming, being historiographer of the Lu country and himself a disciple of Confucius, regarded it as genuine and in consequence it found its way into the Shi ki 史記 at the beginning of the Han dynasty. This piece of folk lore was also accepted by the authors of the celebrated Tung chien kang mu 通鑑綱目 'Mirror of History' in the Sung dynasty, and that it gained the approval of 司馬光 Si Ma kwang and Chu hi, the authors of that work, must have been because of the praise bestowed on it by Confucius.

We cannot accept this legend as a genuine relic of the time of the ancient emperors, because it represents them as distinguished by the five elements. The five elements belong to a later philosophy, that of the eleventh century before Christ. We could not meet with the names Fiery Emperor, or the Emperor whose symbol was water or wood or earth, till after the days of Wen wang. This is one reason against the genuineness. Another reason is that, if it were a piece of lost history of the time B.C. 2500, it would not be so elaborately precise and full in its details. It seems capable of explanation as having been invented just as the story of the seventy-two emperors who performed the Feng shan sacrifice was invented, in order to please great people that were living in the time of the inventor. In

^{*} See Legge's Classics, Vol. V., p. 667.

this case the family which held the T'an barony would of course be pleased with such a record of their ancestor Shau hau. This kind of invention might occur in various localities in ancient China. Where such legends existed, there might be Tibetan, Turkish, or Himalaic, Tungusian or Korean tribes, all then probably residing in different parts of China under the name Yi barbarians. It would be quite easy for foreign elements to become joined to Chinese local traditions in such a case, because two languages would be spoken wherever other races were the neighbours of the Chinese.

We find in the year B.C. 541 in the Tso chwen another ancient emperor mentioned with a legend. It is there said of the emperor Kau Sin shī that he had two sons, Ot pak 閼伯 or Ot the elder and Jit shim 實沈, who lived in Kwang lin. They were incessantly fighting with each other and the emperor Yau, grieved at their misconduct, sent away the elder to Shang ch'ien,* there to preside over the star 辰 Ch'en, otherwise called Great Fire (Antares), which was henceforth regarded as the peculiar star of the Shang family. The other he sent to 大夏 Ta hia, later known as Tain yang hien or Tai yuen fu in Shansi, to preside over the worship of Orion. In consequence of this, the men of T'ang 唐, that is the descendants of the emperor Yau, engaged willingly in serving the Hsia and Shang dynasties. The last of their line was named T'ang shu yü.† When the queen of Wu wang, first emperor of the Chou dynasty, was about to become the mother of Ta shu, she had a dream and thought that the Ruler of Heaven said to her 'I name your son 虞 Yü. I will also give him the lands of T'ang. This region is attached to the constellation Shen, Orion, and there he will have numerous descendants.' At his birth the character yü was visible on his hand and was consequently assigned to him as his name. Afterwards when 成 C'heng wang, the second emperor, conquered the

* 商丘. † 唐叔虞.

T'ang state, he gave it to Ta shu as a barony under him as its lord. So it was that the Tsin country (Shansi) came to have Shi shen and Shen (Orion) as its stars. From this it appears that the spirit Shi shen is the ruling god of the star Shen, Orion.

Formerly among the descendants of the emperor Chin t'ien shī* or Shau hau was Mei, who was styled Hsien ming shī,† or chief of the officers of the waters. He had two sons Yun ke and T'ai t'ai. The last of these was able to discharge the work of his father's office. He deepened the rivers Fen and Tau, raised an embankment to the great marsh and made T'ai yuen his residence when thus rendered habitable. The emperor (said by Tu yü to be Chwen hü) praised him and made him baron of Fen ch'wen. Four States or baronies Shen, Si, Ju, Hwang 沈, 姒, 蓐, 黃, maintained the sacrifices to him. Now, however, the ruler of Tsin has taken in charge the sacrifices to the Fen river and has extinguished the four baronies. It is in this manner that T'ai t'ai has come to be god of the Fen river. The reason on account of which this legend has come into the history is a desire to explain the sickness of the lord of Tsin in the year B.C. 540. He was told by the court diviner that the gods Shī shen and T'ai t'ai were the cause of this illness, and that the ruler of Tsin was suffering from demoniacal possession. But Tai chan from the Cheng State in Honan, who was sent to make complimentary inquiries, was able to relieve his mind from this belief. The two star gods and their story were not known to the historiographer of Tsin and the envoy from Cheng could tell how this matter stood. He related the legend and added that flood, drought and pestilence were caused by local divinities. The gods of the sun, moon and stars caused irregularities in wind, rain and snow. But the cause of sickness to the marquis of Tsin

* 金田氏, he of the golden field.

† 玄冥師, Hsien ming shi, chief of the dark abyss.

was in his life, in his food, in his griefs and in his pleasures, and not in these gods.

Twenty-two years earlier than this there is another entry in the Tso chwen* on the subject of these star gods. In the Sung country the great officer of religion was to sacrifice horses on the four city walls to prevent fire, and also to sacrifice to P'an keng, a former emperor of the Shang dynasty, outside of the west gate. The marquis of Tsin inquired of Shī jo† why it was said of the fires of the Sung country that it might be known from them what heaven in its providence was going to do. Shī jo replied that according to tradition the ancient director of fire was sacrificed to either in conjunction with the star Sin (Antares)‡ or with the constellation Lieu (eight stars in Hydra) which forms the beak of the south bird, constituting a sign to the people to kindle or extinguish fire. Hence the beak is the fire of the South bird and Antares is the Great fire. The Director of fire, appointed by the Emperor Yau, was Ot pak who resided in the city Shang o'hieu in the kingdom of Sung. He then offered sacrifices to Antares and regulated the time for kindling fire. The ancestors of the Shang dynasty did the same. Among them was Siang tu. Hence the people of Shang sacrificed regularly to the star Antares. Noticing that disasters from fire visited them frequently, they said that they knew that heaven causes these things by a regular mode of procedure.

The two constellations here mentioned are Scorpio and Orion. The star Antares in Scorpio is assigned to the Sung country and Orion to the Tsin country. The Cheu metropolis was at Ho nan fu. The kindling

* Legge's Chun Tsew, d. 580. Usual Chinese edition with Tu Yü's notes, chapter 84, p. 15.

Legge's Chun Tsien, p. 439.

† 士 弱.

‡ The worship of the red star Antares in Honan was B.C. 540 connected with a belief that fires in the Sung country were caused by the spirit of the star. But Orion was worshipped as the seat of a god who caused sickness and this was at Tai yuen fu. Such were the beliefs of 2,400 years ago.

of fire indicated the approach of the hot season. The extinguishing of fire was a symbol of coming winter. The heavens are very bright in Scorpio and Orion and these constellations are nearly opposite to one another. In the 6th century before Christ there can be no doubt therefore that in the countries of Sung and Tsin the brighter stars of these groups were worshipped, but as to the legend of the time of Yau, sixteen centuries earlier, it is but an attempt to explain the origin of the star sacrifices. The country known as Cheng is that which took its beginning as a State in B.C. 805 and on account of Jupiter* being that year in Virgo, the two constellations which come first in the series of 28 were assigned to this country. It was Sinen wang, then emperor, who gave this country to his brother. It may be inferred that the naming of the constellations which are supposed to preside over each country only commenced at this time. The Sung country is just east of the Cheng country. The third, 4th and 5th of the 28 constellations are assigned to Sung. We see then that Scorpio was in B.C. 564 definitely fixed upon as the presiding star group of this region; nearly opposite to Scorpio in the Zodiac is Gemini, to the south of which is Orion. The legend says that it was in the time of Tau, B.C. 2350, that the worship of this constellation was appointed in Tai yuen fu. But the evidence points to some date later than B.C. 805 and earlier than B.C. 564 as the time when this worship commenced. The legend of the brothers, who fought and were punished by being appointed to regulate star worship, has been invented to account for the worship. For ought we know to the contrary, the constellations presiding over the other Chinese States were selected after these, and in each case the reason of selection may have been that Jupiter was in the constellation chosen during the year in which the selection was made.*

* Professor Russell, at my request, kindly calculated the place of Jupiter in B.C. 805 and found it to be in Virgo.

Ts'i ch'an,* minister of Cheng, who told the story of the brothers was a very able man. He is mentioned favourably both by Confucius and Mencius. The Tso chwen records his services to the Cheng country, and the verses in which the people sang his praise. He was an honest administrator, a lover of the people. He is ranked with Kwan Chung for his talents. We may depend on the fact that in B.C. 564 the legend existed.

In the Kwo Yü 國語, under the year B.C. 521, we have a rather full account of what was being done at that time in the Cheu capital, especially as to the manufacture of bells and the twelve measuring tubes. There was certainly great activity then in casting bronze in Honan. From the account given I make the following extract bearing on the astrology and mythology of the time.

The emperor wished to be informed about the seven notes of music which belonged to the system of harmonious sounds then in use. They were called, says Wei chau the commentator, † Kung, Shang, Kio, Ch'i, Yü, Pien Kung‡ and Pien Chü. The emperor asked the musician Ling cheu kieu what were the tubes with the seven sounds. The reply was 'formerly when Wu wang conquered the Yin dynasty,' B.C. 1122, 'Jupiter was in Chun hwo (Leo), the moon was in Ti'en si (Scorpio), 天駟 the sun was in Si mu (Sagittarius 析木) at the point called 漢津 Han tsin,' or the ford of the Milky Way in the middle of Sagittarius, to the west of delta and epsilon i.e. Ki 7 degrees. 'The sun and moon were in conjunction at the handle of the northern Teu,' that is at about R.A. 206 degrees, a degree

* His name was 公孫僑 Kung Sun chiau. His hau was 子產.

† Wei Chau lived about A.D. 270.

‡ Pien to change. There was a modified Kung and a modified Ch'i and these, with the old five, made a full octave. This occurred 17 years after the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus, when communication between east and west would be much facilitated.

in front of eta in Ursa Major. 'Mercury was in Hsien Hiau' 玄枵 (Aquarius) in advance of the sun. 'Mercury's position in the zodiacal constellation Sü nü and the sun at the ford were both in the region Pe wei' (winter quarter, 北維 or region of water) 'that which had been established by 顓頊 Chwen hü was received by Ti ku,' who was emperor in B.C. 2435. His name was Kau sin shi. He was one of the ancestors of Heu tsai 后稷 and of the Cheu imperial family. The emperors Chwen hü and Ti ku represented the elements water and wood, respectively. The change from the Yin to the Cheu dynasty is also symbolically spoken of as water becoming wood 'our Ki 姬 came out of 天龍 Tien yuen' this means that the Cheu imperial family of the Ki clan descended by a female line from the T'ai family, viz. the Kiang 姜 clan, of which the zodiacal sign is Hsien hiau, that is Tien yuen or Aquarius. The father of Wen wang was Ki li, and Ki li's mother was T'ai kiang of the Kiang clan. Our Ki came also from the constellation Si mu, divider of the wood element, which embraces the stars known as the establishing star * and the cow leading † stars Kien sing and Ch'ien nieu. It may then be concluded that the descendant of our female ancestor and of Pe ling is the spirit that is associated in sacrifice with Tien yuen (Aquarius).'

'Jupiter, as god of the year, is in the constellation 鶉火 Chun hwo (Leo) being that region in the stellar spaces which rules over Cheu. The place of the moon is in 辰馬 C'hen Ma' meaning Fang 房 and Sin 心 or Antares in Scorpio 'leading to the prosperity of agriculture, which is what our great ancestor Heu tsai superintended and protected and for which he is consequently worshipped.'

'The Emperor,' Wu wang, 'wished to combine these five heavenly objects' Jupiter, the sun, the moon, Mercury and the

* 提星.

† 牽牛.

point of conjunction of sun and moon, 'and these three regions.' They embrace the place of the spirit of the north, the stars which preside over Cheu and the region over which Hen tsi is placed as protector, 'embracing the space from' Leo to Scorpio 'Chun hwo to Fang' or that which is shone down upon by the last three and the first four of the zodiac of twenty-eight, numbering in all seven constellations. On the south (Leo) and on the north (the black warrior) the seven tubes are used for measurement.' Thus Jupiter is in Leo and Mercury is in Aquarius.

'It is by numbers that men and spirits are united and by music that they are brought into harmony. When the numbers agree and the sounds harmonize, men and spirits are in mutual correspondence. On this account seven combines the numbers, and the tubes in their regulated sizes harmonize the sounds, and it is for this reason that there are seven tubes,' such was the answer given to the Emperor's question.

These passages from the Tso chwen and Kwo yü shew us what was believed in China in the middle of the sixth century before Christ, during the early part of the life of Confucius, when Cyrus was actively engaged in founding the Persian empire. It is then that we find stars worshipped in particular cities and that the twelve signs of the zodiac were believed to control the destinies of States. Particular stars and groups of stars were worshipped as the supposed causes of fires and such like calamities. Thus in the year B.C. 562, we learn that in a city in Honan, where the descendants of the Shang dynasty reigned, Antares was worshipped on account of a devastating fire in the city, and a legend existed that explained the worship as having been commenced in the time of Yau, B.C. 2350, and by command of that Emperor. The particulars of the legend are too minutely given for us to accept them as history. We must refer the origin of the worship and the legend connected with it to the age when

Chinese astrology commenced. We must suppose then that it commenced a century or two before this date, 562 B.C. We can approximate thus nearly to the true chronology and such a result suits very well the entries on astrology in the Cheu li,* which may be reasonably supposed to have been inserted in that work when astrology was officially adopted or soon after. In B.C. 640 there is a more detailed account of the same worship, in the Tso chwen, and at about the same time, in the Kwo yü, we find abundant proof that the Chinese then believed that the various baronies of China were all controlled by particular stars. If we had the records, we should most likely find that in each of the numerous States into which the country was then divided, there was star worship based on the astrological belief of the times. We also learn from the first passage cited from the Tso chwen, that fresh legends unknown to Confucius were growing up in his time on the Shantung coast which aimed greatly to extend classical records of Chinese primitive history and that, when Confucius heard them, he was much pleased that from an out-lying region fresh light should be shed on the period of the ancient sages. We must look upon these stories in a different way and explain them as an up-growth of local legend, helping us to understand better what the Chinese people believed in and before the days of Confucius.

If the question be asked, is there any special indication that foreign influences led to the worship of stars and to the legends respecting the primitive emperors which became current in the Cheu dynasty, it may be replied in the affirmative. In the Feng shan shu† by Si Ma o'hien there is men-

* The Cheu li, like all the classics, was written at different times. It must be regarded as a Government official guide for the use of those engaged in administration. Astrology was under the charge of the officer named Pau Chang

shí 保章氏.

† 封禪書.

tion made of a new worship of a peculiar kind in the Ts'in country, forming the north-west part of modern China. The duke of that country was invested with his title in B.C. 769, when Cheu P'ing wang removed his capital to Lo yang. Ts'in Siang kung, the duke in question, regarded himself as in duty bound to worship the spirit of the ancient emperor Shau hau and he therefore set apart a piece of land for the worship of the White Emperor. The animals he sacrificed were a red horse with black mane, a yellow bullock and a ram. Sixteen years later, the next duke, Wen kung, dreamed that a yellow serpent reached from heaven to earth. Its mouth touched Fu yen, a place in Kan su near the head waters of the Lo river among mountains. Wen kung asked his historiographer what this meant. The reply was, 'This is an indication from the Supreme Ruler. Worship ought to be established by you at that spot.' The duke in consequence caused a place for sacrifice to be made and it was named Fu chi.* The three sacrificial animals were appointed to be used in sacrifice to the White Emperor, just as in the Kiau ceremony in the worship of heaven.

Before this worship was established at Fu chi, there was near the city of Yung in Shen-si in the Ts'in country, a place for worship called Wu yang wu chi.† On the east of the city of Yung there was another named Hau chi.‡ Both of these places of sacrifice had ceased to be used for worship. People say that from old times, because the city of Yung stood high and was a favourite resort of the divinities (神明), a high place was established there for the worship of the Supreme Ruler. Sacrifices to all the spirits came to be offered there in appropriate temples. Such is the statement.

In the year B.C. 668 the eighth duke made a place for sacrifice called Mi chi, on the south of the Wei river, for the worship of the Blue Emperor.

* 酈時
† 好時

† 吳陽武時

There is an intention here shewn to extend the elemental principle. The west, with the element gold, was already provided for in the worship of Shau hau, the White Emperor. It was thought requisite to add the worship of the god who presides over the last quarter and the element of wood. This is in fact the emperor Fu hi.

The worship of the gods of the five elements thus appears first in the 7th century before Christ and in north-western China, in a region at that time only recently admitted to China proper. This worship spread afterwards to other parts of the country and was adopted by such emperors and dynasties as were fond of Tauism. But we know that the people of Ts'in had the habit of putting to death slaves and even youths of good families on the occasion of the burial of their dukes. This is pathetically described in the Book of Odes.* Much the same custom, as Herodotus tells us,† existed among the Scythians who took mens' lives on a very large scale at the burial of their great men. This Tartar custom was, we must assume, borrowed by the Ts'in rulers from the west and therefore we conclude that, when they adopted the worship of the rulers of the five elements, they also borrowed from the west.

The worship of the five emperors was still more developed in the Ts'in and Han dynasties when it became imperial. If we accordingly look upon the philosophy of the five elements and the worship of the five emperors as of foreign origin, it is important to notice that it is limited by this passage in Si Ma o'hien's history to the eighth century before Christ. It was then that this worship began and it was not completed till the Han dynasty, in the second century before Christ.

It was in the year B.C. 619, that Ts'in Mu kung‡ was buried. On that occasion 177 persons were put to death,

* Odes of Ts'in. Legge's Classics, vol. IV., p. 199.

† Herodotus, Book, IV. see 71 to 75.

‡ See in 史記 the narrative of the princes of the Ts'in country.

in order to complete the funeral ceremonies, among them were three of good family, whose fate caused much commiseration among the people. Herodotus described what was done among the Scythians much more minutely than do the Chinese historians. At the funeral of a king, fifty of his servants were stifled and also fifty horses, all were stuffed with chaff and placed upon the fifty horses, by means of wooden stakes, and so they took their places in the ceremony round the grave of their former master. This frightful cruelty was practiced a year after the burial. At the burial itself, a cupbearer, cook, groom, concubine and personal attendant were buried in the tomb with the Scythian king. Herodotus was writing an account of the expedition of Darius against the European Scythians when he gave these details, and that expedition took place B.C. 510. This date is 109 years later than the burial of Ts'in Mu kung. The tombs of the Scythian kings were on the banks of the Don, at a point accessible by ships from the Black sea. This is certainly very far from the Wei river in Shensi, where the funeral mounds of the dukes of Ts'in are found. But it was the habit of the nomade races to wander far and they possessed horses in untold numbers. To communicate the knowledge of the customs of one place to another place at a distance, was in these circumstances the easiest thing in the world. So it was that this savage custom penetrated from its source among barbarous races into China, which had two thousand years before already possessed a mild morality.

We have here an indisputable instance of a foreign custom introduced from the west, and if to this we add the dial and clepsydra, which about this time are first mentioned in Chinese books, and also the twelve signs of the zodiac and the double hour, and further keep in mind that at this time the Chinese first learned astrology, we are forced to the conclusion that these things are not of indigenous origin.

The distribution of the stars among the States of China commenced B.C. 805, for the first two signs of the zodiac of twenty eight were assigned to Cheng, which did not exist as a State till that year. This requires us to regard the ninth century as the time when astrology was introduced. The worship of stars and other causes led to the production of local legends. Four centuries was the space occupied by the growth of these legends till the time of Tso Chien ming and Lie ts'i. In their writings we can discover the exact form the legends took.

Tso was a historian and gave such legends as he adopted in the form of history. Lie ts'i was not a historian. He gave legends as he heard them, or he invented incidents and characters to suit his moral and religious objects.

The early Chinese mythology and star worship could not well be before the ninth century, because it would, if introduced in the time of Cheu kung, have found its way into the Odes and into the Shu ching, the official history. In those books we have astronomy without astrology, and it is therefore safer to place the date of the entrance of astrology into China in the ninth century.

The early part of the Book of History contains Babylonian astronomy and corresponds to the date of the kingdom of Ur in Chaldea. It was before the Elamite conquest of Chaldea, in B.C. 2280, a date fixed by an inscription of Assur-bani-pal.* In the 14th century an Assyrian army captured Babylon and from this time, till the destruction of Nineveh, about B.C. 609, Assyria was the chief power in Western Asia. It was during this period that the dial, the clepsydra, the zodiac of twelve signs and the astrology of the Babylonians were introduced into China. For a large part of the time Babylon had sovereigns, usually tributary to Assyria. From B.C. 883 to 858 Assur-natsir-pal reigned in Assyria and his

* Encyclopædia Britannica. Ninth Edition. Art. Babylonia.

son Shalmanaser received tribute from the Parthians and reigned for 35 years. Babylon only recovered its liberty about B.C. 700. In the year 538 it was taken by Cyrus. It appears then that astrology came to China during the Assyrian empire while Babylon was a subject kingdom. China continued to receive additions to her knowledge during the Babylonian supremacy and afterwards at the time of the Persian empire. First came astrology, then mythology, and later Tauist philosophy. We cannot account for Chinese astrology or mythology or for the Tauist philosophy without allowing for a considerable importation of foreign thought during the period extending from about B.C. 820 to B.C. 380.

Note.—The statement given in the Kwo yü, in regard to the places of Jupiter, the sun, the moon and Mercury, at the time of the overthrow of the Shang dynasty, is of doubtful value. Professor Russell finds that 'in the year B.C. 1121 Jupiter was not near the place stated in the text.' It has been calculated back.

These astrological passages in the Kwo yü will be found in Gaubil's History of Chinese astronomy before the Christian era. This work is printed in the *Mémoires concernant les Chinoises*. Gaubil was learned, he lacked but the new light of our day.

J. EDKINS.

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS

AND LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

The Yi King of the Chinese, As a Book of Divination and Philosophy. By the Rev. Dr. Edkins, M.R.A.S. Reprinted from the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol. XVI., Part 3. Kelly and Walsh, Shanghai, 1885.

The purport of this essay of Dr. Edkins appears to be to state, in refutation of Prof. Terrien de Lacouperie's views, the reasonableness of the views which the latter had called into question. This pamphlet abstains, however, from any polemics and breathes a spirit of exemplary moderation. Prof. Terrien de Lacouperie is not even mentioned as the author of the vocabulary hypothesis or of the troglodyte theory, both of which the writer labours to disprove, though his name is referred to twice in connection with minor points of divergence.

Against the French Professor's bold hypothesis, declaring the original text of

the Yih King to be a foreign vocabulary, Dr. Edkins demonstrates, by a detailed examination of the 7th, 15th, 30th, 31st, 20th, and 13th Kwa, which he selects as suitable examples, that there is nothing abrupt or improbable in the traditional interpretations, that there is logical sequence and reasonable concatenation in the admonitions on the separate lines of each Kwa, and that the connection existing between the admonitions and the essential primary meaning of the trigrams and hexagrams is perfectly obvious. Hence he concludes that the hypothesis of a vocabulary does not seem called for or admissible.

As to the assumption of the French Professor that the *Tung jen* of the 13th Kwa were troglodytes, Dr. Edkins briefly remarks that the Appendices agree with the text in assigning to the words the sense 'associated friends', and that, as the text, or much of it, is older than the time of

Wen wang, there is no call to break with a tradition so self-consistent and so primitive.

Dr. Edkins's paper is, however, specially valuable as containing some hints as to his views of the Yih King. So far as we understand Dr. Edkins, his views may be stated to be as follows.

According to Dr. Edkins, Fuh hi (B.C. 3020), like all the early Emperors recognized by orthodox Confucianists, really existed and was a native of China. These early Emperors of China were successively supplied with information on matters of science and art which came to them, in some way or other, from Babylonia, Susiana and Bactria. In these early ages there was no philosophy known, but divination was largely practised, on the basis of a system of dualism. Fuh hi, who accomplished much towards the formation of a system of writing, invented also the eight Kwa, and their multiplication into 64 Kwa, and deposited in the names, which he gave to each, a treasury of prophetic power, the key to which lies in the combination of the names with the groups of lines of which each tri-gram and hexagram is composed. In the course of practical application of this system of divination to successive historic events, the decisions of Fuh hi and other famous diviners, given on the basis of certain Kwas, were noted down by their successors in the oracle-like form in which they were pronounced, and eventually appended, as a sort of textual notes, to the respective diagrams. On the basis of Fuh hi's system, the court diviners of the successive emperors of the Hia dynasty elaborated gradually a divining text book, called the Yih King of the Hia, being a collection of fragments of oracles, delivered from the time of Fuh hi down to their own. The court diviners of the Shang (or Yin) emperors had a similar textbook and added to it according to their own traditions. The court diviners of the Chow dynasty, had all the previous traditions, but in a new edition and with a new arrangement of their own, chiefly de-

rived from Wen wang. The changes introduced by Wen wang consisted in his applying the Kwa symbols, previously used exclusively for purposes of divination on the basis of a dualistic view of nature, to the exposition, also, of a system of philosophy viewing nature as the sphere of polar opposites (hard and soft) operating by successive processes of evolution and involution through the agency of five elements. Accordingly the symbols, which were formerly linear now became circular and linear, and both the old prophetic and the new philosophic power of the Yih King vested now comparatively more in the text and appended notes than in the groups of lines. Finally, in the Shwuh Kwa ohwen, which may have belonged to the Chow Yih, the eight Kwa, formerly used chiefly in connection with the systems of manipulating milfoil stalks and scorching tortoise shells, &c., to obtain groups of symbols corresponding to the Kwa, were now applied to the compass.

So far, if the above interpretation of scattered hints to be found in Dr. Edkins' paper is a correct exposition of his views, we agree with Dr. Edkins, excepting only the allegation that the traditional Fuh hi himself was a historical person and that a direct connection existed deriving early Chinese from ancient Babylonian civilisation. We are willing to grant that some person or persons once existed answering in some point or points to the folklore traditions which group themselves round the name Fuh hi, but no more. We are also willing to grant that early Chinese civilisation was but a scattered relic or ruin of some still earlier civilisation, but there is, in our opinion, no more reason for deriving Chinese civilisation from Babylonian civilisation, than for deriving the latter from the former. If Dr. Edkins would start the hypothesis that both are derived from the same parent centre of primitive civilisation, he would have equally good ground to go upon, for there is really, so far as we know, no historic ground at all for any hypothesis on the subject.

But, to proceed, Dr. Edkins assumes that the next stage of development in the history of the Yih King system was brought about by Confucius himself. Dr. Edkins believes that Confucius actually wrote the Appendices attributed to him and that therein he completed the Yih King philosophy which was handed down from Wen wang to his time in a fragmentary state. Accordingly Dr. Edkins sees in the Yih King, edited, as he believes, by Confucius himself, an authentic compendium of the maturest Confucian philosophy. 'Native scholars have been impressed by the general similarity of tone in the Chung yung and the Appendices to the Yih King and have unanimously regarded them as proceeding from one master mind. The philosophy of Confucius was moral, but he preserved the elemental philosophy of Wen wang, and, having a fervent admiration of that sage, retained his system unimpaired.' Here we entirely differ from Dr. Edkins. We do not believe that there is any evidence, which will stand critical investigation, that Confucius ever studied the Yih King or edited it, and the sentiments actually attributed to the lips of Confucius in the Appendices to the Yih King are so utterly at variance with his whole cast of mind and with the spirit of his moral philosophy that the subterfuge of assuming that, out of reverence for Wen wang, 'he retained the latter's (elemental) system unimpaired,' goes for nothing. If Confucius actually uttered all the words, attributed to him in the Appendices, he represents the greatest puzzle in psychology ever furnished by history. We should be glad to see Dr. Edkins make good the position, which he takes, by a detailed examination of the Appendices.

The next stage in the history of the Yih King philosophy, according to Dr. Edkins, was reached in the Han dynasty times. A few centuries before that time Babylonian and Hindu traditions, so Dr. Edkins believes, influenced the Taoist writers of China, especially Lieh Tze. Dr. Edkins believes

the latter to be a historical personage. Some years ago we gave, in the *China Review*, our reasons for believing that the book ascribed to Lieh Tze is a conglomeration of many fragments and that, in all probability, no such person as Lieh Tze ever existed. So we need not go into that matter again. But Dr. Edkins says, Lieh Tze 'must have seen Babylonian mythological pictures with figures half man and half fish.' But, we believe, there are so many objects in nature which readily suggest the idea of 'half man half fish,' that similarity of mental organization will produce, and actually has produced, at all ages and in all parts of the world the same imaginative conception, without any assistance derived from the sight of Babylonian pictures. There is no historic evidence to shew that the Chinese had any connection with or any knowledge of the existence of Babylonia, Susiana and Bactria before the Christian era. Again, Dr. Edkins charges Lieh Tze with credulity. But when we read Lieh Tze, it struck us that his wonderful stories have all a philosophical or moral basis or background and were never meant to be believed. Finally, when Dr. Edkins says, 'we must reject Taoist stories, because the stand point of the authors is not satisfactory,' we again must join issue with him. Granted that the Taoists are great story tellers. So are the Confucianists, so are all Chinese from the author of the Ch'un Ts'iu to the Peking Gazettes of to-day. It is for European critics to sift the statements of both Taoists and Confucianists, and to take nothing on credit. When Dr. Edkins says, 'the historical instinct belongs in China only to the Confucian school,' we can only reply that hitherto we were not aware that anything worth the name of history had ever been written in Chinese, and that the Chinese, as a race, were and are utterly devoid of what we mean by historical instinct. We have stated our divergent views thus freely in the hope that it may induce Dr. Edkins to give us his reasons for the bold statements contained in his ex-

ceedingly valuable and interesting pamphlet.

E. J. E.

The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal. Vol. XVI., No. 4. May, 1885.

The only article of sinologic interest in this number of the *Missionary Journal* is a contribution from the vigorous pen of Mr. E. H. Parker, on 'the ancient language of China.' Mr. Parker begins by quoting some records of the 4th and 5th centuries A.D., a writer of the Ming dynasty (14th century), a glossary of the Kin dynasty (12th century), Kanghi's Concordance (17th century), the Family Homilies (6th century), again Kanghi's Concordance (17th century) and finally the preface to a modern edition of an old book, 'to prove that 1500 years ago the Chinese could write acutely on internal philology, and also to prove that, from the earliest historical times, widely differing dialects have been spoken in China.' Mr. Parker then proceeds to give some comparative tables of selected words in the modern pronunciation as heard in Peking, Yangchow, Hankow, Szechuen, Ningpo, Wenchow, Foochow, also in the Hakka and Canton dialects, in order to 'prove the perfect homogeneity of the nine Chinese dialects (or languages, as they are fairly to be called in some cases).' Finally Mr. Parker indulges in some criticisms of the labours of others in this branch of sinology, viz. Mr. Kingsmill, Dr. Edkins and Mr. Terrien de Lacouperie. Mr. Parker gives it as his opinion that 'Mr. Kingsmill's extraordinary system of Sanskrit analogies cannot for a moment be sustained,' that the modern Chinese runs only in two or three main channels, having remained perfectly pure, hardly affected in any degree whatever by any influx of foreign words, but changing its intrinsic forms according to migration and admixture of foreign blood, and that therefore Mr. Kingsmill's system has to be rejected as

totally unsupported by evidence. As to Dr. Edkins, Mr. Parker thinks that his 'somewhat too sanguine theories' are entitled to respect, and that the difference between Dr. Edkins and himself hinges principally upon the definition of the words 'language' and 'dialect,' for, Mr. Parker says, he only differs with Dr. Edkins, if Dr. Edkins considers that at any period,—say since B.C. 750,—the Chinese all spoke one or practically one standard ancient dialect, and if he considers that modern dialects are clear rills traceable directly to one stream, instead of being a net work of muddy canals acting and re-acting upon each other and derived from an as yet undiscovered reservoir, itself formed by various pre-historic streams. With regard to Mr. Terrien de Lacouperie, Mr. Parker characterizes the Professor's dicta, as to the *ku-wên* or ancient phonetic Chinese characters and as to the alleged polysyllabic nature of old Chinese, as 'a tissue of mischievous rubbish from beginning to the end,' written by a man who 'is alike ignorant of modern colloquial and the principles of both modern or ancient literary construction,' and Mr. Parker thinks that 'this ingenious but superficial scholar obfuscates all specialists by taking refuge in generalities, and leading them a will-o'-the-wisp hunt among Ugrotars, Sinico-annamites and cuneiform inscriptions.'

We should like to see Mr. Parker taking up this whole subject independently, and to give us some authoritative statements as to the following questions which are not referred to in his article:—(1.) What language or languages were spoken in China (at the time when the Shoo and Shi King and other early classics were written) and to what races did the successive dynasties (Hia, Shang and Chow) and those tribes belong whom the classical writers regarded as aborigines or as barbarian invaders? (2.) To what extent were provincialisms, and barbarisms adopted by the successive editors of the Chinese Clas-

sics? (3.) What is the connection existing between the languages or dialects of the aboriginal or foreign barbarous races of China on the one side and those dialectic variations of the Chinese language on the other side which the Fang-yuen (方音) of the Han dynasty literature assigns to specified localities? We mean here that 'great and complete work on localisms' to which Mr. Parker refers as a work by Yang Hung on the (doubtful) authority of the Family Homilies or rather of Kwoh Poh. If Mr. Parker would devote his undoubted philological talent to the investigation of practical questions like the foregoing, he would do better work than by labouring to prove what everybody knew before, viz. that dialectic variations existed in China since the tower of Babel was built. Our own ignorance on questions like the above is to ourselves appalling. We have been studying Chinese for some twenty odd years, and we could not satisfactorily answer, by anything better than unsupported hypotheses, any of the above questions nor, for example, such simple questions as these:—how is it that on ancient Chinese vases the heroes of the Chow dynasty are represented as having red hair? to what race did they belong? what language did they speak? and how far did their language affect the classical language of China? We think, and we differ here as widely from Mr. Parker, as from Dr. Edkins, that the Chinese have never shown any really philologic instinct (no more than a historic instinct), that they have written acutely on philological banalities, but that the whole field of Chinese philology is as yet a barren waste, which Dr. Edkins, Dr. Chalmers, Mr. Parker, Mr. Kingsmill and Mr. Terrien de Lacouperie have only lately begun to cultivate, each in his own way indeed and with but indifferent results, but we believe the common cause of philology will prosper best if each man diligently pursues his own course without depreciating the labours of the other.

E. J. E.

Child Life in Chinese Homes. By Mrs. Bryson, of the London Mission, Wuchang, China. With many illustrations. London, 1885. Published by the Religious Tract Society.

Child Life may appear, at first glance, the correlate of common-place. Yet, in fact, common-place itself is generally but the objective correlate of inattention, and wherever the eye is taught to see there it disappears.

Although this book deals with Child Life, and was written, in the first instance, to be read by or to the young, yet the writer had such an attentive and observant eye, and such excellent opportunities of studying the peculiar characteristics of Chinese Child Life, and combines with it all such literary skill in sketching life and painting character to the life, that we feel certain, no grown-up person, even among old residents in the East, can possibly fail to find in this book many most interesting and perfectly original observations on the subject of Chinese Child Life, set forth in a manner charming to most minds by the utter absence of affectation and unreality. The story of Child Life, here told, is full of sadness and yet relieved by a breath of hopefulness penetrating the whole and by a continual accompaniment of subtle and keen reflection that lights up the style with a sort of Chinese lantern illumination. Even the illustrations, which accompany the letter-press sketches of Chinese Child Life, display a great deal of originality in the selection of themes, though the task of producing something new and fresh, in the way of illustrations of social life, is, in these days of cheap photography, a specially difficult one.

The authoress begins by describing the various ceremonies and superstitions, crowding round the earliest events in the life of a Chinese baby. The dodges resorted to with a view to bamboozle malignant spirits are described with much humour. The authoress here, as throughout her whole book, writes almost entirely on the basis of actual

personal observations made by herself in Wuchang. Nevertheless almost every single detail of these curiosities of nursery life, observed in Wuchang, may be noticed daily among the Chinese of Hongkong and Canton, and, we dare say, in every nook and corner of the eighteen provinces of China: so great is the homogeneity of the various Chinese races. The vexed question of Chinese infanticide is dealt with in a simple and practical way, the authoress being evidently of opinion that infanticide in China is confined to female children and that it is practised only at the moment of birth. The old hackneyed story of 'the baby tower, erected outside most cities' is repeated. We have no doubt such towers must be in existence somewhere in some provinces, though we have ourselves passed through many cities in South-China without ever seeing or hearing of the existence of one, but we think the question of the actual extent of the area within which such baby towers are found deserves investigation. The descriptions of the baby's home, of the sights to be seen in streets and shops, of the life in school and on the play grounds, contain a good deal of most interesting reading matter. The various games played by Chinese boys are sufficiently explained and the reader is here initiated into the delightful mysteries of 'catching shrimps' (a sort of hopscotch), turning the dragon, and of the lion playing with the ball, not to forget Punch and Judy, battledore and shuttlecock and kiteflying. Girls' life at home is very pathetically described and the profound sense of blank and emptiness, the weary sighs and feelings of the littleness of Chinese female life, are very well portrayed here. The horrible cruelties and sufferings connected with the fashionable practice of foot-binding are, in our opinion, rather under-stated, than exaggerated. 'This custom,' says Mrs. Bryson, 'has no connection with religion, and is not prescribed by the law of the country. Indeed, no small-footed woman is allowed

within the precincts of the Imperial palace and no Manchu woman binds her feet. It is only the spread of Christianity and the growing up of that Christian public feeling, which teaches compassion for the weak and sympathetic tenderness for the suffering that can abolish foot-binding from Chinese homes.' There is only one chapter in the book which has not been written from actual observation, viz. a most interesting description of some stories in popular circulation as regards the two boy-emperors of China, Tungchi and Kwangsui. For some of our readers the following quotation may contain something of the charm of novelty. 'Some time ago, in the pages of the Peking Gazette, the appointment of a "whipping boy" was announced, that is, a little fellow whose duty it was to receive all the punishments which might be deserved by the little Emperor when he committed a fault. He stood, indeed, in the same relation to Kwangsui, as we are informed, by the author of *Waverley*, Sir Mungo Malagrowth did to the son of Mary Queen of Scots.' Chinese festivals and holidays, Chinese idolatry and religious superstitions, and the various methods of teaching Chinese children, are vividly depicted, and these sketches of social life are followed by a series of sparkling biographical character-paintings of many Chinese youths of both sexes with whom the authoress was personally acquainted and whose lives afford typical illustrations of the joys and sorrows, the virtues and vices of Chinese Child Life in the various ranks and classes of the Chinese people. Of course the whole book has a great moral purpose, but the descriptions here given of Chinese social life are not loaded with the weight of it so as in any way to detract from the truthfulness and readableness of the book itself. Whilst faithfully depicting the desolations and oppressions of Child Life in China, the gifted authoress throughout opens up to the reader a vista of a brighter future through and beyond the darkness and failures of actual experience.

E. J. E.

Cochinchine Française. Excursions et Reconnaissances. No. 17-21. Saigon, 1884-1885.

Whatever may be the political results of the French conquests in Indo-China, this much is certain that the attempts now made by France to found a great Colonial empire in the East will convey immense advantages to the interests of science. The countries now directly or indirectly taken possession of by French arms may or may not prove valuable possessions from a commercial and financial point of view, but there will certainly be no lack of scientific exploitation and the results of such explorations will be free and open to all the world. The volumes now before us are a pledge that that eminence in scholarship which has crowned with success French efforts in sinology, from the classical Nestor St. Julien to his modern epigones Père David, St. Simon, Thiersant, Scherzer, Lemaire, Cordier, Piton, Piry and others, will be rivalled by the French savants now exploring Indo-China. No. 17 of the serial now before us continues the exposition (begun in previous numbers which we have not seen) of the draft of a Civil Code devised by M. Lasserre for the use of Annamites. It also gives the continuation of a report of a voyage of exploration in Tongking undertaken by Messrs. Vienot and Schröder, and the Tongkinese text, with French translation, of a poem entitled 'les pruniers reflouris' from the pen of M. Landes. The latter is evidently a ripe Chinese scholar. He states that this poem is, as the very title at once suggests, but a Tongkinese adaptation of the well-known Chinese novel, an excellent translation of which was published some years ago by M. Piry and reviewed by us in the *China Review*. M. Landes subjoins to his translation a very full and instructive commentary in which he brings his extensive reading in sinologic literature to bear on the subject matters of his text.

No. 18 of the periodical before us gives the conclusion of a report by M. A. Pavie

of an excursion into Cambodia and Siam, and a detailed itinerary, compiled by Messrs. Vienot and Schröder during a voyage of exploitation from Hanoi to Bacninh, undertaken chiefly with a view to report on the practicability of a railway which is to connect the two places. No. 19 of the same periodical contains the report of excursions made among the Moïs and the independent Moïs tribes by Messrs. Nouet and Humann, the two reports furnishing an important addition to the ethnology of the tribes referred to by Mr. Colquhoun in his work 'Among the Shans.' There is also a most interesting report on the reptiles of Cochinchina and Cambodia by M. Tirant, an essay by M. Schmitt on some inscriptions found by M. Pavie on a pagoda at Bangkok and the report of a voyage to Ratboursy and Kanboursy (in Siam) undertaken by M. Hardouin. New articles in No. 20 are, in the first instance, a complete summary of the political organisation of Cambodia, next a full description of the Cambodian people, then comes a series of Annamese stories and legends from the pen of M. Landes, followed by some anthropological notes on the Laos tribes. No. 21 of this very interesting periodical continues several of the above mentioned articles and deals with one new subject, viz. a paper by M. Burek containing some researches regarding the species of trees which produce gutta-percha.

E. J. E.

China and the Roman Orient: Researches into the ancient and mediæval relations as represented in old Chinese records. By F. Hirth, Ph. D. Leipzig and München, G. Hirth. Shanghai and Hongkong, Kelly and Walsh, 1885.

Dr. Hirth has taken up here, in his usual painstaking and thorough manner, a question, the importance of which must, to any practical mind, appear entirely out of proportion to the amount of labour bestowed upon it by the learned author of this volume. The question which Dr. Hirth treats

in the 330 pages, crammed with sinologic research, is simply the meaning of the terms **大秦** Ta-ts'in and **條支** T'iao-chi which occur in certain Chinese historical works written between B.C. 91 and the eighteenth century of our era. Dr. Hirth has taken great pains in collecting numerous Chinese texts bearing on the subject, and he gives in his book both the Chinese originals and literal translations. The Chinese texts are almost throughout worded so obscurely and deal with their subject matters in such a vague manner, that it would be an easy task to challenge the correctness of Dr. Hirth's translation in many passages. Not that we think Dr. Hirth translated wrongly, but the text is generally of such a nature that translating it is in most cases guess work. But, even admitting, as we sincerely do admit, that Dr. Hirth's translation of the collated texts is probably as good as any that could be produced by any other scholar, we are at once confronted by the question, what is the value of the Chinese information, when translated in the best possible style, concerning these mysterious countries called by them Ta-ts'in and T'iao-chi. We have endeavoured to put the best possible construction on these Chinese contributions to our knowledge of Ta-ts'in and T'iao-chi, but we can only say these Chinese records contain, as Colonel Yule once put it, simply 'puerile nonsense.' What these Chinese histories and geographies have to say about these countries, is so vague and so wanting in point, that it might be applied to almost any country in the world, and even if we knew for certain what country or city or people each Chinese writer referred to, neither history nor geography would derive any material benefit from it. Nevertheless, as Dr. Hirth says, 'the mystery connected with that country, described by ancient Chinese authors under the name of Ta-ts'in, has occupied the sinological world at intervals since the beginning of the last century.' To solve this purposeless mystery, Dr. Hirth

has ransacked Chinese and European libraries, perseveringly burned the midnight oil, and brought out a volume full of patient philological research, and what is the result? The result is that the term Ta-ts'in does not mean Rome or Italy, but that it may mean Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Arabia, Petra, Rekem, and almost any country near to the eastern shores of the Mediterranean or Persian gulf. And as to the term T'iao-chi, the result of Dr. Hirth's investigations is, that it may mean Babylonia or Chaldaea, at some stage or other of its chequered history, but there is no certainty about it. In the course of these bootless investigations, however, Dr. Hirth has succeeded in identifying a number of geographical or ethnographical terms, or confirmed the identifications previously suggested by others. It is to be regretted that he did not put together these results in a handy table, for although he provided a double index to his work, he omitted a great many of those identifications which appear to us of special importance. We have spent some hours in collecting these results from Dr. Hirth's work and we append the list herewith for the benefit of our readers, with the understanding that most of these identifications are based on guess-work rather than on philological certainty.

Acbatana 阿蠻.

Alani 阿蘭那.

Alexandria 運散 or 烏運散.

Antioch 安都.

Antiochia Margiana 木鹿.

Arabia Petraea 積石.

Arabs 大食.

Arsak 安息.

Babylonia 條支.

Bactria 月氏.

Chaldaea 條支.

Charax Spasinu 安谷.

Hekatompylos 和犢.

Hira 于羅.

Jerusalem 秧薩羅.

Kashgar 疎勒.
 Khoten 于闐 or 和闐 or 割闐.
 Khozar tribes 可薩部.
 Ktesiphon 斯賓.
 Madain 宿利城 or 蘇蘭.
 Merv 麻里兀 or 馬魯.
 Mesopotamia 海北.
 Myos Hormos 鳥丹.
 Nicephorium 鹽分.
 Orchoë 安谷.
 Parthia 安息.
 Parthuvia 番境.
 Persia 波斯 or 安西.
 Petra } 犁鞬 or 黎軒 or 犁軒
 Rekem } or 犁軒.
 Sassanide Empire 安息國.
 Seleucia 斯羅.
 Sittake or Sittakene 思陶.
 Syria 大秦 or 海西國 or 犁
 鞬 (and synonymes, as above) or
 拂菻 or 拂懔 or 拂林 or
 佛祿.
 Syria proper 苦.
 Teredon 澤散.
 Tigris 達曷水.
 Tokharestan 吐火羅.

E. J. E.

Report of the Medical Missionary Hospital at Swatow, in connection with the Presbyterian Church of England, under the care of A. Lyall, M.B., C.M., and of Medical Mission Work in the Hakka country, under the care of Rev. W. Riddel, M.B., C.M. For 1884. Swatow, 1885.

If there is any thing undoubtedly encouraging about the work of Protestant Missions in China, it is the strong hold Protestant Medical Missionaries have obtained on the respect and gratitude of the Chinese people. The fact that in all cases

where during the late war-panic persecutions were directed indiscriminately against Roman Catholic and Protestant missionaries, their converts and their buildings, the very mob respected the Missionary Hospitals and Dispensaries as sacred trusts and religiously refrained from interfering with them. Dr. Lyall reports in the pamphlet under review that, when the Christians in Swatow were living under the daily expectation of an attack by their enemies, they stored their valuables and private effects in the Hospital, feeling certain that, whatever the mob might do against Christians, native or foreign, they would not touch the Hospital. Dr. Lyall further reports that the war between China and France did not in the least diminish the popularity of his Hospital. There has, in fact been an increase of patients during the past year, the total number treated in Swatow being 5493, which is an increase of fully one thousand patients over the number attended to during the previous year. It is a most important fact, brought out by this report, that the unwillingness, of which in former years we have heard so much in Hongkong and elsewhere, of taking full advantage of Western Medical Science does not exist now to any great extent. It appears even that, in the case of this Swatow Hospital, there is now a distinctly perceptible increase in the number of those who come for treatment in the first or early stages of their diseases. This Swatow Hospital is evidently doing a most excellent work, not only by the number of operations performed and diseases treated, but especially by training native physicians.

E. J. E.

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NOTES AND QUERIES.

NOTES.

TAOIST INFATUATION.—The Tsin Emperor 孝武 (A.D. 390) fell completely into the hands of old 'frumps' [媼姆], bonzes, and nuns [僧尼]. He refused to sanction repairs to Confucius' temple [孔子廟], though he had Buddhist shrines [佛精舍]. A few years previously the students at the Imperial Academy [太學] had been dismissed by 殷浩, so that for some time Confucianism had a poor chance.

THE TAOIST PATRIARCH.—Chang Chêng 張景, the new living Taoist patriarch, whose acquaintance we once made at Canton, is stated to be the lineal descendant of Chang Tao-ling [Mayers, No. 35], but it was at or from 鶴鳴山 in Sz Ch'uan that he 'ascended into Heaven' [白日昇天], and not, it seems, as stated by Mr. Mayers.

THE DOUBLED-UP EARS OF LAO TSZE.—Mr. Watters applies to Lao-tsze the name 重耳 or 'heavy ears,' which belongs to Tsin Wên-kung [Mayers, No. 848], and is, according to Mayers, *ch'ung* or 'double ears.' The word, according to the Concordance, anciently meant 重耳. Civil officers had 青 ears; military ones 赤 ears, i.e. 'iron ears' or points to their chariots, which 'doubled-up' like cows' horns and were called 重較 (pronounced *koh*) 耳. Possibly these were like the scythes used by the Greeks.

CHINESE DESPATCH STYLE ADOPTED IN MODERN TELEGRAPHY.—'The following has been received by the Secretary for war from Lord Wolseley Following received from General Brackenbury Following is a translation of a document found Document begins Document ends Brackenbury's message ends I have the honour &c.' To illustrate the principles which we have been endeavouring to explain for years, the first sentence may be translated: 兵部准胡軍門咨 Then 接巴鎮咨呈 or 據巴鎮稟咨 據檢出字稱 緣 等語 咨呈鑒核等情 咨會查照等因. Thus it will be seen that not only does modern telegraphy force us to imitate ancient Chinese terseness, (as previously elsewhere pointed out), but it intends us to fall back on purely Chinese modern official forms if we wish to be perfectly clear.

BURIAL SOCIETIES.—The Foochow correspondent of the *Shên Pao* says that in that city there are burial societies [父母軒之會], which, on a monthly payment of 300 cash, which ceases after continuing eight years), provide the sum of 20,000 cash, wherewith to defray burial expenses on claim [報故]. Thus, in eight years (counting intercalary moons), 30,000 cash would have been paid; and, as it is not a Chinese custom to hasten the death of pa-

rents by neglect, the society would probably well pay its expenses.

THE EMPEROR'S TUTORS.—The Peking correspondent of the same journal says the Mongol teachers of the Emperor have been admonished because, in giving audience to certain Mongol princes, his Majesty's Mongol speech was hardly up to the mark.

ZAITUN.—In support of Mr. Phillips' theory that the Arabs confounded 泉州 with 漳州 [Zaitun], it may be mentioned that in Foochow both words are pronounced (unaspirated) *chiong*; and that, according to the local rules of tonal modification, the difference of tone is lost before the word 州. In and near Canton 絲 緞 are pronounced *sziün*, *sitiün*, and *seitiün*, but this seems rather a far-fetched derivation.

SEMITIC TRACES IN CHINA.—The second of the beautiful religious poems of the fourth century B.C., known as the 九歌, suggests connection with Semitic thought. The high priest was in the habit of presenting himself in sackcloth and ashes before God [太一]. The exact words of the commentator are 垢身蓬頭着敝衣以爲禮. The modern sackcloth, which may be seen on the backs of chief mourners in China any day, reminds one of David and Joab 'girding themselves with sackcloth to mourn for Abner.'

MOVEMENTS OF THE POPULATION.—Shortly after the conquest of 陳 by the 隋 dynasty, a new parochial system was introduced at the recommendation of 蘇威. One hundred families formed a 里, over which was a 里長; five 里 fell under one 鄉, over each of which was a 鄉正. Chinese history, like other histories, tells us very little of the people. At the Sui conquest the purely Chinese or South Yangtze part of China was in the hands of old and wealthy families, who oppressed and

tyrannized over the poor. The Sui government introduced many changes. It is significant that a rebellion took place because the people of modern Cheh kiang, Kiang si, An Hwui, &c., 'dreaded removal in a body' to Shen si.

REGISTRATION.—The term 旗籍, or 'native place as a Bannerman,' corresponds to the 民籍 or 'settlement' in the English parochial sense.

OFFICIAL DISABILITIES.—Artisans and traders [工商] were first forbidden to take high official rank [不得仕進] in the year A.D. 596.

DEATH WARRANTS.—The first Sui Emperor, in the year A.D. 596, ordained that no executions should take place until three separate applications had been made for Imperial sanction.

CLINICAL OPERATIONS.—The Caesarian operation [剖脅] is mentioned in Chinese history. About A.D. 285, the Tartar king of Kharashar [烏著] sent his son to serve as a page at the Tsin Court. His Tartar wife was *enceinte* for 12 months, and finally was cut open; the child lived.

CORVEE SERVICES.—It appears that Ho Nan is oppressed by *corvées*, which are divided into 軍差 (now pure oppression, as no warlike operations are being carried on), and 流差 or the forwarding of officials. A harpy, called a 冊書, is stationed in each group of villages, to wring the money commutations out of the people, who are not allowed to serve even if they wish it; the money commutation is ten times what the labour value is worth as paid by the officials.

KASHGAR.—Somewhere in the Kashgarian region there is a tribe of Mussulmans [南回部] called the Salagurs [色勒庫爾] who send a yearly tribute of 1½ ounces

of gold to Kashgar. The present chief is **米爾阿札** Miracha, a name for which the Chinese have evidently mistaken the word Maharajah, especially as the chief **[頭目]** is elsewhere called Kh'an-yü-t'i **[坎巨提]**. All this looks as though the Chinese were meddling with Cashmere.

PENAL SERVITUDE.—The Viceroy Li explains that the nearest penal servitude **[附近充軍]**, though nominally a heavier punishment than the farthest banishment **[滿流三千里]**, is now-a-days, in fact, simply banishment for 2,000 *li*, since the frontier stations **[邊衛]** have been abolished, and criminals are no longer used as penal soldiers; and even the **近邊** and the **邊遠** classes of penal servitude are only equal to the farthest banishment. The **極邊四千里** and the 'malarious' are the only two of the five classes really more serious than the farthest banishment. No penal servitude or banished men can be sent to Chih Li, and even exiles **[徒]** can only be sent to places 500 *li* distant from Pao-ting Fu. It seems that the penal stations **[設衛分屯]** were established by the Mings, and that banished people are always permanently settled **[安插爲民]**.

GAME OF DRAUGHTS.—According to Sayce 'draughts was an Egyptian game, both board **[cf. 圍碁]** and men' **[cf. 象棋]**.

THE BABYLONIAN WEEK IN CHINA.—The **七曜** or Sun, Moon, and Five Planets, together with the **五色** may together be compared with the 'colours of the seven planets of the Babylonians, who had a week of seven days called after them' [Sayce], and from whom the Chinese probably derived their notions.

TA-YIH.—The **Δαί** of Herodotus (Dai) are said by Sayce to have been an Elamite tribe

called Dehavites in Ezra IV., 9. Possibly these may be the **大益**.

DUODENARY CYCLES.—The introduction of duodenary cycles, discussed in a previous *Chinese Note*, is declared by Remusat to have been incontestably introduced by the Kieh-kia-sz or Kirghiz.

NUMBER OF MILITARY NOBLES.—The fixed number of hereditary military 'nobles' allotted to An Hwei is 176; to the Nanking division of Kiang Su 348; to the Soochow financial division 150. Kiang Si has 483, costing the public over Tls. 50,000 a year. It is now proposed to fix the maximum at this number.

THE KINSHA RIVER.—The fact that the Chinese have always considered the **江** to take its rise in the **岷** hills of **茂州**, coupled with the fact that in B.C. 28 there were great upheavals in the **建昌** region, and, farther down, makes it possible that Captain Gill's Kin-sha River originally found its way to the sea by Cochin China.

PENSIONS OF MILITARY NOBLES.—Kwei Chou is also in difficulties with its military nobles, which cost the province Tls. 24,000 a year. It is proposed to introduce the rules in force in Hu Nan, and to keep to the present maximum number of 805. Nobles holding other posts **[兼襲]** are to get no pension at all, and all others are to receive but 40 per cent. of their nominal pensions, which, again, will vary accordingly as the recipients are minors, or are military cadets.

THE GREAT WALL.—The Great Wall is, after all, a very piecemeal affair. The Sui dynasty built 700 *li* of it from **涼州** in modern Kan Suh to **綏德** in modern Shen Si, besides other stretches described elsewhere.

ANNIHILATION THEORIES.—During the discussions on the truth of religion which took

place during the fifth century, 范縝 wrote a book on the annihilation of the soul. He said the human form or 形 is the embodiment or 質 of the soul or 神, as the soul is the motor or 用 of the human form; and that the relation of the soul to the form is as that of the power of cutting or 利 to the knife; but, he went on, 'I have never heard it argued that when the knife is annihilated [沒] the power of cutting continues; how then can the form perish and the soul remain?'

MILITARY ENGINEERING.—Liang Wu Ti banked up the River Hwai somewhere near 盱眙 with the object of drowning the Toba armies. The dyke was 200 feet high by 1400 feet broad at the base and 450 at the top. One fine day it burst with a noise

heard 100 miles away, and over 100,000 persons were swept into the sea.

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ANCIENT NATIONAL FLAGS.—Mention has previously been made of ancient national flags. In the year 527 the Liang General, who had just captured a Toba town, 'tore down the Toba flag and stuck up that of Liang' [拔魏幟建梁幟]. Again, when the Turks offered the Chinese throne to Li Yüan, father of the founder of the T'ang dynasty, as a condition of their aiding to get rid of the monster Yang Ti, it was arranged, as a compromise, that brown and red should be used as joint colours of the national standard, and that Yang Ti should be dethroned in favour of his grandson.

E. H. P.

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